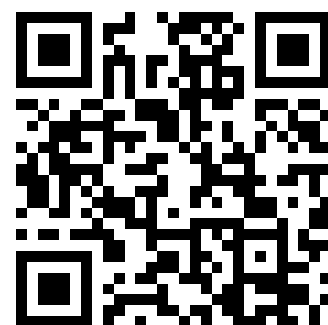


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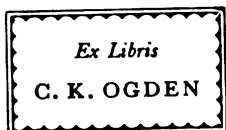




# *The* GREAT WAR

THE STANDARD HISTORY  
OF THE  
ALL- EUROPE CONFLICT

*Edited by*  
H.W. WILSON







# THE GREAT WAR

VOLUME 8











Frontispiece Vol. VIII. "THE GREAT WAR."

Painted by C.M. PADDAY.

*"The Biter Bit." Liner's successful defence from Submarine attack.*





# THE GREAT WAR

THE STANDARD HISTORY  
OF THE ALL-EUROPE CONFLICT

EDITED BY

H. W. WILSON

Author of "With the Flag to Pretoria"

"Japan's Fight for Freedom" etc.

and

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## CHAPTER CXLIX.

THE GREAT SOMME OFFENSIVE: FRENCH ATTACK AND  
GERMAN COUNTER-ATTACK NORTH OF THE RIVER.

By Edward Wright.

Difficult Junction-Point of French and British Armies—General Fayolle Crosses the River with the Iron Division—Grim Character of the Ironsides of France—Young Men for the Charge and Veterans for the Counter-Defence—Cigarette Promenade and the Gendarme's Hat—Fighting in the Churchyard of Curlu—French Pause until British Come into Line—Storming of Spahn and Eulenberg Quarries—Hem and the Perfection of French Staff Work—Consternation of German Troops under Unexpected Heavy Fire—First Complete Prussian Defeat Since 1815—Vast German Concentration Against the Allies—Alternate Hammer Blows by French and British—General Foch's System of Echelon Formation—Terrible Ravine Fighting near Hem—Glorious Work by a Young French Battalion—General Fayolle Makes another Spring Forward—The Epic of Maurepas—Prince Eitel and the Demoralisation of his Guardsmen—General Micheler's Army Surprises the Enemy—France Takes Over Two-thirds of the Battle Front—The Breaking of the Prussian Guard and the Capture of Le Forest—Diary of a Prussian Guardsman at Rancourt—How the Fighting Nobles of Prussia Failed their Men.



It will be remembered that early in 1916 a Silesian regiment made a surprise attack on the southernmost point of the British front at Carnoy and on the linking French position across the Somme at Frise. The British troops repulsed the enemy from Carnoy, but the French troops which had held Frise lost the trenches and made no attempt to recover them. The French pointed out that this village in the marshes of the Somme was a point not worth holding by either side, and that they willingly surrendered it to the enemy.

It was generally thought at the time that this statement was merely a palliation of weakness on the part of General Foch. But later events proved that the report he had sent to French Headquarters was matter-of-fact truth. Frise, lying in a mass of reeds, looped by the lagoons and branching waters of the Somme and dominated on either side by the cliffs of the high chalk plateau, was a death-trap to the army that held it. The French were glad to let the Germans occupy it, and it was an expensive piece of window-dressing on the part of the German commander when he advanced his lines slightly and threw forward a large garrison of Silesian troops, who remained at the mercy of the French guns, in a watery soil, which made the casualties from frost-bite and rheumatism far more numerous than the losses from shell fire.

The German thrust at Frise, however, incited Sir Douglas Haig and General Foch to consider together the natural difficulties of the geographical and tactical situation on the

Somme. The junction-point of two large armies, speaking a different language, drawing their supplies from different bases, and working on different methods of attack and defence, was undoubtedly a point of great weakness. The large Valley of the Somme, with its marshes, streams, and canal, had seemed to be a natural division between the allied hosts.

Sir Douglas Haig and General Foch, however, found that the valley accentuated the inconveniences of their point of junction. It allowed the enemy too many opportunities of massing and striking against one ally, before a combined artillery and infantry counter-attack could be improvised. So against natural appearances, the delicate junction-point of the two armies was shifted northward, and the French Army took over both banks of the Somme, and afterwards relinquished its front in Artois, enabling Sir Douglas Haig to organise without a break one long British line from the north of Ypres to the south of Albert.

General Foch, however, still remained somewhat at a disadvantage in possessing merely some three miles of lines north of the Somme, from Maricourt to Eclusier. Owing to the small area of the ground, he could deploy only a small French force north of the river, and this force was at a disadvantage in being cut off from its main army by two and a half miles of swamp and water, and in having a foreign army on its left, formed of new recruits with strange weapons, ammunition of uninterchangeable character, and entirely different methods of fighting. For example,

Allies  
rearrange fronts



British troops when on the defensive relied greatly upon their Lee-Enfield magazine rifles, with which they could fire fifteen rounds in thirty seconds, while French troops relied mainly upon their fast and flexible 3 in. quick-firing field-gun, which enabled them to withdraw from their trenches and then recover them by a surprising and lightly purchased recoil. The gunners of the field-artillery of the new British army could not work the miracles which the long experienced artillerymen of France could accomplish with facile adroitness.

#### Contrasts in Anglo-

#### French tactics

On the other hand, the French infantryman with his obsolescent Lebel rifle, having an inferior magazine capacity, could not achieve the extraordinary results of the "mad minute" of rapid musketry fire by which again and again the British line had held fast against tremendous odds.

From the days of Napoleon and Sir John Moore this curious difference between French and British tactics had obtained, Napoleon relying upon massed artillery fire and Moore upon the intensive training of his infantry in musketry fire. One might almost go back to Agincourt, with its example of combined shock tactics on the part of the French and of highly trained individual marksmanship on the part of the English bowmen, in tracing this instinctive difference between the methods of fighting of the two allied nations.

The French generally were always more scientific than the Englishman or the Anglo-Celt, while the British were strangely individualistic, with the happy though somewhat chance power that comes from highly-strung individual effort. Quite a generation before Napoleon, the French were our superiors on land in finely developed artillery concentration, and except in the Franco-Prussian War, when Marshal Leboeuf crippled the artillery of his country by giving it defective fuses, French field-

artillery in action had been in advance of all others since the eighteenth century.

For twenty years French gunners had been broken to the service of their quick-firer, and even the French reservists knew how to serve the "75." When the Italians adopted a gun of the "75" type, French experts reckoned it would take Italy ten years to impart into both her active Army and reserve such experience in artillery work as France had patiently and gradually attained. France was a nation of artillerymen of exceptional skill, whereas Great Britain had only a small professional class of veteran gunners, whose quick-firing gun, moreover, was inferior in quality to the French. In methods of attack there was not much difference between the two co-operating armies. Indeed, as the war went on the French and British closely approximated in their weapons of advance. They had the same kind of quick-firing trench-mortar for discharging heavy aerial torpedoes upon the German first line. They both used their light artillery to break his wire entanglements, and their heavy siege-artillery was similar in calibre and in mounting, and obtained from the same steel-makers.



ALLIES MEET ON THE SOMME.  
French infantry returning from the trenches meeting a British battery.



FRENCH TROOPS BUILDING SHELTERS AGAINST ARTILLERY FIRE.

Shelters against heavy artillery fire had, of course, to be of the strongest possible construction, and were made of enormously stout timbers roofed over with corrugated iron on which sand-bags were stacked.

In defensive operations, however, the old difference which had caused difficulties at Ypres in the autumn of 1914 still obtained along the Somme. The French gave ground when they could not keep the enemy back by curtain fire from their heavy artillery, and returned when their guns had annihilated the stormers of their lost position. This was a method of defence of a terribly deadly scientific character, requiring an extreme precision in co-operation between the infantry and the artillery. The British, on the other hand, still prided themselves on never budging from a trench, and as all their recruits were trained towards the old standard of the "mad minute" of rifle fire, they could often shatter an enemy charge with the



help of machine-guns, without asking from their artillery more than a shrapnel curtain over the German line.

Both the French and the British methods of breaking up an attack were effective, and by means of them some of the greatest actions in the war were won; but it can be seen that, at the critical junction-point of the two armies, the French could not continue to hold their advanced positions lightly, while the British on their left held on in strength and perhaps were turned. In these circumstances, General Foch did the British Army the honour of placing by its side at Bray the Iron Division of France. Behind the Iron Division were the other regiments of the



FOUNTAIN ON THE SOMME.  
French soldiers drinking at a fountain  
in the vicinity of the Somme.



COLONIAL WARRIORS IN THE SERVICE OF FRANCE.  
French Senegalese going up to the first line on the Somme. They were employed in opening the  
attack south of the river.

Twentieth Corps (which was in the French Army what the Tenth Legion was in Caesar's forces) directed by General Balfourier, who had saved Verdun before General Pétain took control.

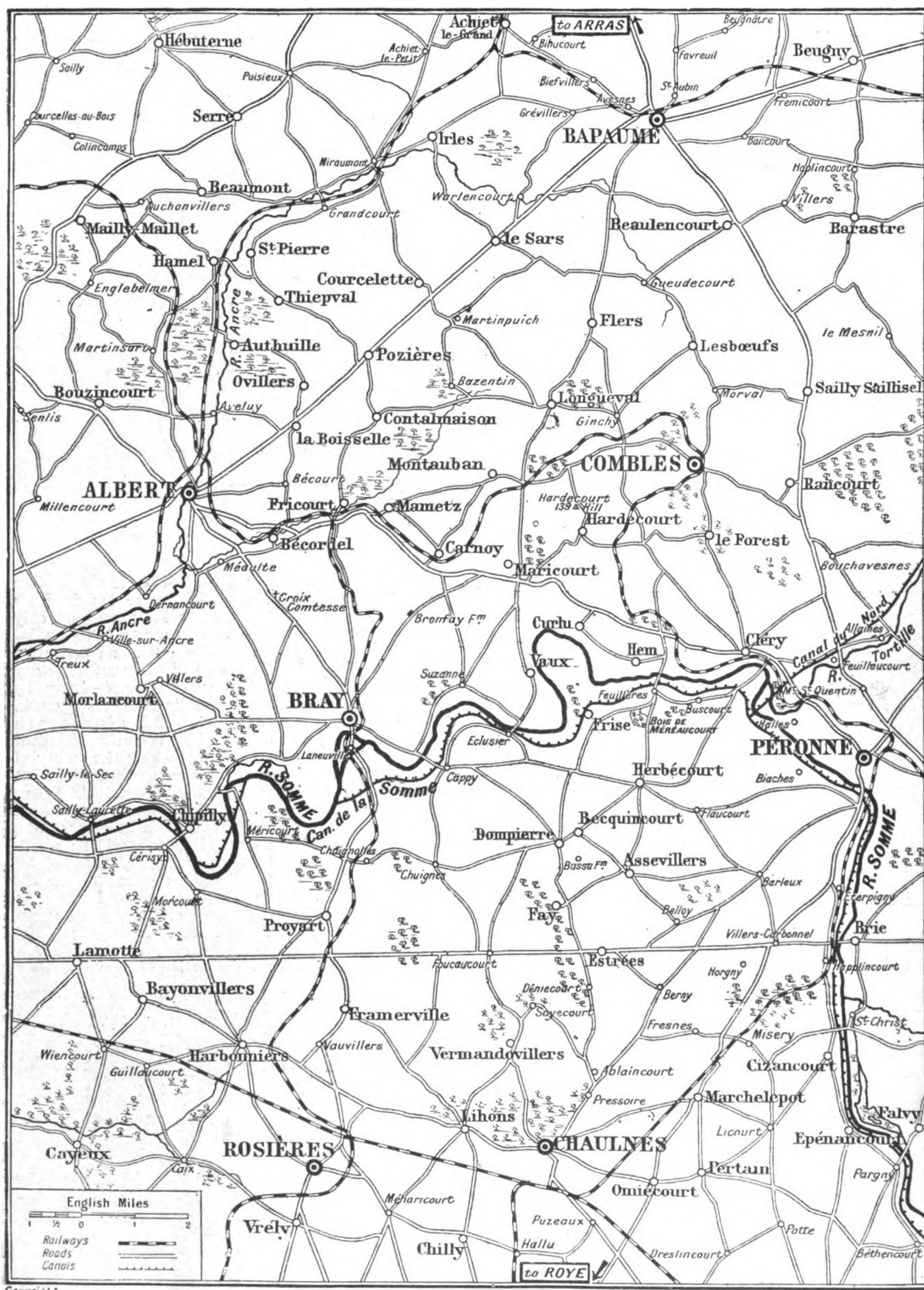
The Twentieth Corps had been peculiarly reorganised for the great offensive. The veteran troops, who had first shown their tremendous power of resistance on the heights around Nancy, where they shattered the combined efforts of the army of Bavaria under Prince Rupert and the army of Metz under Heeringen, were brigaded with battalions of the youngest French recruits. The older men, annealed in every great furnace of battle on the western front, and as famous as the Old Guard of Napoleon, had come to take a check or a success with equal mind. On each occasion they did all that men could do, and whether it were done victoriously or in vain, the Ironsides were neither elated nor cast down. The swing and resilience of their march lent a grace to the grim strength of their movements, and their uniforms of horizon blue and their finely-modelled casques of steel gave them a touch of warlike beauty; but there was a Puritanic strength in their quiet and determined faces.

force, as had been the case temporarily and with a much lower degree of discipline during the revolutionary wars. An extraordinary hardness of intellect was now combined with the better known flexibility of the French mind, and the result was such a keen, steady, wide-eyed grimness of character as astonished every friendly foreigner acquainted with French life.

Generally speaking, the French peasant was in the fighting-line and the French mechanic in the war factory, railway, and the motor service. The Iron Division was largely recruited from Paris, and its calm, sombre fighting men formed a type of a strangely new Parisian. But the army on the whole was provincial. In other words, France was seen inside out. Her wage-earning city class—adventurous, humorous, and touched of old with social gaiety like all floating, hazarding city classes—was removed into the background. The more settled, less expressive, harder-minded, and more resolute tillers of the rich, fertile soil of France became the protagonists in the tragedy of Europe. Though after Sedan they had refused to follow Napoleon III. and even Gambetta, they were now ready

Power of  
French peasantry





THE AREA OF THE GREAT ALLIED OFFENSIVE NORTH AND SOUTH OF THE SOMME.



to follow Joffre in a manner that recalled the days of Joan of Arc. And whereas Joan of Arc had many Frenchmen against her, including the large realm of the Burgundians, Joffre had all France with him, and he also had a great Colonial Empire, upon which to draw for fighting planters and superb native troops. But through all the sombre, brooding, quiet temper of the Ironsides of the Twentieth Corps ruled the French spirit. The French were the Roundheads and the British the Cavaliers of the combined forces

Most of the qualities usually attributed of old to French soldiers were to be found in the British camp. The French had dash, but little of the strange, radiant humour which men long fronting death sometimes use to cover their intensity of feeling. The French Staff, however, neither expected nor desired these veteran troops to go forward with excessive speed. It wanted them to be slow, grim,

**Youth in the Iron Division**

cautious, and tenacious. But with that subtlety and minute care in planning, which gradually made the French genius for organisation more formidable than the trained German talent, the youngest class of French soldiers was brigaded with the old troops. Thousands of youths of twenty and twenty-one years of age were formed into battalions and attached to the Iron Division. The officers and non-commissioned officers were the most experienced in the world. The youths themselves were naturally proud beyond expression at being incorporated into the Iron Division, and all their training in the new tactics could not dull the ardour of their temperament. They wished

to show they were worthy of the honour of being placed with the Ironsides, and it was practically certain that with the good leading they had they would accomplish all that the impetuosity of youth and the valour of inspired patriotism could achieve.

The scheme of the commander of the Twentieth Corps was plain and simple. He intended to use his young battalions in capturing the German positions and his veteran troops to hold and consolidate the conquered ground. Then by the time the first German counter-attack in force had been met and broken, the young battalions would have sufficient experience to fight regularly alongside the veterans of Verdun.

**How black and white combined**

It will be remembered that the French coloured troops south of the Somme had been employed to open the attack there, because of their racial impetuosity of temperament, while the greatly enduring and tenacious metropolitan infantry had been kept back for use as a holding force. In both cases the idea was first to exploit as much as possible the effect of surprise when the enemy was attacked in a position which he had weakened himself, and then to bring up the hardest-tempered French fighting forces when Falkenhayn and Hindenburg were making their supreme efforts to retrieve the situation.

The Iron Division seems to have come into the first line on June 24th, 1916, after having spent four days in support. The British troops near Carnoy connected with it by the village of Maricourt, and from this village the line stretched southward for three miles to the loop of the Somme at Eclusier. In front of the Frenchmen was a



[British official photograph.]

**HISTORIC PHOTOGRAPH OF LEADERS OF THE ALLIES IN FRANCE.**

This famous photograph was taken during one of the King's visits to the western front in the course of 1916. The figures in the group are—from left to right—General Joffre, President Poincaré, the King, General Foch, and Sir Douglas Haig.



difficult hill country, with wooded slopes and chalk, through which the line of the Péronne-Bapaume road could be traced by its straight row of little trees. At the end of August, 1914, when Kluck was driving the British Expeditionary Force before him, a battle had been fought in the forest heights around Combles. A French Territorial division, without artillery, tried to arrest the march of a German army corps which was outflanking the retiring British force. The Germans, however,

**Changes since** were not delayed for an hour. They won the battle at a marching pace under the cover of their artillery fire, and, in an astounding stride, took Combles and the neighbouring heights, and then turned south-eastward for another attempt to envelop the 3rd British Division.

The changes since the first battle at Combles had been immense, especially in regard to the artillery force employed on either side. All the last week of June, 1916, the French siege ordnance north of the Somme co-operated with the British heavy artillery and crashed with earthquake effect on the enemy lines. At first the German fire-trenches were spared, and only the second and third zones of defence were attacked. This was only done in view of the amazing

precise French gun fire, the young Ironsides were able to deploy in the open with very little loss.

In front of them was a steep cliff known from its shape as the Gendarme's Hat, which the enemy had spent twenty-two months in converting into a formidable fortress. There was a line of trenches at the foot, a second line running midway across the face of the great rock, while a third line was hewn along the crest, all the lines being connected with underground burrows and zigzags of deep, open cuts. The French siege-guns, however, in collaboration with the trench-mortars, had broken up everything—firing-lines, machine-gun positions, shelters, and saps. The young battalions heading the charge had scarcely any fighting to do, and they captured the cliff, on a front of a mile and a half, with their rifles on their shoulders, a pipe or a cigarette in their hand, and singing the "Marseillaise."

One blue wave went straight up and over the cliff, another swept round the low hills on the left, and a third advanced near the river. In half an hour the three forces met victoriously on the summit. Then, continuing their extraordinary promenade, the battalions went on to the village of Curlu. By the river, however, it was a crawl rather than a promenade, because German machine-gun

ambushes were expected in the wide expanse of islanded marshes and the hundred little split, meandering streams of the Somme. General Fayolle's plan was to envelop the wide marshes on July 2nd, when he had broken the German front on the high ground each side of the river. He did not want to have men entangled and lost amid the bush-grown islets in the river valley. He therefore left the enemy forces there in peace, while he worked on both sides of the river towards their rear. On the high ground beyond the Gendarme's Hat the second German line was occupied without resistance, the garrisons having either fled in panic or been withdrawn—panic being the more likely explanation.

At five o'clock in the afternoon two French companies entered Curlu, and after a sharp bout of house-to-house fighting forced the Germans almost out of the village. One of the prisoners they took told them there were six German companies in reserve in Spahn Quarry close by. The man was not believed, but it was soon

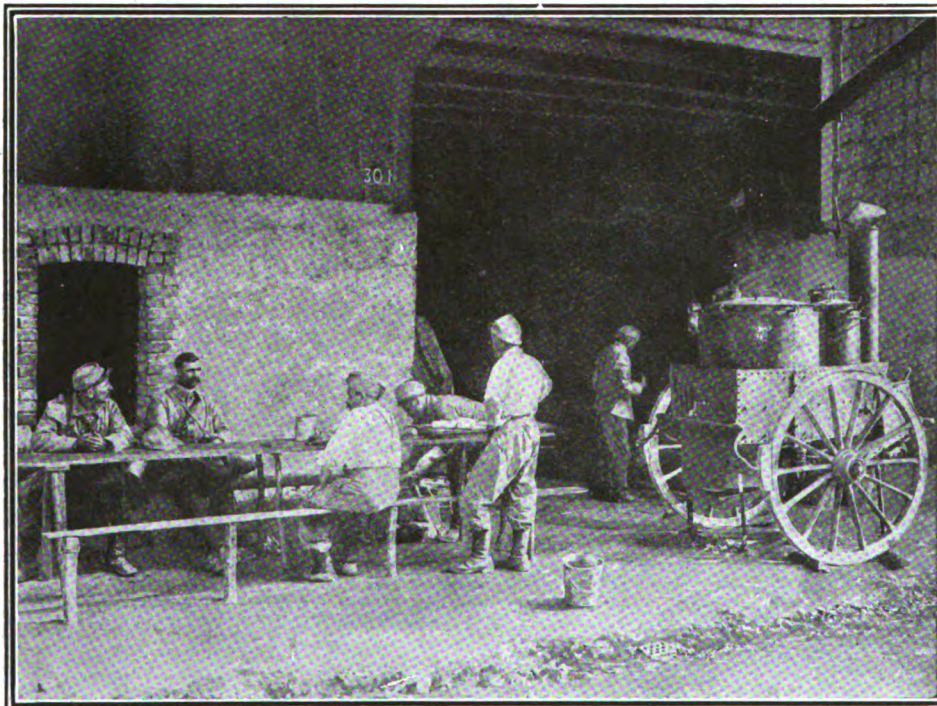
discovered that he was telling the truth, out of a feeling of disgust for his own officers. The Germans at the time were holding an underground position beneath the cemetery of the ancient church, the vaults of which they had prolonged into Maxim-gun shelters amid the tombstones.

The six German reserve companies from the Spahn Quarry reinforced the garrison in the vaults of the church and began an overlapping counter-attack upon the two French companies. No reinforcements could reach the little French force, as the German guns were then flinging a terrific curtain of shrapnel over the ground between the village and the Gendarme's Hat.

#### Peril at the Gendarme's Hat

The French captain was killed and his men extremely hard pressed, when one of the machines of the new aerial artillery swooped through the rain of hostile shrapnel, studied the position swiftly and accurately, and by dropping a smoke-shell on the ruined church rectified the fire of the French guns.

The two advanced companies fell back to a line of shell-



A CORNER OF A FRENCH FIELD ARMY KITCHEN.

Never before were armies so well fed as in the Great War, but the conditions under which the men's needs were supplied were by no means uniformly so comfortable as those represented in the above picture.

increase of power of the new trench-mortars employed by the Allies. In the closing scene the quick-firing mortars poured aerial torpedoes in extraordinary quantities into the German fire-trenches, blowing them in and choking the entrances to the deeper dug-outs. At the same time the light French field-guns destroyed the German wire entanglements, and then, on the three-mile front from Maricourt to Fargny Mill, the men of the Iron Division advanced to attack about seven o'clock on the morning of July 1st, 1916.

Infantry, Zouaves, and Chasseurs, forming the successive waves of the assault, had been packed overnight in departure saps dug in front of the firing-trenches during the great bombardment. These parallels of assault, as the new advance saps were called, were designed to save the customary loss of life incurred in climbing over the parapets of the first line under a storm of shrapnel and machine-gun bullets from the alert and desperate enemy. Owing partly to this precaution, but mainly to the terrific and



holes outside the village, made by their heavy guns, and waited according to orders. The victorious counter-attacking Germans at the time were only six yards away from the diminished French advance force. But a few seconds after the aerial infantryman had made his signal the French guns concentrated on the ruins of the village. The vaulted underground fortress was penetrated by huge projectiles, and the curtain fire from the hostile batteries was weakened by counter-firing, enabling French reinforcements to arrive.

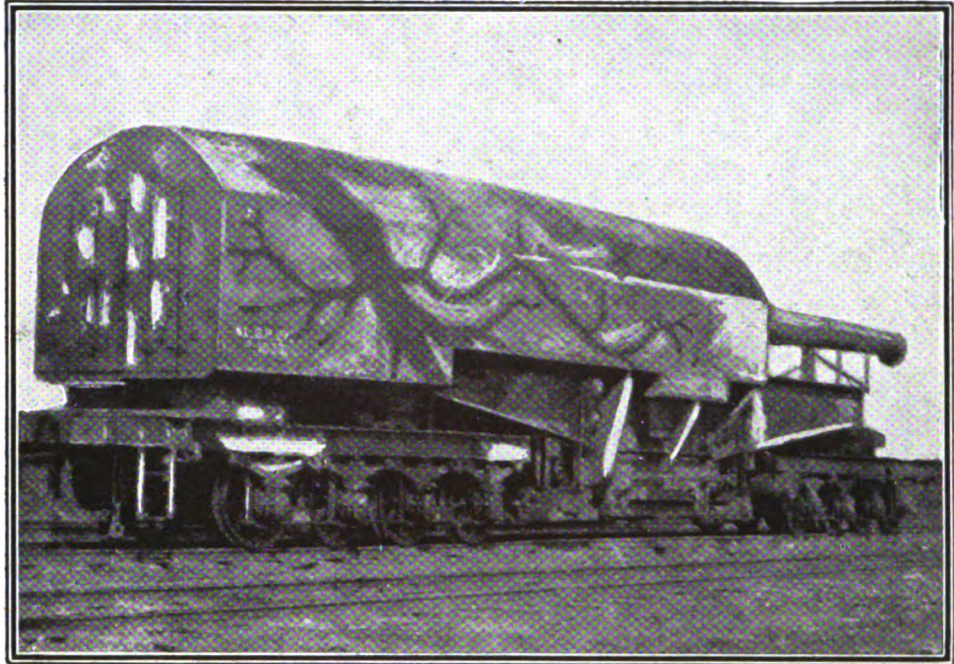
For half an hour the new tornado of shell poured upon the village, and also upon the quarry, and at half-past six in the afternoon the younger Ironsides again went forward and burst right through Curlu. What subterranean forts the heavy French shells had not destroyed they had choked, closing the entrance, blowing earth down the stairways and imprisoning the enemy machine-gun sections. The veterans of the division then came forward with machine-gun companies, and rapidly improvised a temporary system of defence. This was a work for which their experiences at Verdun fitted them, and though they only arrived at midnight they dug themselves in strongly at the end of two hours.

**French occupy Curlu**

All this time the distant German howitzers were bombarding the village their troops had lost; but the Frenchmen found certain vaults still uninjured beneath the church, cleared the entrances, installed their battalion commander beneath the sacristy of the vanished thirteenth-century Gothic building, and by means of patrols marked the ranges of the slopes leading to Rouge Farm.

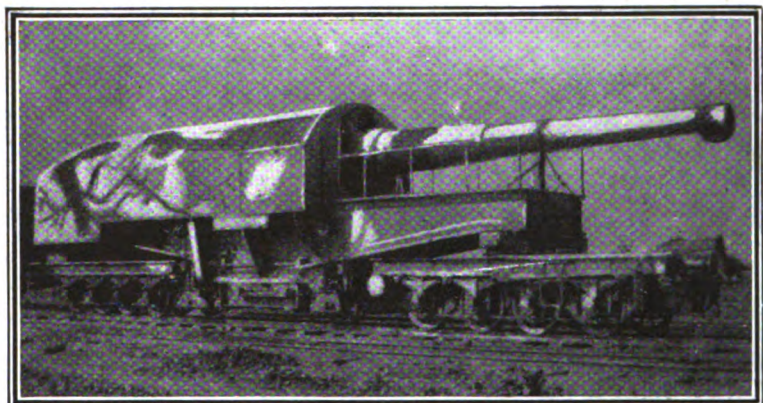
The veterans knew what was coming, and were prepared to meet it. At two o'clock in the morning of July 2nd a strong column of Bavarian Landwehr, which had collected at Hardecourt, swept down by the plateau on which stood the Rouge Farm. But all the tableland was abruptly illuminated by French star-shells and swept by a terrible curtain fire. Those Bavarians who got through the barrier were caught at short range by the machine-guns of the Ironsides, and though the German commander continued to push his men forward, every wave of attack was broken.

But after holding on to the village the Iron Division found itself unable to advance farther when day broke. As will be seen from the map on page 4, any advance eastward from Curlu was swept by frontal gun fire from Mont St. Quentin, and enfiladed northward from Hardecourt and the batteries around Combles. On the southern side of the river, Frise and Feuilleres, with numerous



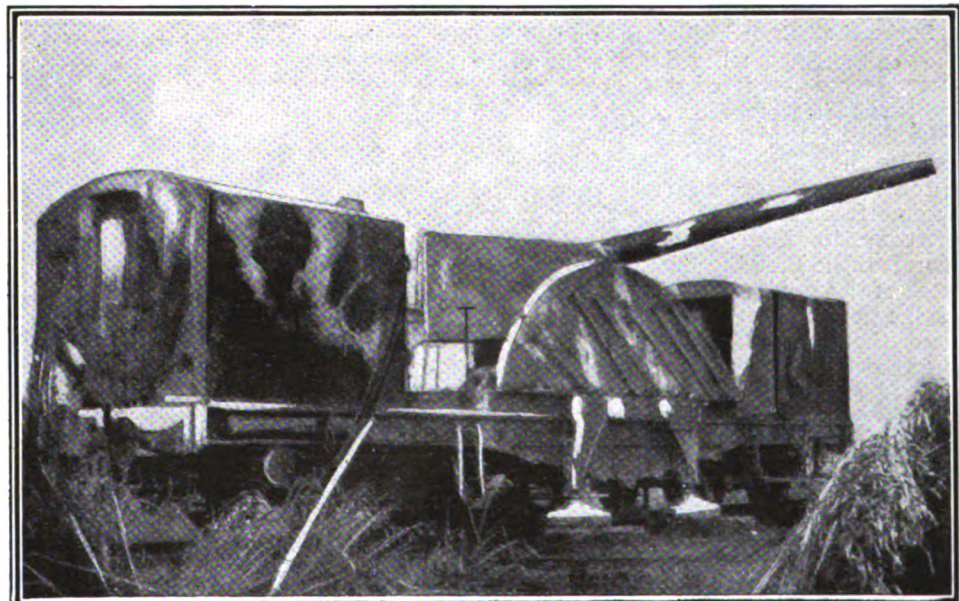
A JUGGERNAUT ON RAILS.

Giant machine of destruction on rails, covered with a hangar which was disguised by paint in such a way as to be rendered invisible to hostile aviators.



RAIL SPEED AND GUN POWER.

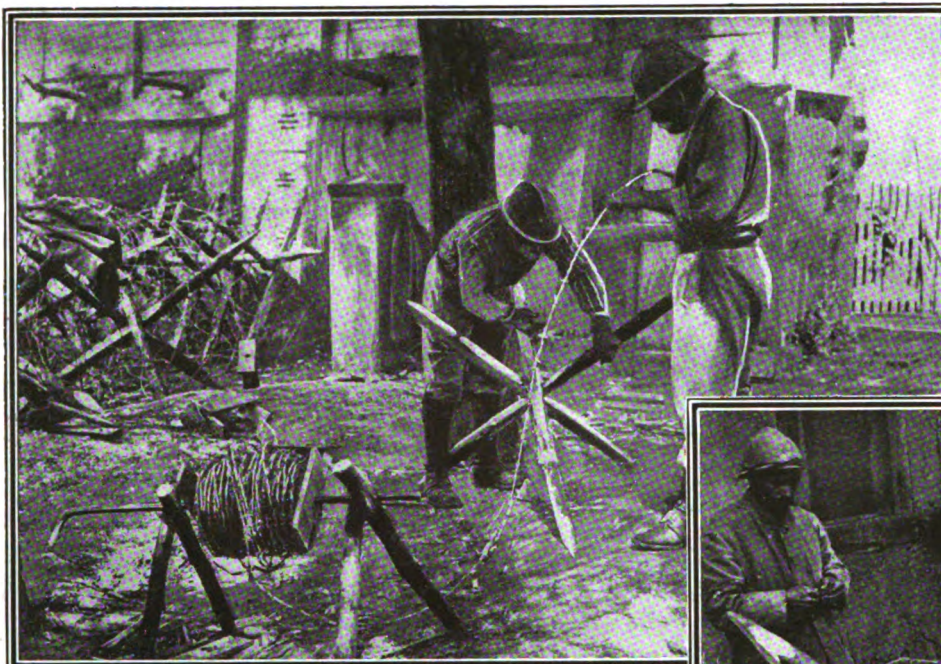
The proportions of the huge weapon can be gathered from this illustration.



SOMBRE MASS OF CLANKING STEEL.

A casual glance reveals what appear to be a succession of harmless cattle-trucks. The gun revolved on a pivot, thereby having a range of many miles on all points of the compass.





GUARDING AGAINST COUNTER-ATTACK.

Preparing a cheval-de-frise, an effective if primitive way of rapidly consolidating a captured trench on the Somme line.

machine-gun positions in the marshes, remained in the hands of the enemy, and enabled him to take in flank any French force advancing eastward. And there was another and larger disadvantage.

The original French line at Fargny Mill, by Curlu, had been more than five miles east of the British line at Fricourt. This was not due to any fault or weakness on the part of the British troops. They had merely taken over the position as the French had left it during the race to the sea, at which period the Germans, by reason of their stronger artillery, gained a wide dominating hilly salient between Albert and Arras. The great salient extended beyond the French position on the Somme, leaving only a small square of land by the river in the possession of the Allies.

This square of land was about five miles long, consequently the German guns could sweep it from both the east and from the north; and having conquered Curlu, the Iron Division had to endure a furious double bombardment from the east and from the north; it had to wait

#### Burden of attack on British

until the thrust of the British forces, which was made directly northward, relieved the pressure. In this connection, it must be remembered that the main burden of the attack fell upon the British army, which had to take about thirty square miles of fortress country before it could get into line with the French force north of the Somme.

Indeed, the French forces both north and south of the Somme formed the pivot of the allied attack, and had, therefore, to wheel through a smaller extent of country than had the British army. Of the two French forces, the work of the Iron Division was more arduous than the work of the Colonial division across the river. On the Péronne front the Germans were not only taken completely by surprise, but their position in the great loop of the river was naturally weak, as the wide, marshy valley around them made their communications difficult and hazardous.

North of the Somme, on the other hand, the Germans had a firm, manifold, and well-sheltered network of communications, backed by an intricate railway system and numerous well-placed and well-dug-in parks of artillery. Had the Iron Division attempted a swift thrust forward, such as the Colonial Division successfully made in the Péronne sector, the consequence would have been similar to that which befell certain British divisions at Serre and Thiepval. Caution was the essence of success north of the Somme,

and the crack troops of France, after taking Curlu in a rush, made no further move for three days. They burrowed in the ruins of the village, and with pick and shovel again excavated the ground, deepened the old German works, and bombed their way north-east, so as to extend their trenches on Rouge Farm plateau, and south-east, where they made parallels of assault towards Hem. The fortified chalk quarries, which the Germans had named Spahn Quarry and Eulenberg Quarry,



MORE EFFECTIVE THAN SOLID BARRICADES.

How the barbed-wire was wound round the three stakes from a coil French soldiers completing a cheval-de-frise.

were also approached by tunnel and sap. The period of waiting was filled in by a continual and intense artillery action, in which the French guns dominated all the hostile batteries and wrecked the German positions and communications. Counter-battery firing was developed with particular fury, with a view to beating down the German guns and lessening the storm of shell on the French infantry. By the evening of July 4th the French artillery north and south of the river had been brought well forward and again dominated the Péronne and Comblès area. In the night the heavy French guns lighted the darkness, pounding the second German line into shapelessness, lashing at the third German line to prevent supports moving, and sweeping every road and railway track within ten miles of the front. The British guns were carrying out the same work of destruction in the Bapaume area, so that the position of the enemy from Bapaume to Chaules was one of deep and perilous suspense. At three o'clock in the morning the young battalions of the Iron Division were again ready to attack. They waited in their saps while the great shells cleared the ground before them, levelled the houses, and pierced the caverns.

#### Work in the Bapaume area

At seven o'clock the morning mist lifted and the attack was launched. There was no struggle, and at half-past eight the enemy's new first line was quietly occupied. The principal conquests of the advance were at first estimated to be the great quarries of Spahn and Eulenberg. These immense holes in the chalk plateau, with their sheer sides, caverns, and underground communications, easily sheltered



a thousand men each. But the plunging fire of the monster French guns had wrecked the shelters and destroyed the troops, and the Ironsides conquered the vast holes with extraordinary ease. The aerial infantry of France, however, had seen reinforcements arriving at Hem from Cléry and Péronne. The French infantry, therefore, crouched in the shell-holes made for them by their guns, while the massed siege ordnance on both sides of the river was laid on Hem for an indescribable hour. The attacking infantrymen then resumed their walk and captured Hem and the plateau of Rouge Farm, with the Chapelle de Curlu by its south-eastern slope. By Rouge Farm the attacking troops from Curlu connected with the northern force advancing from Maricourt, so that the new French line became an imminent menace to Hardecourt, Maurepas, and Cléry.

The infantry had had a very light job in seizing the positions won by the artillery. In the quarries between Curlu and Hem, where the bitterest struggle had been expected, there was no fighting at all. The work of the advance was easier for the French in the first week of July, 1916, than it had been for the Germans in the last week of February, 1916. The Germans had talked about carrying out the attack entirely with artillery, and using infantry only to occupy the ground in front of the guns.

When the Iron Division arrived at Douaumont this scheme for winning great victories at little cost had proved impracticable. But now the Iron Division in turn began to show that

**Perfect French staff work**

the German idea could be reduced to practice. It was a matter of perfect Staff work and close, continuous communication between the advanced waves of infantry and the distant guns, miles in the rear. The French had eight or more distinct systems of connecting the infantry with the artillery, so that everything seen by the eyes of the infantrymen, in the foremost wave of an assault, was quickly made known, first to the gunners of the "75's," then to the gunners of the 6 in. howitzers, and after that to the men at the other pieces, till the crews of the land monitors delivering 15 in. and 16 in. shells from the light-railway system were reached.

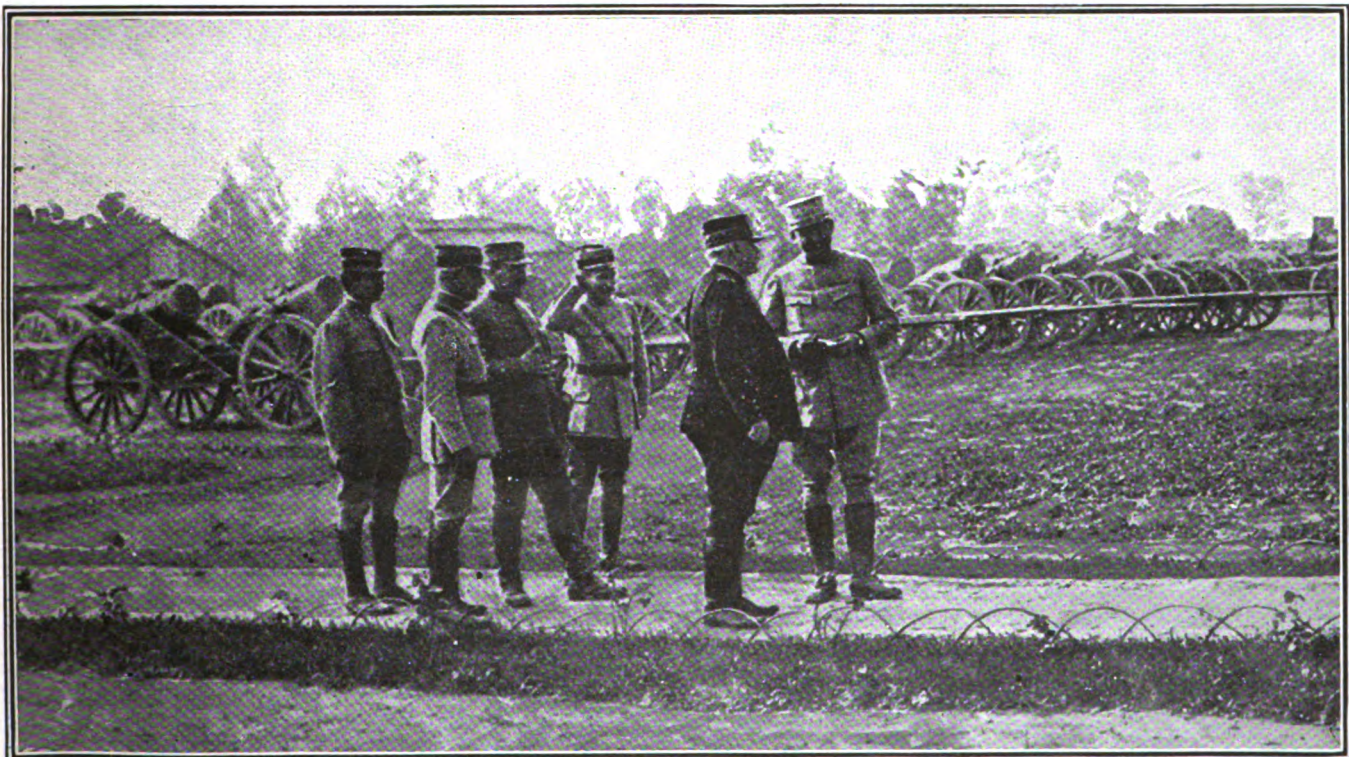
After the capture of Hem the Germans made a counter-

attack a few hours afterwards, which was blasted away by the French guns on either side of the river. The deadly ease with which these enemy assaults were repelled, before the Iron Division had had time to organise the ground it had won, was a telling illustration of the perfection of General Fayolle's Staff work. He only attacked positions he had already conquered. That is to say, he first won a victory with his two most prized weapons—the wheelbarrow and the heavy shell—bringing his guns forward by wheelbarrow and pickaxe work, and then stunning and burying the enemy with hundreds of thousands of heavy projectiles.

His infantry next went forward for half a mile, rested there while the field-guns advanced, and again went forward for half a mile still under the outer western fringe of his vast arc of gun fire. **Gun fire four miles deep** At least four miles of the ground in front of the most advanced French infantry force was always dominated by the massed fire of their artillery. No counter-attack, therefore, could be launched in force against the foremost French infantry division.

The French losses, which remained remarkably small, were caused by the German barrages of gun fire. The German infantry was the least important factor in the affair. In several actions in which it ought to have played a masterly rôle, the German infantry was demoralised by the preliminary bombardment, and fled when the French guns lifted and the French infantry advanced. Its flight was cowardly and foolish. If it had stayed, it could have surrendered, but by flying it ran into the curtain of heavy, high-explosive shell which was making a smoking ruin of the next German position. On both sides of the Somme this vain and senseless panic was equally noticeable. Zones of trenches, containing many uninjured thirty-foot underground shelters in the resistant chalk, were abandoned against the orders of German battalion and brigade commanders.

For the first time in the war the German infantry were subjected to a hurricane fire of heavy shell such as their gunners had used against the British troops at Ypres, the Russian troops on the Dunajec, and the French troops at



THE FRENCH GENERALISSIMO WITH HIS STAFF LOOKS INTO IMPORTANT DETAILS. General Joffre's heavy responsibility as Commander-in-Chief of the French Army included no less the simple duty of inspecting a gun park to see that all was in order than that of organising a plan of campaign involving thousands of men and the fate of nations.

B





TRENCH TORPEDOES BEING CARRIED UP TO THE FIRING-LINE.

Verdun. The weary Belgian troops on the Yser had probably been the first to feel the full weight of modern monster siege ordnance brought against field defences. From October, 1914, to July, 1916, the German armies had always employed heavier high-explosive shell and larger quantities of this heavy shell than their opponents. The allied troops had withstood the stunning shock of hurricane high-explosive fire with superhuman endurance. After the first racking effect of surprise had passed they finally had almost come to think that the struggle against the German war-machine was to be an ordeal in which there would be no relief from the enemy's overwhelming artillery power.

Apparently the German troops were of the same opinion. Even at Verdun their 16.5 in., 12 in. and 11 in. howitzers, and 15 in. guns had permanently dominated the battlefield, and the French, with guns of smaller calibre, had resisted by a skilful employment of their light field-guns and light machine-guns. They had never been able to make a counter-attack in grand style with a dominating force of heavy artillery. They had snatched small positions from the Germans instead of winning them by superior fire. On the Somme, for the first time in their military career, the German infantrymen were tested by the same ordeal as their gunners had imposed upon the allied infantry, and, although the Germans had abundance of native courage which was to serve them well when they had recovered from their consternation, they were disheartened by the terrible strokes delivered against them. Some German newspapers had indeed the childish

impudence to proclaim that it was inhuman for the Allies to employ heavier artillery than the Teuton had in position. "Le bombardement, ce n'est pas la guerre," as a French satirist translated the German complaint.

The French in these attacks noticed some signs of a decline in moral in the German troops. Subordinate battalion officers were quite as much affected as the men. The old non-commissioned officers showed most pluck and endurance. The company officers of the professional military class were also good, but there were not many of them. Those who survived the terrible process of attrition of the past two years had been promoted, and their place was supplied by the former one-year volunteers from the well-to-do middle classes, and these it was who did not resist successfully the strain of the first complete and co-ordinated allied offensive in the west since the Battle of the Marne.

The French Army was in much the same condition of cadres as the German Army. The personnel of the active corps had wasted away in the long war.

Most of the veterans of the rank and file **Marne and Somme** had arrived as reservists and drafts. **contrasted** Young officers on the active list had been

killed or disabled in very large proportions, owing to the French custom by which all officers, including brigadier, divisional, and army corps generals, charge at the head of their men, and are among the first to be brought down by hostile machine-guns and curtain fire. Democratic France, however, had maintained a strong and experienced framework of officers by promoting distinguished privates and men of non-commissioned rank. The French Army offered a career open to talent and character, as in the wars of the Revolution. In addition to the losses in battle, a large number of generals had been retired on a charge of incompetence, enabling colonels, majors, and captains of genius to rise even quicker than Napoleon's marshals had done.

The campaign on the Somme imposed a more severe test on the German proletariat than their tremendous sacrifices at Verdun. For the first time since the Battle of Ligny, in 1815, the Prussians were robbed of all initiative, compelled to stand in passive defence and beaten. The difference between the Battle of the Marne and the Battle of the Somme was of a telling character. On the Marne the Germans suffered a check like that at Verdun. The initiative of the attack had been theirs, but when their advance was checked they ably withdrew from a weak position and renewed their attack in a terrific running fight to the Yser. This brought them a large new gain of territory, and, despite their losses, the spirit of their troops remained high.

We have, therefore, to go far back to Ligny, in 1815, to find a parallel to the Franco-British successes north and south of the Somme. For the first time in its short but marvellous history the mighty modern military State created by the Prussians had lost its power of attack, had been thrown on the defensive, and had been unable to hold its intricate and magnificent system of fortification. The armies of Great Britain in the first weeks of July do not appear to have noticed any important signs of the failure of the German spirit. It may be that the presence of two divisions of the Prussian Guard in the sector attacked by British troops, and the checks to the British advance from Gommecourt to Thiepval, served to sustain the moral of the troops facing the British. But the German army farther to the south had no local successes in defence to balance or palliate its grave and general defeat. The German Staff had to reorganise it completely to check the sign of demoralisation.

General Fayolle was at first opposed by only four divisions, but at the end of ten weeks' fighting the Germans had at various times brought up against him nearly thirty-five divisions. Yet these thirty-five divisions—nominally over 500,000 infantrymen strong—were division after division overborne, outfought, and compelled to surrender their vast systems of fortification.





Over the top with the bayonet to win a few more yards of sacred France. Remarkable illustration taken at the moment of a charge.



Gallant handful of Poilus gallantly led by their officer towards the German lines. A photograph secured at great risk to the operator.  
**THE SPIRIT OF FRANCE AFTER THIRTY MONTHS OF ENDURANCE: A VIGOROUS CHARGE UNDER HEAVY FIRE.**





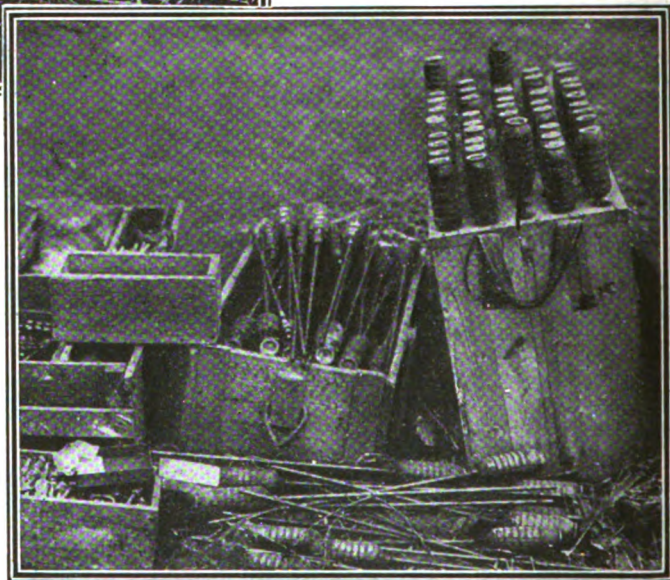
GERMAN "PIGEONS" BAGGED BY THE FRENCH.  
Small wing-bombs taken from the Germans during the Somme fighting.  
These bombs are called "pigeons" by the Poilus.

There was a long and misleading lull in the operations on the Somme, which was eagerly misrepresented by the Press agents of the German Government as a definite defeat of the Franco-British forces. On July 8th the Iron Division, which had remained almost motionless on its left at Maricourt, made a leap forward and got in line with the British army by storming the village of Hardecourt. The French brigade at Maricourt had stood upon the defensive for a week, while the advance proceeded on either side of it, because it had been expected that the first great enemy counter-attack would be launched at the connecting-point of the allied armies. This, no doubt, would have been done if the brigade at Maricourt had swung forward on July 1st with the rest of the allied forces of attack. But by holding back until the British troops neared Bois de Favière, and the French troops consolidated themselves in Curlu and Hem, the force at Maricourt, which had gradually extended over Rouge Farm plateau, was able to leap forward without imperilling the strength of the juncture of the allied armies.

French guns had been brought on Rouge Farm plateau to take Hardecourt on the southern flank, while the heavy French ordnance around Maricourt hammered the village from the east. With this terrific cross-fire to cover them, the light-blue soldiers bombed their way through Favière Wood alongside the khaki-clad fighting men of Great Britain, took five hundred prisoners, and then charged into the ruins of Hardecourt, and in a fierce little subterranean conflict occupied all the caverns and tunnels.

The storming of Hardecourt completed the first phase of the French operations north of the river. All the first zone of enemy works for a depth of a mile to a mile and a half was carried. But the second zone of defences was more formidable than the first, and needed enormous preparations in order to attack it with success and economy of life. It will be observed on the maps on pages 4 and 20 that a branch railway runs from Albert by Fricourt, Carnoy, Trônes Wood, and Guillemont to Combles. From Combles

the line bends curiously back to the rear of Hardecourt and the neighbourhood of Maurepas, and again turns by Hem to Cléry-sur-Somme and Péronne. This railway was named the Tortillard, or Twister, by the Allies. It ran in a series of wild zigzags, twisting oddly by the flank of hills and through woods, and each of its stations was a battle site. The Albert-Combles section of line, with stations at Bois de Bornefay and Guillemont, whence a branch line ran to Waterlot Farm, was a line of terrific attacks and counter-attacks. The section from Combles to Péronne, that fed the guns and machine-guns, mortars and hand-grenade dépôts at Falfemont Farm, Hardecourt, Maurepas, and Cléry, formed the objective of the Iron Division. In the second week of July it cut the line between Hardecourt and Maurepas and also broke it near the river at Monacu Farm.



BOMBS AND GRENADES CAPTURED ON THE SOMME.  
Vast quantities of German munitions of all kinds fell into the hands of the Allies during the advance that began in July, 1916.

Then for some time the French remained fairly quiet. They were waiting for their heavy guns to advance south of the river towards La Maissonnette and Biaches, and take the enemy forces around Combles in the flank. Canal monitors for operation against the German positions near the Somme Valley were also being launched and tested, and the effect of their sudden attack on the enemy's machine-gun positions in the marshes and his gun positions from Cléry to Mont St. Quentin was likely to be very valuable. But the main reason for the long delay in the French operations north of the river was to be found in the British position. The British army had, as we have seen, much the harder and more important task. It had to carry the high ridges rolling towards Bapaume before the shorter pivot line of the smaller co-operating French force could securely move forward. The enemy had collected the enormous force of sixty-nine new divisions against the armies of General Fayolle and Sir Douglas Haig.

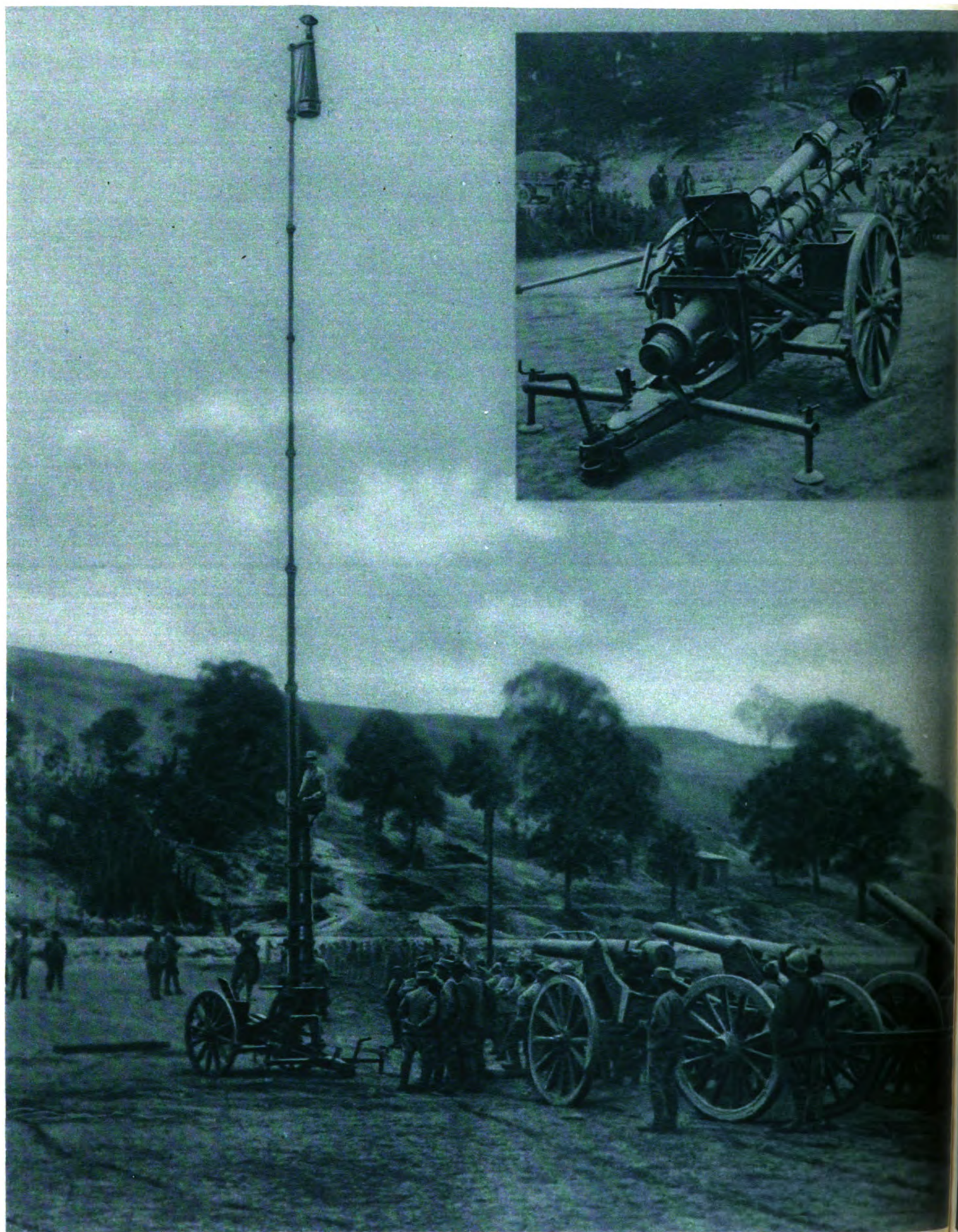
The German commander on the western front had





*On the Somme: French grenadiers bombing the enemy trenches near Maurepas.*





14 *Giant German periscope captured on the Somme. Inset: The instrument packed for transport.*





*Hoisting a 16 in. shell to the breech of a powerful French gun.*





*Fierce hand-to-hand fighting at Rancourt, the fall of which contributed to the Franco-British capture of Comblès.*



altogether one hundred and twenty-four divisions, deployed from the Belgian coast to the Swiss frontier. These divisions he continually shuffled from one sector to another, and in weeks when the conflict on the Somme was extremely furious he was known to have had the extraordinary number of twenty-six divisions moving from one position to another. Falkenhayn at the time was creating new formations for a possible campaign in Transylvania against the Rumanians, or a new offensive against Russia or France. German divisions were in some cases being reduced from twelve thousand bayonets to nine thousand bayonets; and new artillery and material were being collected for service with the new army. Battalion commanders in all those parts of the western front that were

**German strength on the Somme**

not liable to violent attack were often robbed of hundreds of their best men to provide the framework of some new formation. But before this new formation was equipped and organised a Franco-British movement on the Somme often caused the German troops to be diverted there.

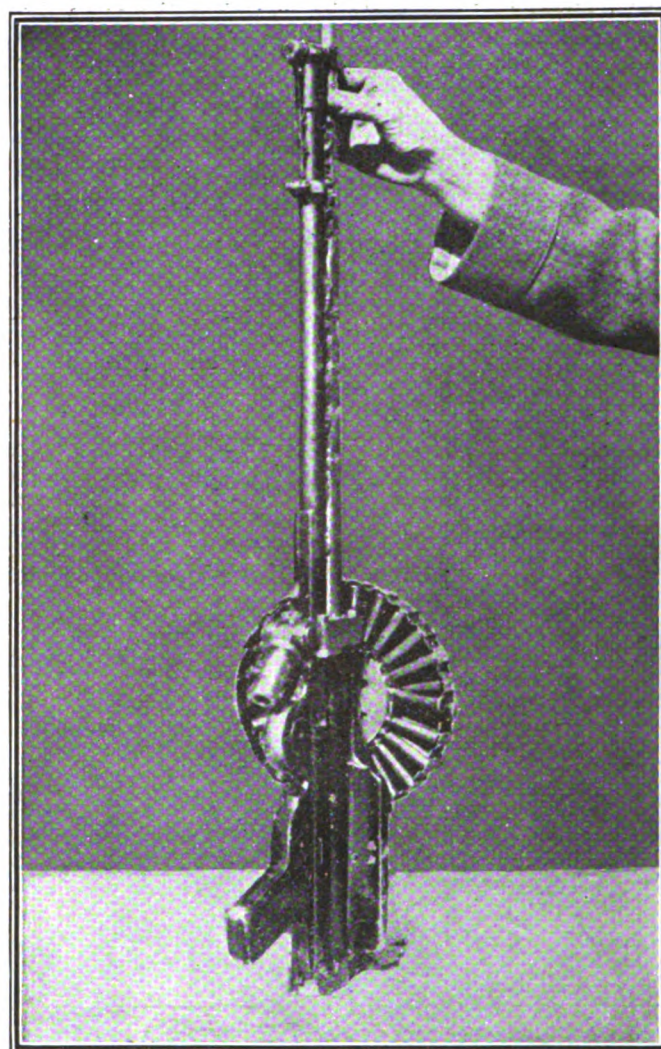
The general effect was that rather more than half the entire German forces in Belgium, France, Lorraine and Alsace were successively massed between Bapaume and Chaulnes on a winding front of little more than thirty miles. The Germans concentrated their guns in this small sector even as they concentrated their troops. The consequence was that the French and British commanders had always to be extremely careful not to advance beyond their immediately available strength. If they formed a weak salient at any point, the enemy would drive upon it in huge strength from two directions.

The small French force north of the river was particularly cautious, because it served as the joint in the allied operations. For nearly two weeks it merely worked at gradually clearing the ground in front of it, while the British forces were widening the line near Guillemont. Then, on July 20th, when the enemy had massed against the British forces in the Longueval salient, General Fayolle swung all his armies forward on both sides of the river, taking nearly 3,000 prisoners, sixty machine-guns, and three pieces of ordnance. The immediate aim of this move was to teach the enemy that he could not safely concentrate only against Sir Douglas Haig's forces.

The Germans, in fact, released their hold on Longueval and Delville Wood (Bois de Delville), whence they sent reinforcements to Maurepas and the vicinity of Hardecourt. But the northern French force still fought forward with surprising rapidity, and in three hours it accomplished the work for which an entire day had been allowed. It carried the positions between Hardecourt Hill and the Tortillard railway line, and annexed a considerable stretch of the enemy's position southward towards Cléry. The prisoners taken between Hardecourt and the Somme were more numerous than the total casualties, slight and severe, of the regiment that led the attack.

It might have cost but few men to have pushed through the German reinforcements hastily brought from Longueval, and to have reached the outskirts of Maurepas. The French commander, however, was satisfied with cutting the railway and with relieving the situation of the British forces northward. His new line already formed a slight salient, which the Germans outflanked from their Guillemont position. He therefore stood firm on his new line of approach to Combles, and waited for another ten days until Sir Douglas Haig had secured the whole of Delville Wood and Longueval. Then, on July 30th, the French again drove in along a four-mile line, running from Maurepas to Monacu Farm by the river. They penetrated the second German zone of fortification to a depth of half a mile in places, and reached the outskirts of Maurepas. Thereupon, the Germans swung a large fresh force against the new French line, recaptured Monacu Farm, again lost it, and fell back without making any change in the situation.

The general effect of these operations was that of all



TROPHY OF WAR THAT HURTLIED FROM THE CLOUDS.

German mitrailleuse which fell from an aeroplane into the French lines—presumptive evidence that the enemy aircraft was damaged.

alternate hammer-blows by the French and British. At first glance it would seem as though the result could have been obtained more quickly if the two blows had been delivered simultaneously. So it would, had there been any intention of rapidly breaking the enemy's front. But as this design had been abandoned from the start, and a gradual scientific process of grinding down the enemy's strength elaborated, the alternate hammer-strokes were strangely disconcerting to the enemy. He countered each blow at the outset by bringing up fresh divisions and keeping them in line until they were used up, and the ground they had recovered was lost. By this time the allied force engaged in the attack was almost as exhausted as the German forces it had conquered, and time was needed to relieve or reinforce it and bring up more munitions and improve the defences.

**Method of alternate blows**

But only a couple of miles away from this scene of temporary inaction and balanced thrust and counter-thrust a fresh and fully-organised French force abruptly delivered another smashing hammer-stroke, which compelled the German commander to divert all reinforcements southward. Then, when these reinforcements had exhausted themselves in vain counter-attacks, and stood badly in need of fresh troops and fresh supplies, the reorganised British forces a couple of miles northward again struck and broke the enemy's positions, thereby relieving the French at Maurepas and Hem from further counter-attack, and creating more anxieties for the German Staff

Fierce hand-to-hand fighting at Rancourt, the fall of which contributed to the Franco-British capture of Combles.



The alternate hammer-stroke was thus the more distracting and wearing method from the German point of view. All that Prince Rupert of Bavaria could do to relieve Stein or Below by counter-attacking on the British left flank

**Advantage with  
the Allies**

and the British Bapaume front was more than balanced by General Foch's southward thrusts from Barleux to Chaulnes. On both flanks of the Franco-British advancing salient there was a balance of forces with a residue of advantage on the side of the Allies. Nothing, therefore, could lighten the German position at Combles, at which the Franco-British hammered distractingly.

At the point of junction between the allied forces there was, moreover, a fine element of rivalry working in both the French and British troops. They were a mutual admiration society, and their admiration took the noble form of endeavouring to rise each to the height of the other's skill and heroism. New French army corps, coming for their spell of driving work through Bray towards Maurepas, after months of passive defensive toil at Verdun, were strangely cheered to find that they were at last deploying in a great advance alongside the home and oversea troops of the British Empire. All that the French peasant had been told he only half believed, but all that he saw with his own eyes became an imperishable memory in French life. The sight of cheering khaki lines going into action on the Frenchman's left flank roused him to his highest pitch of skill and steadiness. He wanted the "Englishman" to see with what masterly keenness the

veterans and youngsters of France were working towards a decisive victory. When relieved, he sometimes shared the sports of the British troops and, as a worthy comrade of Carpentier, succeeded at times in beating the Briton at his own games. All this made for a superb efficiency of combination in the attacks delivered from that junction-point of the two allied armies which might have been their principal point of comparative weakness.

As was explained in the previous chapter, General Fayolle's main force was at first employed south of the Somme in clearing the Péronne front and in pressing against the flank of the enemy from Barleux to Estrées. North of the Somme the French commander, with his chief, General Foch, had only a comparatively small force, that served as the pivot of the great British thrust towards Bapaume. The pivoting force could not with any security work forward beyond the line gained by the British army.

In the technical military phrase, the Franco-British operations on either side of the Somme were conducted in *échelons*. An *échelon*, in ordinary language, means the round of a ladder or a stepping-stone, but as a technical term it stands for a series of formations like the squares on the diagonal line of a chess-board. That is to say, the various armies or forces are not exactly behind each other but are placed diagonally in a succession of retreating sharp angles.

**Operations in  
échelons**

General Foch, the most brilliant of modern strategists, revived the use of *échelon* formations (which Frederick the

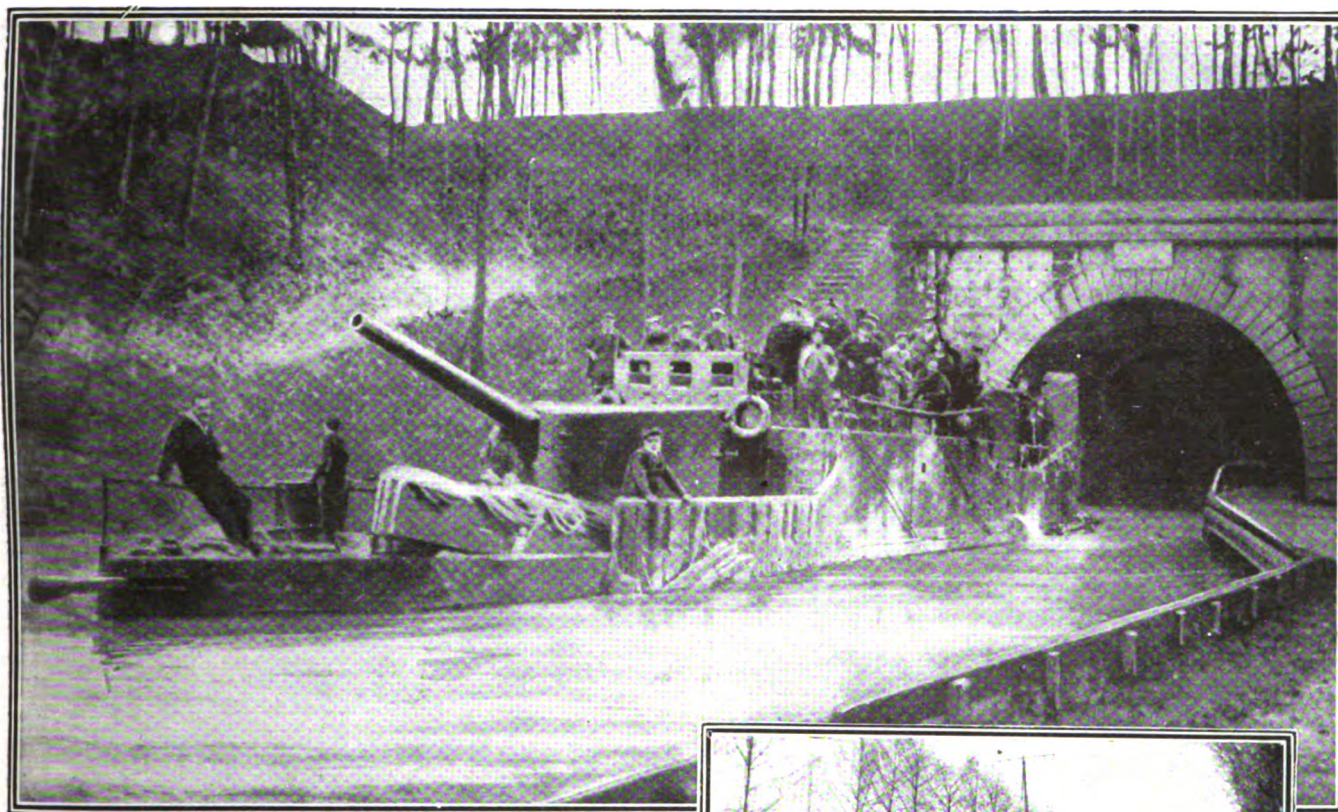


[French official photograph.]

**DEVASTATION WROUGHT BY THE GUNS IN INVADED FRANCE.**

View of a Somme village after the troops had gathered the ruins together. All the bricks from these shattered villages were taken to make and repair roads, and only the broken woodwork remained to mark the site of former happiness.





FRENCH CANAL MONITOR MOVING AGAINST THE ENEMY. Canal monitors were very effective in bombarding the German machine-gun positions in the marshes and his gun positions from Cléry to Mont St. Quentin.

Great had employed) in the Franco-British operations on the Somme, where he generally directed and co-ordinated the work of Sir Douglas Haig and General Fayolle. His advanced échelon extended south of the river to La Maisonnette, and outflanked, with its monster siege-guns, the German positions around Combles. Across the river was another French échelon, forming an acute angle with the La Maisonnette force, and thus exposing the Germans in the angle to attack on both sides.

Sir Douglas Haig had a small but powerful échelon running from a point near Maurepas northward towards Delville Wood. Above, on the Bazentin Ridge, he had his most advanced force placed so that it faced Delville on one side and Pozières on the other. Then

#### Facing Delville and Pozières

westward, from a point near Pozières to Thiepval, ran another British échelon, which completed the principal Franco-British battle formations. Every angle was precisely adjusted to the general scheme. No échelon moved forward until the Allied Staff had worked out the general result and had arranged and harmonised the adjustments that were to follow all along the line. Each angle was the scene of continual desperate fighting.

There were recessive angles, such as the French angle at Hem, in which the Germans occupied a narrow salient and desperately threw in division after division under conditions of disadvantage that led to the rapid wasting of their reserves. General Foch used the great moat of the Somme Valley in a masterly way to protect his most advanced échelons at La Maisonnette and render the enemy there almost impotent. On the other hand, the two main British angles of attack were not recessive but projecting. The enemy, therefore, could attack them in persistent and enormous force on both sides, the British troops being in each of these places in a narrow salient, with each base of the salient cut by a hostile curtain fire, making reinforcement and munitioning very difficult.

Thus the brunt of the fighting fell upon the British troops, yet until they straightened out their angle at Delville Wood and Guillemont the French échelon below them could not be advanced without making another and most perilous



BUSY TOW-PATH SCENE ALONG THE SOMME CANAL. The network of canals in the Somme Valley was fully utilised by the French for both transport barges and armed monitors.

angle right at the delicate junction-point of the French and British armies. The interplay of the attacking échelons was affected by numerous local factors, arising from the varying nature of the terrain, and particularly from the amount of dead ground which either side enjoyed. Ravines, for instance, were of priceless value, as the French had taught the Germans at Verdun. A deep and meandering ravine, with steep sides, was a position of the highest known strength if it were subtly and curiously fortified.

The first French échelon north of the Somme was immobilised for nearly two weeks by a ravine near Hem. On August 3rd the French infantry took the red buildings of Monacu Farm by the river east of Hem, was thrown out of the farm by a fierce counter-attack, and returned and reconquered the shapeless ruins. The French heavy guns on the high ground south of the valley made Monacu a death-trap to the Germans. But the hostile ravine running north of Hem and linking with the important enemy position on Hill 109 south of Maurepas was a grave obstacle. It ran through Hem Wood, and at the bottom of the gully was a well-made hollow road screened by almost sheer sides from sixty to seventy feet high. Northward, the Germans held a fortified chalk quarry, and on the western edge of the wood were steep slopes dotted with clumps of wood, and in these clumps were bomb-proof machine-gun posts. Two valleys—the Valley of the Ravine and the Valley of Riez—extended beyond the position and afforded further stretches of dead ground, in

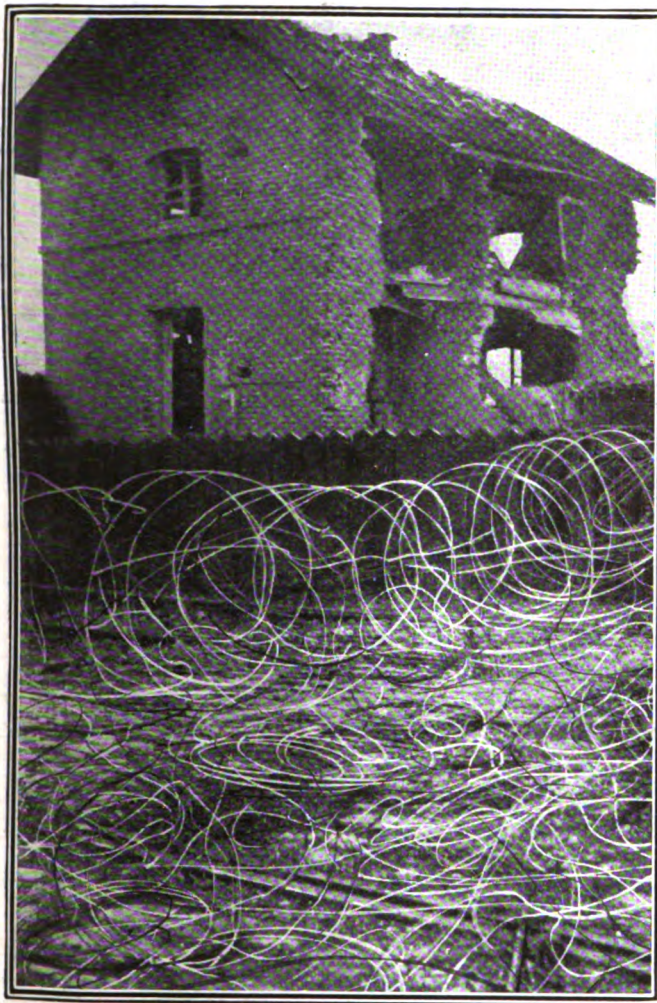
#### Death-trap at Monacu





LARGE-SCALE MAP OF THE FRENCH FRONT IN THE SOMME SECTOR.





AT BEAUMONT-HAMEL.  
House at the level-crossing at Beaumont-Hamel protected by barbed-wire.

which the Germans built modern barbicans in the form of machine-gun redoubts.

The dead ground could not be reached by any French shell. It was so screened by steep natural ramparts that no howitzer could pitch a shell that would fall plumb on the enemy's positions. In these circumstances the French commander was practically stalemated. His vast and elaborate machinery of war was useless, and, like the German commander at Verdun when General Pétain organised the ravines there, he had either to admit defeat or fall back upon primitive methods of attack by massed infantry against machine-guns and curtain fire.

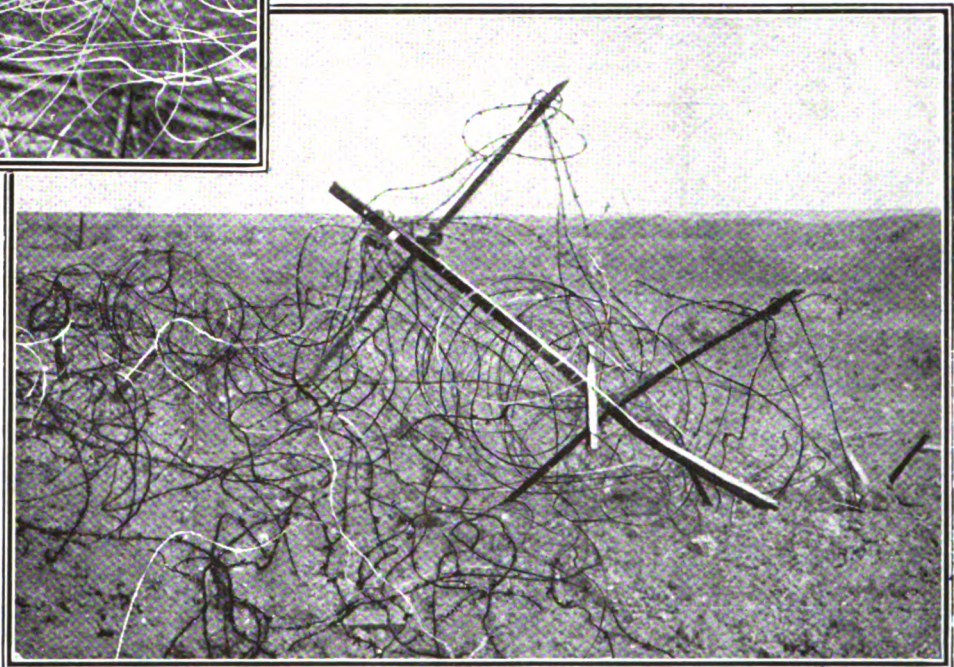
This method was adopted. But instead of trying to choke the German guns by a rush attack with a division or an army corps, the French general brought up, on August 9th, a single battalion of untried youngsters of the 1916 class. For two days there were skirmishing reconnaissances between patrols, during which the famous force of Chasseurs Alpins got into position on the tableland north of the great ravine. Then on August 11th the young battalion of the line west of the gully made a splendid charge into the quarry, captured the redoubts in the clumps of trees, descended the ravine from the north, taking the German positions there in the rear, and stormed

through the wood into the railway line on the way to Cléry. It was all done by sprinting, but sprinting of a highly disciplined and co-ordinated sort. When the battalion broke through the wood its work was finished, and it was due to retire so that a fresh battalion could continue the advance with the same surprising impetuosity. But the victorious young recruits had lost so lightly and were so confident that they received permission to go on. Advancing in the night by little rushes, they approached another wood, near the road running from Maurepas to Cléry. In the wood the Germans had a strong trench, with another series of western outworks, commanding the outlet from the Valley of the Ravine and the entrance to Riez Valley.

The French heavy artillery was directed by telephone to fire hundreds of big shells on the slopes leading to the inaccessible dead ground that could not be bombarded. The shells were so directed that they excavated a complete system of defensive craters in front of the two companies deployed for the attack. The companies then charged the German machine-gunners and the great trench in the wood. The light-blue figures covered the ground with the utmost rapidity, trying to get within grenade range of the German gunners before the latter could mow them down. The French on the left wing were caught by a rain of bullets and tumbled into their prepared shell-holes, a hundred and fifty yards from their objective, and began to dig forward. But the right wing was either luckier or quicker, and in a great bound it reached the face of the German fieldwork and pitched hand-bombs into it.

The French employed a type of hand-bomb which made

Charging the  
machine guns



EFFECT OF SHELL FIRE ON WIRE ENTANGLEMENTS.

German barbed-wire defences uprooted, broken, and twisted by the high-explosive shells poured on them prior to the advance of the French infantry on the Somme.

scarcely any noise when it exploded and threw no deadly fragments of steel. But it was most effective in clearing trenches and dug-outs, as it contained a gas which made any place in which it exploded uninhabitable. The contest lasted from the afternoon of August 12th until late in the night of August 13th. There were many glorious little episodes. Ten Frenchmen and a subaltern fought for twenty-four hours at a distance of six yards from a strong enemy post and, with practically no shelter themselves, kept the Germans helpless in their "funk-holes," where they were at last captured. Another young French officer, with more ardour than experience, leaped on the





*French official photograph.*

### FRENCH TROOPS IN ACTION ARRIVING AT VERDUNOVILLERS, AS SEEN FROM ABOVE BY A FRENCH AIRMAN.

This photograph was taken by a French airman flying at a low altitude. It shows the French troops passing through the trenches in the course of their successful attack on Verdunovillers, September 17th, 1916. General Fayolle had an entire fleet of photographic machines operating continually over the enemy's lines. Each piece of destruction wrought by the French guns was photographed immediately,

and the developed photograph was closely studied by Staff officers. If the picture was not satisfactory the observing machines went up again, followed by photographic machines. The gunners fired ranging shots and received messages from the observers, under whose direction they poured a fresh, intense fire on the points, when more photographs were taken for the use of the Staff.



parapet of an unconquered trench, was caught by a bullet that inflicted a scalp wound, and was thereby so angered that he snatched a rifle with fixed bayonet from his nearest man, leaped into the trench and, with his men blindly following him, cleared it out. As the attacking battalion was soon curtailed off by heavy hostile shell fire it ran the danger of exhausting its ammunition. But with its reserves sapping through the lines of shell-holes, communications were established and more grenades brought up, and in the night of August 13th the entire position was conquered by this single battalion.

At Verdun the Germans, on occasion, wasted several divisions in a vain attempt to conquer by rush attacks

**German waste and French economy**

a key-position in dead ground such as these thousand French recruits stormed at comparatively very light sacrifice of life. One of the chief reasons for our allies' successes of this kind was that their men advanced in very open order and with great rapidity, and yet remained not only steadfast and undaunted but in perfect control.

After the advance beyond the ravine and Riez Wood, and the sweep of the Chasseurs Alpins farther north, the way was cleared for an attack in force on the German line. The weather had been very hazy, making artillery observation difficult and checking the operations. But having used the mist to cover his infantry charges in the hand-to-hand fight with bombs above Hem, General Fayolle, when the air cleared, brought a terrific cross-fire from his heavy guns to bear upon the German front from Maurepas to the river. Along a line of four miles the French infantry went forward against the picked German troops that had been brought up to save the Bapaume-Combles front. A division of the Prussian Guard was arrayed against the junction-point of the allied armies, and the Brandenburg regiments were marshalled against the British force in the Guillemont angle, while well-trieved Bavarian forces held the southern plateau of Maurepas and Hill 109.

A most desperate struggle was expected against the Prussian Guard in the village, and the French infantrymen at this point were timed to reach their goal in a slow movement lasting twelve hours. They did their work, however, in thirty-five minutes, capturing the cemetery and the church, and beating back a succession of fierce counter-attacks delivered from the underground ways in the village. On the plateau south of Maurepas the

fighting was extremely fierce, as the Germans held on with fine valour and brought up fresh troops. The attacking regiment, however, had fewer than three hundred men killed and wounded during the conquest of four systems of trenches, all strengthened by redoubts and underground communications. Hill 109, with its terraced works, held by a Bavarian battalion, was stormed quickly and with little loss, as the heavy French guns had destroyed the main block-house and put out of action the larger part of the garrison. All the four-mile enemy front, with its difficult ravines and elaborated defences, was carried, to an average depth of half a mile, in eighty minutes.

The German commander vainly tried to recover Hill 109, which dominated all the French positions south of the river, by a violent counter-thrust from Cléry. His troops, hurriedly flung forward without proper preparation, were entirely wasted, being caught in a tremendous outburst of gun fire on the southern and western arcs of French guns. This badly-managed affair temporarily exhausted the enemy's means of reaction, and the victorious French force consolidated its new positions on Monday, August 14th. The next day the Colonial Corps, which had finished its work south of the river, where the Tenth French Army, under General Micheler, had taken over the line from Barleux to Estrées, came into action on the northern sector where the Ironsides and their comrades were entering on the hardest part of their work.

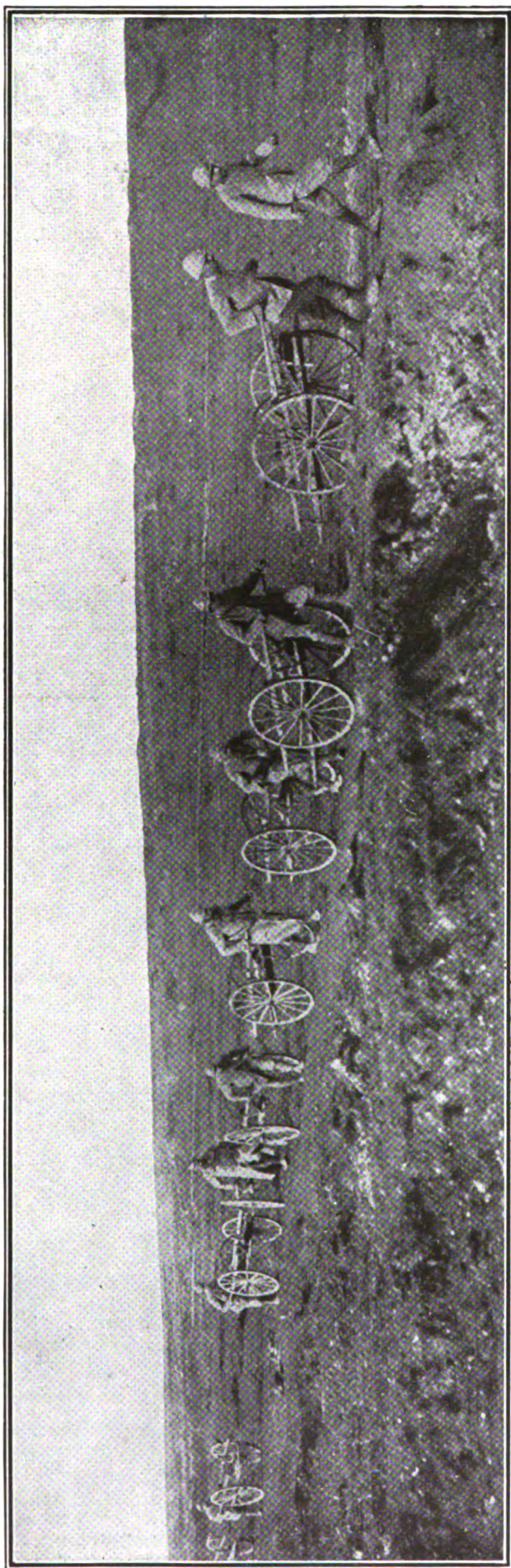
On August 15th the French guns again delivered an intense preparatory bombardment, lasting until the afternoon of August 16th. Then, in conjunction with the British attack on Guillemont, the French infantry of the line and the Colonial Corps again broke into the German front. The left wing of the advance did not make much progress, as the Prussian Guard fought desperately around Guillemont and Maurepas against the Allies. But the Guillemont-Maurepas road was reached at several points, bringing the French troops within a mile and a half of Combles. The right wing swung forward more rapidly, and penetrated, for a third of a mile, all the new German fieldworks between Maurepas and Cléry.

Maurepas itself was still not entirely conquered, as the Germans held two block-houses in the northern corner of the village, from which they had a line of communication with their new main position at Le Forest, which could not be reached by the French guns. Two-thirds of Maurepas



GENERAL BALFOURIER AND OTHER IMPORTANT FRENCH OFFICERS WATCHING THE PROGRESS OF ONE OF THE GREAT BATTLES IN THE SOMME SECTOR.





[French official photograph.]

OFF ON THEIR HEROIC MISSION: THE RED CROSS MOVING FORWARD TO THE FRONT LINE. Members of the French Red Cross drawing wheeled stretchers in the rear of an attack. Everywhere are signs of the all-destroying shell.

had been carried in the first assault, and only three French companies, under a major now famous throughout the Army, were sent forward to complete the conquest of the village. The enemy was entrenched in the cellars in the northern corner, and provided with machine-guns that had escaped the allied gun fire. The small French force dug itself in on a line fifty yards from the enemy, linking up the shell-holes that ran by the ruins of the houses. Soon the German guns began to rain down shells on the conquered part of the village, where the French troops only managed to construct one shallow trench after an hour and a half's work. The major saw that all his men would be wiped out by the hostile curtain fire if more cover was not at once obtained.

So he advanced his company another thirty yards towards the two uninjured German underground fortresses—an achievement that had to be accomplished under machine-gun fire and showers of grenades from the enemy. When the lines were thus approached the German gunners tried to shatter the new French position with shell fire, and drew their curtain of shrapnel and high explosive a little backward for the purpose. Happily, the Allies' mastery of the air was absolute in this area, and the hostile artillery, having no aerial observation, had to work only by the map. The result was that their own troops in the northern part of Maurepas began to send up green rockets, indicating that they were endangered by their own artillery.

The major and his men thus obtained protection from the German guns, and worked forward until at one place there was only a wall between the opposing forces, who lobbed grenades over the broken brick-work on each other's heads. The French found, however, that no decision could be won in this way, as the enemy was able to bring up constant reinforcements from Le Forest. In co-operation with their heavy artillery the major and his men suddenly fell back to a telephone-post, just short of the zone of the German curtain fire.

**Grenade work at close range**

The heavy French artillery hammered in a terrific manner the German corner of Maurepas. But though the storm of huge projectiles lasted some hours, no injury of importance was done to the German block-houses. They were on dead ground, which could only be reached, as in the former case of the ravine in the Hem sector, by a series of very large howitzer shells falling almost sheer from the sky. Expert as the French gunners were, not one of their shells directly penetrated the underground system of works held by the enemy.

When the major sent out his patrols the Germans hoisted their uninjured machine-guns from the deep caverns and opened fire in undiminished strength. The hostile riflemen could be seen standing, visible to the waist, in a trench on the left and assisting the machine-gunners to sweep the ground. The situation was extremely difficult for the major, for he had arranged with his headquarters that as soon as the preparatory bombardment ceased a fresh French force was to close on the enemy from the left to assist the frontal charge.

He saw that if his men did not immediately charge against the machine-guns the fresh force of French troops co-operating on the wing would be surprised by a murderous flanking fire. "It is always better to be killed oneself than to cause the death of one's comrades," said the major afterwards. "So we went forward and drew the enemy's fire." The heroic company ran from shell-hole to shell-hole, incurring heavy losses in saving their comrades on the wing. Arriving close to the German position they crouched in holes near the loopholed wall from which the enemy gunners were firing and waited there until nightfall. The darkness brought no opportunity for a rush attack, as the Germans maintained unceasingly a barrier of fire on the bare slope in front of their block-houses.



Nevertheless, the major was not brought to a standstill. Unperceived by the enemy, he withdrew all his men from the shell holes, and massed them on the left wing with the fresh troops, and then made an unexpected flank attack over ground where the Germans were not maintaining a curtain fire. The attacking troops went forward to the northernmost houses of Maurepas, yet here again they were brought up by a German machine-gun placed in a great iron tank that formed the water reservoir of the village. The tank seemed impregnable and its iron sides were proof against bullets. The major, however, had foreseen possible difficulties and had brought up a small .37 in. gun, and four of its little shells, fired at point-blank range, penetrated the iron reservoir, quickly putting the machine-gun section out of action, and enabled the major to surround the village and kill or capture all its garrison.

The struggle in Maurepas did not end until August 24th, and while it was going on General Fayolle assisted his troops in the village and the British and French forces around Guillemont by throwing fresh forces between Maurepas and Guillemont. They stormed a wood south of the latter village and captured eight guns there on August 21st. Southward by the river another French force entered the outskirts of Cléry, after breaking a great counter-attack by the Prussian Guard and the Bavarian and Saxon Corps working with the Guardsmen. On August 24th, when the conquest of Maurepas was completed by the surprise attack from the north, the main French force advanced to Hill 121, south-east of the village on the line of advance towards Le Forest. Again the Germans violently reacted, and on August 25th, made a furious attempt to recover Hill 121 and re-enter Maurepas. But the Prussian Guardsmen were shattered by the French machine-guns and hemmed in on their rear by the barrier fire of heavy French howitzers. Thousands of them could neither retire nor attack, and after vain forward rushes and futile attempts at retreat a remnant of some six hundred dropped their rifles, lifted their hands and surrendered. This incident was a terrible example of the science underlying the slow progress of the Sixth French Army. When that army occupied an important enemy position such as Hill 121, the Germans were left no opportunity of successfully counter-attacking in force. All the approaches were dominated by the French guns some days before the French infantry went forward. Here and there a ravine or tunnel allowed the enemy to make a struggle for a trench with bombs and machine-guns. But no main operations could be conducted with success against the two great advancing arcs of allied artillery.

There was a pause of ten days by General Fayolle's army after the conquest of the Maurepas line. The British army was also strangely quiescent during this period, beating off counter-attacks by the enemy and making small improvements in its front by means of bomb attacks. German newspapers reported that the Allies had been fought to a standstill. As a matter of fact, the apparent stagnation on the Somme veiled an unparalleled amount of preparation. The French losses in life, wear in armament, and expenditure of shell since July 1st had been less than was anticipated.



A BREAKAGE IN THE GERMAN LINE.

General Fayolle inspecting with soldierly satisfaction the destruction of German trenches on the Somme, the work of efficient artillery concentration.

[French official photograph.]

Instead of France being enfeebled by her magnificent part in the offensive, she was bringing into action another army as large as that of General Fayolle, and supported by as many heavy guns and as great quantities of shell as the Sixth French Army was using. French munition supply was increasing like that of the British, so that another great French attacking force, the Tenth Army under General Micheler, was able to come into action from the south of the Somme to Roye.

This was the reason for the phase of inaction north of the river. General Foch's design was that Sir Douglas Haig and General Fayolle should renew their combined advance between Cléry and Pozières and press it fiercely for a day or two, in order to attract all the floating German reserves on the western front. These reserves were known to be at the time small and fluctuating, consisting of detachments collected from quiet sectors of the front. And as General von Falkenhayn was creating new formations by reducing his divisions, and was extremely sparing of the new guns needed to replace worn-out weapons, the prospects of the new French army seemed favourable.

The design of the French and British Staffs was to compel Falkenhayn and his successor to spend more men, more guns, and more shell north and south of the Somme, and thus facilitate the work of the Russian armies and the action which Rumania was preparing. But the German forces in the western theatre of war had first to be extended almost to breaking point in order to interfere with Falkenhayn's creations of new formations and complicate all the problems he had left to Hindenburg.

On Sunday, September 3rd, 1916, General Micheler was ready to strike. General Fayolle and Sir Douglas Haig, whose guns had been thundering uninterruptedly for days, opened the second phase of the allied offensive on a front of about thirty miles, from Thiepval in the north to Chilly in the south. Of this longer line the British forces, which had hitherto carried the main burden of the attack, were responsible for a short third. The other two-thirds were entrusted to two of the incomparable French armies which had endured the long and terrible conflict at Verdun.

Extraordinary method was the secret of France's disconcerting vitality. She was employing in attack more



skill in saving the lives of her men than she had shown in her superb defence of Verdun. And as her officers had had three months of experience in the new tactics of economical assault, General Foch was able, by reason of the acceleration in French and British munition making,

**General Foch** to engage another great French army in the vast offensive movement, with the assured confidence that he would waste the enemy's man-power and submit him to continually increasing strain without nearing the point of exhaustion of French manhood.

In conjunction with the British attack on Guillemont and Ginchy the French forces north of the Somme advanced the whole of their line from Le Forest to Cléry. North of Le Forest the enemy's positions were stormed to the outskirts of Combles. The village of Le Forest, lying on a hill five hundred feet high, was a very important artillery position, and some fourteen German guns were captured about it. Here one French subaltern with a platoon went too far in advance and was surrounded by about five hundred Germans. The young officer charged with his handful of men, and the Germans, shaken by the terrific bombardment, fled and left forty prisoners and the most important position on the Somme. Through the unexpected gap thus opened the Sixth French Army advanced nearly a mile beyond Le Forest and half-way to Rancourt.

The German commander hurried up more men on Sunday evening and launched a heavy counter-attack against his lost position south of Le Forest. Again the French siege-guns, directed by airmen and officers on the ground with wireless instruments and telephones, caught the counter-attacking force in a great blanket of shrapnel and high-explosive, and left the French infantry scarcely any work to do, except to go on with the work of building up cover in the shattered German lines.

All Sunday night the struggle went on, and while the Germans were trying to batter in the new British northern salient at Ginchy the men of the Sixth French Army

did all they could to relieve the pressure upon their British comrades by furiously pressing the advantage they had won between Le Forest and Rancourt. The French gunners watered the ground immediately in front of their infantry with a broad and intense band of mingled shrapnel and high explosive, and when Hospital Farm and the redoubts west of Marrières Wood were reduced to chaos by the monster French shells the French patrols advanced and signalled to their main forces that no resistance was to be expected. In this cautious and overwhelming way the extraordinary progress of the Sixth French Army continued until September 6th, when the edge of Andernu Wood, all Rainette Wood, and part of Marrières Wood were added to the list of French conquests.

More than three thousand prisoners were taken and a total of thirty-two guns, including twenty-four of heavy calibre. Large stocks of 6 in. shells, numerous machine-guns, and some trench-mortars were amongst the booty, together with an observation balloon employed by the Germans in the rear of their lines, where they had fancied they were secure. The speed and vehemence of the accelerated French movement had, it was clear, taken the enemy commander completely by surprise. The victory of Le Forest was especially significant in that it was won against the finest division of the Prussian Guard, with the German Emperor's son, Prince Eitel Friedrich, at its head, these Guardsmen being supported by picked divisions of other German troops.

At Maurepas the French soldiers had met Prince Eitel's Guardsmen in fine style. The Prussians were out-manceuvred and defeated, but though their noble officers did not display any striking skill, the men fought with indomitable stubbornness, and not until they were disabled or killed did the victorious French battalion make any progress. Scarcely any prisoners, except wounded men, were taken at Maurepas. Every Prussian there seems to have sworn to fight to the death, and fulfilled his oath. The French battalion that obliterated a regiment of Prince

#### Decline of the Prussian Guard



[French official photograph.]

FRENCH ARTILLERY CONCENTRATING IN READINESS FOR A BOMBARDMENT OF THE GERMAN POSITIONS ON THE SOMME. Under cover of a wood, some miles behind the line, batteries of artillery are about to take up new positions. The excellent condition of the horses, which were mainly used to transport these light weapons, will be noted.





CANNON CAPTURED FROM THE GERMANS DURING A BIG BATTLE IN PICARDY.

In the summer and autumn of 1916 the German losses in guns were so heavy that special Army Orders were issued deploring negligence on the part of soldiers, and warning them that a great supply of metal could no longer be guaranteed by the Government.

Eitel's division in these circumstances did splendid work. Despite this defeat at Maurepas the best division of the Prussian Guard saved its honour in the struggle.

But it was otherwise in the struggle about Le Forest some twelve days later. In the course of the war the Prussian Guard had several times been defeated and broken, but it had never been dishonoured. At the Marne and at Ypres it charged to its doom, as steadily as it did at St. Privat, in 1870. Some of its divisions had been re-made, owing to its great losses, but the old traditions of intrepidity had survived. We can, however, trace the decline of these traditions in the battle that raged in the first week of September, 1916, in the woods and farmsteads between Le Forest and Rancourt. Definite evidence of some demoralisation in the Prussian Guard is found in the following diary discovered on the field of battle:

Nesle, August 22nd, 1916.

To-day at two o'clock in the morning we were relieved in our new position by the 30th Regiment of Infantry. We had been immediately told, at the moment we occupied it, that we should not remain long in this position. We remained there exactly fourteen days. All the division was relieved. Marching for three hours, we have arrived a mile and a half in the rear of Nesle. We put up our tents in a wheat field, and got a hot meal and slept under canvas. How long will our rest last? The devil alone knows. Where shall we be sent to next? Who can tell? But we must hope that the war will not last for eternity. God! If only all this beastliness would come to a quick end. But it is easier to get sense into an ass than into mankind. As for myself I am going to do my best to get safe and sound out of all this madness. Our condition of mind is actually the following, though our leaders don't suspect it: Every man is planning and seeking some way of getting out of the mess.

From a diary  
of discontent

Every possible means is considered. We are led like a flock of sheep, and treated either like children or like criminals. Oh, how I hate it all! Words fail me to describe what I feel. We have not had much rest to-day. Polishing ourselves up and other foolery of the same kind. We got some preserved beans and a bottle of mineral water, which we had no right to take.

August 23rd, 1916.

Yesterday night I laid down in the open, but I could not sleep until midnight. The vermin and the flies kept me awake. When I got up this morning at eight o'clock I felt absolutely done up.

Ah, God, when shall I be able to sleep in a bed? But, after all, everything is indifferent to us except peace. If only all those whose mouths are always filled with talk about victory could lead this fight for life for a fortnight, peace would soon be made. For there's nothing more convincing than solid facts. Decidedly this war will not end. It is enough to drive a man mad. Everybody wants to get wounded, just enough to allow him to go home. Nobody wants to distinguish himself. That is the real truth of the matter. All the newspaper wordiness is only humbug. We "heroes" are men who act under constraint and force, and in sheer despair, because we cannot do anything else. Maybe what leads us on most is the hope of getting out of it with a slight wound. Yet that is no good, for we are obliged to come back. At the present moment the food is decent. We call it "offensive fodder." The only thing that makes me keep up is that there are so many men with children among us, and they have far more cares than I have.

Acting under  
constraint

Lieremont, August 28th.

I have been again in the infirmary. The heat has increased. Would to God I could become really ill and get out of this beastliness! We are little more than six miles north-east of Péronne. We have just done eight hours' work. In the evening a French airman dropped a proclamation in German. "German soldiers! Rumania, the ally of the Central Empires, has just declared war on Austria-Hungary." If this is true it will hasten the end of the war.

August 31st.

This evening we left Lieremont in full kit, and made our way to the reserve position at Rancourt. We arrived completely done up after forty-five and a half hours' marching. Several times we took the wrong road. The fact is, our officers are regular donkeys. We left several men on the way, who only rejoined us this morning.

Rancourt, September 1st.

We are in a cellar; nineteen of us in so narrow a space that we cannot stretch our legs. And it is full of flies. To-night we have to eat from the field kitchen, and somewhere on the road, and we shall have three days' rations to live on until we are relieved. By day we must not show ourselves because of the airmen. I forgot to say that on August 30th Communion services were held for men of both religions. My comrade and myself did not go. I have lost my faith in this mass butchery. I cannot see the thing otherwise. Any man who retains all his faculties is compelled to lose his faith in such an age as ours where the happiness of millions of men is delivered over to the devil. It is absolutely inconceivable.

Rancourt, September 2nd.

The news is confirmed that Rumania has declared war upon us. Ah, God, if a man could only find some way out of this chaos! No one knows for what reason and for what aim we have made



war. How much longer will this terror last? I get giddy when I think of it. And you, my dear parents, you must be dying of worry and anguish! Oh, my poor mother, if only I could hold you in my arms!

Rancourt, September 4th.

Yesterday, Sunday, all our 1st Battalion, with the commander and all the officers and men—the complete battalion—was captured by the French in front of Maurepas. It seems the French have advanced a mile and a half. A hair's-breadth more and I should have been captured with them. Our proud 1st Franz Battalion has knocked under. I give up trying to describe the impression it made upon us. All my friends, all my comrades, are lost to me, and more than ever I have the feeling of being abandoned to my fate. My comrade has had a good wound.

#### Hopeless conditions

The lucky devil has gone back to Germany. The lucky devil! Our company actually consists of one lieutenant, two sergeants, two corporals, and thirty-four men instead of one hundred and ninety-eight it had before. All four companies of the battalion are in the same condition. Everything is done for. For the moment we are in a wood under canvas.

Rancourt, September 6th.

We slept at night in the rain. Very hard. At midnight we set out, and we were as dirty as pigs when we reached this nest of vermin and flies—Rancourt. In the cellars it was just a dunghill that we had for quarters. We have neither time nor means of cleaning ourselves. It is an utter dog's life, and I am astonished we can remain alive in such conditions. If you only knew what I feel. Disgust is nothing to it. We envy the lucky beggars who have been taken prisoners, or have been slightly wounded and so got out of it.

September 7th.

Yesterday at eleven o'clock, we left for this place, the rest of the 1st Battalion, to take up the position. On reaching the third-line trench we lost our way. I was not alone this time. Two groups of ten men were in the same case. As by magic our officers disappeared from the surface of the earth. So again we were left alone. We wandered for some hours in this labyrinth, stumbling from one shell-hole into another, and at last we decided to return to Rancourt. We went back there and got into the cellar we had occupied before and slept till the next day. At ten o'clock we got up, ate and drank all we carried, and set out to find the regimental Staff."

Here the diary ends, as the Zouaves of France came up with bomb and bayonet. It will be seen that it was the crack 1st Battalion that suddenly surrendered. Then a remnant of it, having been abandoned by its officers, ran away from the position it had been ordered to hold, with the result that two regiments of Zouaves drove for some miles through the German lines and reached Boucha-

vesnes. Since the days of Frederick the Great the Prussian Guard had been the model of all soldiers of the world. At worst, as in that great catchword of the days of Napoleon, it had known how to die. Now it was not only beaten, which is an accident that may happen to any corps through the fault of the higher command, but it was reduced to despair.

Battered by the new British armies at Contalmaison, outfought by the Australians at Pozières, and hammered by the French infantry of the line and Zouaves at Le Forest and Rancourt, the remnants of the three divisions of the Prussian Guard had to be withdrawn from the field. Their officers, picked from the best fighting men of the old Prussian nobility, hid in dug-outs, and left their men to do whatever they liked, which was either to break and fly for shelter to the rear or to give themselves up at the first opportunity.

The mechanism of the German war-machine was still very strong after the Franco-British offensive had proceeded with grim irregularity on the Somme for three months. Krupps were accelerating their output by getting their large new works in Bavaria into productive order. The German Flying Corps, which had shown such marked inferiority throughout the campaign, was being provided with a large number of improved machines. The amount of heavy shell fired by the enemy was increasing, and the task before the Allies still remained arduous and long. But there were clear and manifold signs that the spirit of the best Prussian troops—Guardsmen, Brandenburgers, and others—was no longer what it had been. Some Bavarians had begun to revolt at Verdun, when the process of mass butchery, to which the diarist Guardsman refers, was only in its opening stage. At Verdun the Prussian troops had held on loyally and stubbornly, had surrounded the mutinous Bavarians, and had been not merely ready but eager to shoot them down. But now the finest of the Prussians were losing faith in their leaders and hope in the future. Unfortunately, events in the East were to restore German confidence and undo much of the work done so painfully on the Somme.

#### German demoralisation



FRENCH GUNNERS HOLDING THEIR EARS AGAINST THE BARK OF A HUGE NAVAL GUN.





## THE GREAT BRITISH BATTLES OF THE SOMME.

### I.—The Holding Battles on the Ancre.

By Edward Wright.

Somme Operations Resemble Siege of Sebastopol—United States Army Takes Four Years to Travel Eight Miles to Richmond—Gigantic Trial of Strength Upon a Fortified Line—Superior Franco-British Man-Power Balanced by Germany's Production of Steel—Convict Machine-Gunners Work their Sentences Out in the Field—Why the Germans were Confident they Could Resist—Their Unparalleled System of Fortification and Improved Machine-Gun Defence—British Difficulties in Handling Siege Ordnance—New Armies Go Into Battle to Learn How to Fight—Germans Break Canadian Line at Ypres to Prevent Allied Offensive—Fine Recovery by Canadians Saves the Situation—Great British Bombardment on Ninety-Mile Front—Sir Douglas Haig Misleads the Enemy and Induces him to Weaken his Somme Defences—Extraordinary Gallantry of Midlanders at Gommecourt—London Territorials Break into Enemy's Line but are Cut Off by the German Guns—Heroic Charge of British Troops at Serre—German Gunners Annihilate their Own Infantry—Not One Straggler in the British Army—Terrific Struggle around Beaumont-Hamel—Immortal Achievement by Ulster Division—Glorious Tragedy of the Ancre Brook—Englishmen and Newfoundlanders Charge to the Death—Thiepval Rushed and Lost.

**W**E have seen in the previous chapter that General Foch and Sir Douglas Haig planned their combined operations on the Somme according to old-fashioned methods of siege warfare. That is to say, instead of attempting in an abrupt, decisive way to pierce the enemy lines, they intended gradually to master one by one the zones of hostile works. We must, therefore, remember when reading the story of the Somme that the allied operations more closely resemble the Franco-British campaign against Sebastopol than any modern battle except Verdun.

When the French and British armies laid siege to Sebastopol they were for a long time unable to envelop the great arsenal on the Black Sea. The defending Russian forces remained in complete communication with the interior of Russia, and were able to bring up troops for the defence outnumbering the troops that were attacking. Hence the progress of the Allies seemed exceedingly slow, and for nearly a year the ground gained at heavy cost of life could be measured on the ordinary map only with a microscope. Pessimistic Frenchmen and Britons were able

to calculate that, at the rate of time occupied in winning the Mamelon, centuries would elapse before the Franco-British forces reached Moscow.

But, in fact, the struggle in the Crimea was not an ordinary siege. It was a prolonged trial of strength between the Russian Empire and the French and British Empires. And when at last the sustained pressure of the Allies forced the Russians out of a few miles of powerfully-fortified lines, the Tsar asked for terms of peace, though he had scarcely lost any territory. Vast as were his resources in manpower, he found that the great siege operations had decided the ultimate issue.

Therefore, we must not measure the Franco-British advance between the Ancre and the Somme on a large map. In addition to the parallel of the Crimean War we might bear in mind also one of the opening incidents of the American Civil War, when the United States Army moved upon the Confederate capital of Richmond. The Federal troops reached a signpost reading, "Eight miles to Richmond." A satirical Confederate had altered the legend to "Only eight miles to Richmond." It took the



THE BRITISH COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.  
Wherever Sir Douglas Haig was seen during the Somme battles his air of cheerful confidence was noted.





[Canadian official photograph.]

## PICTURING THE WAR.

Canadian official photographers collecting film records while artillery observers are watching the fall of shells on the German trenches.

Federal armies of over a million men nearly four years to travel those eight miles. There were times when it seemed that Richmond would never be reached by a victorious Federal army. But when the break at last occurred, it was as decisive as the sudden movement of violence which a winning Japanese wrestler makes, after being engaged for hours in an apparently motionless struggle with an opponent. When the Confederate lines broke, more than the eight miles of fortified ground in front of Richmond were lost. The manhood of the Southern States was destroyed or disabled, and all the treasure, food, and power in those States exhausted.

**American Civil War  
precedent**

The campaign on the Ancre and the Somme was a gigantic trial of strength, upon a fortified line, between the British Empire and France and her colonies on the one side, and some two-thirds of the military and warlike industrial forces of Germany on the other side. Except for a comparatively small diversion of the French strength to Salonika, and some more serious distractions of effort on the part of the British Empire in Egypt, Salonika, Mesopotamia, and East Africa, the entire military forces of France and her colonies and the British Empire, with troops from Belgium, were arrayed against a large part of the land forces of Germany. For, from Riga to the Bukovina, Russia not only held the Germans on the German sectors of the eastern front, but inflicted such defeats on the main Austro-Hungarian armies as compelled the Germans to reinforce heavily their tottering allies.

In these circumstances the combined French and British man-power was considerably superior to the available German man-power. But this superiority in men did not of itself promise victory. Germany was still ahead of the Allies in the production of steel. The incomparable achievements of the German steel-makers rank among the dominating features of the war. With some help from the Austrians they had to work against Great Britain, France, Russia, Canada, Japan, and the United States. Yet, despite this enormous rivalry, the Teutonic steel-makers succeeded in producing more steel than their military and naval authorities wanted. German steel was so superabundant during the crisis of the war that it was used on railways for sleepers, in order to save that wealth in German forests with which German merchants intended

to monopolise various important timber industries when peace was made.

After siting 2,000 howitzers and cannon around Verdun in May, 1916, the German Chief of Staff still possessed more artillery than he could use with his formations. When the Battle of the Somme opened he was engaged in reducing each division to two-thirds of its strength in infantry, and using the other third to form new divisions, for each of which some two hundred new guns, with practised artillerymen, were waiting. Only about half of the young German recruits of the 1916 class appear to have been brought into action by the beginning of July,



[Crown copyright.]

## FOLLOWING A MEMORABLE FIGHT.

Three Staff officers watching the progress of the Battle of Pozieres. One of them has been putting the finishing touches to a field chart.

1916. General von Falkenhayn was, with admirable statesmanship, trying to save the German lads of twenty-one, twenty, and nineteen years of age, keeping them as much as possible in depôts and training camps, and employing older men of the Landsturm class as a kind of stucco work to fill the gaps of little importance between his machine-gun redoubts and sunken parks of artillery.

He produced a new type of machine-gunner by taking out of prison thousands of able-bodied convicts and allowing them to redeem their sentences by desperate service in the field. Some of these men were chained to the machine-guns they had been trained to use, in order to make sure that they would fight to the end. Others were closely watched in battle by non-commissioned officers with revolvers. The use of chains, however, seems to have been exceptional, as many of the worst criminals of Germany seem to have fought quite as ferociously as the average virtuous conscript.

**German convict  
machine-gunners**

The machine-gun was the supreme weapon of defence of the Teutons. In 1913 the plant for making machine-guns had been secretly extended in a very large way to provide for the enormous increase of German machine-guns which took all French, Russian, and British generals by surprise in 1914. Then, in the magnificent organisation



of German munition works in the winter of 1914, tens of thousands of machine-tools normally employed in ordinary work were put on to machine-gun making, and in a few months the German machine-gun was produced in such extraordinary numbers as to balance the hundred thousand new riflemen Great Britain brought to the front. Possessing a superabundance of steel, and as many machine-tools as she could find hands to work, Germany continued to increase her machine-guns until the marksmen she had originally employed as sharpshooters were armed with weapons firing six hundred rounds a minute. When the history of the war is made clear we shall probably find that the main reason why the British organisation of snipers won, by the spring of 1916, a definite superiority over the Jägers of Germany was that most of the Jägers had been withdrawn from the shell-holes in No Man's Land into machine-gun redoubts behind the barbed-wire.

**British snipers  
versus Jagers**

For at the end of two years of terrific warfare Germany was in the extraordinary position of having more weapons than she could use. In a very general way it might be said that the German infantry, with all its best marksmen removed into the machine-gun organisation, became merely the sentinel force that apprised machine-gunners and artillerymen of the position of an attacking enemy, and discovered, by means of bombing raids, the position of an enemy standing on the defensive.

The German Staff did not waste the lives of its troops, even when it flung them against Verdun by the hundred

thousand. The enemy always strove to accomplish his ends by mechanical power, so as to economise the manhood of his nation. When he failed in this aim, as he did at Verdun, it was not for want of hard study in the science of slaughter, but for lack of as inventive a mind as the best French generals possessed. To arrive at a clear and just estimate of the achievement of the British armies between the Ancre and the Somme we must revise some of our ideas about Neuve Chapelle, Rouges Bancs, Festubert, and Loos, and allow that the probable result of these actions was that the British losses were not less and possibly were more than the German losses. The Germans, therefore, were not entirely without grounds for regarding Loos, Festubert, Rouges Bancs, and Neuve Chapelle in the same light as the British regarded the First and Second Battles of Ypres. In plain language, the enemy had maintained a victorious defence in four great battles, and these successes of his at least offset the two great defensive victories at Ypres—possibly outweighed these.

**Teuton power  
of defence**

Moreover, the larger part of the Regular British Army and a considerable part of the British Reserve and Territorial forces had been exhausted in vain attempts to break the enemy line. At Loos the first hundred thousand men of the new national army had come into action, and had been seriously depleted in strength. The German Staff, therefore, considered that the small force of well-trained British troops had been worn down, and that the vaster body of fresh men could be repulsed with comparatively

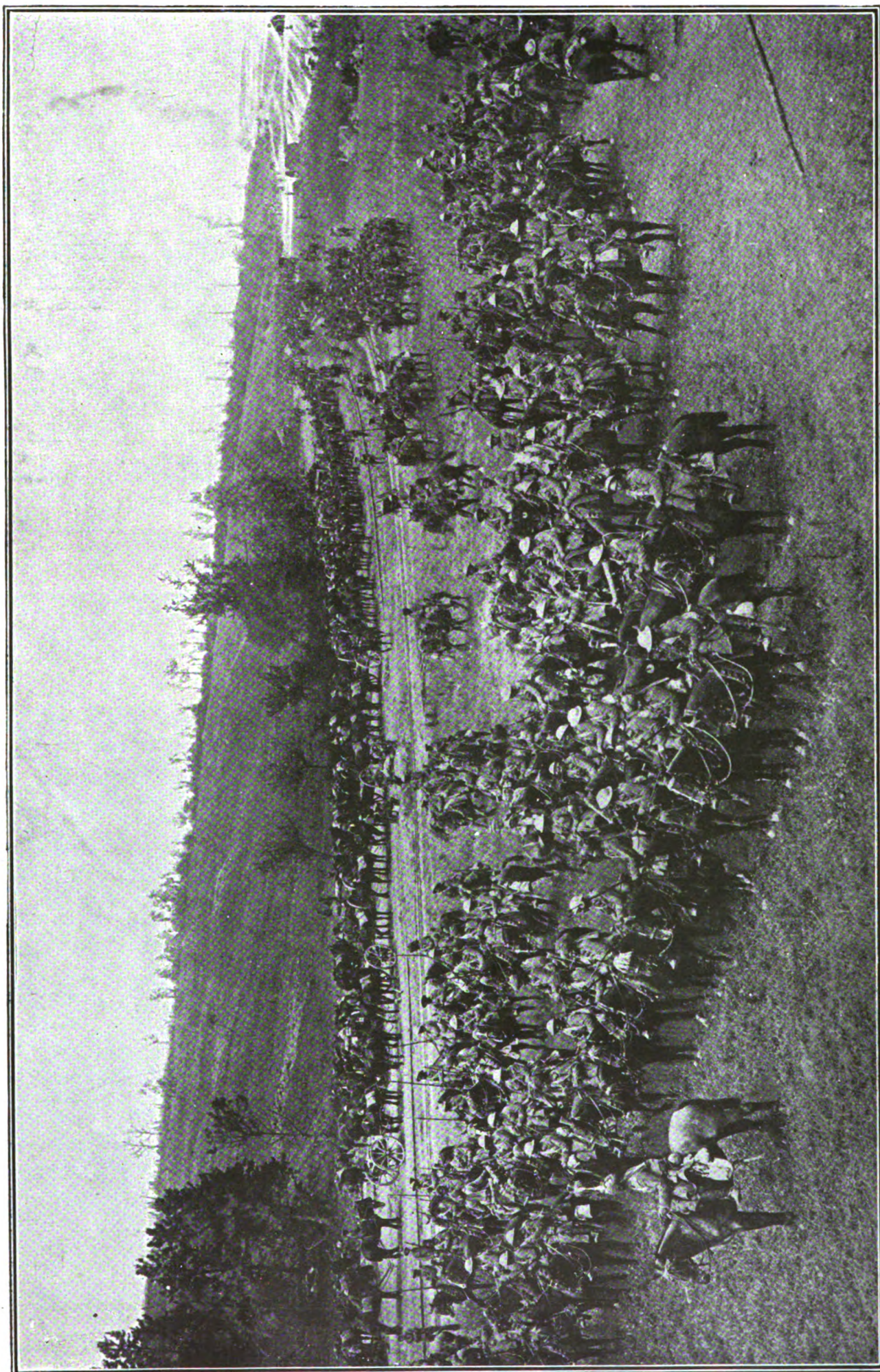


[British official photograph.]

**ROLL-CALL OF THE SEAFORTH'S AFTER THE FIRST DAY'S BATTLE ON THE SOMME.**

The great allied offensive began at half-past seven in the morning of July 1st, 1916, and was delivered with the utmost gallantry. Our casualties were necessarily heavy, but a large proportion were comparatively slight wounds from shrapnel and machine-gun fire.





[British official photograph.]

### INDIAN CAVALRY ASSEMBLED READY TO ADVANCE INTO ACTION ON FRANCE'S DAY, JULY 14TH, 1916.

The second stage of the Battle of the Somme began on July 14th, 1916—France's day—with an attack on the main German second lines between Pozieres and Longueval. The most dramatic incident was a splendid and successful charge of Dragoon Guards and Deccan Horse through the cornfields, the first time our cavalry had been in action for a period of eighteen months.



small effort. It expected that the German veteran artillerymen and veteran machine-gunners would work among the charging masses of British recruits more havoc than the veterans of the Regular British Army at Ypres in October, 1914, had worked among the charging masses of hastily-trained German recruits.

The German Staff had two important grounds for their confidence in German power of resistance. In the first place, its system of field fortification was of incomparable strength. Nothing approaching it had been seen since the days when the Chinese Wall and the Roman Wall were constructed. On some sectors, twenty miles in length, there were from three to four hundred miles of connected earthworks, caverns, and tunnels, where barbed-wire was used in a way that showed the superabundance of German iron. One-ton shells could not penetrate the principal subterranean fortress centres. The forts of Liège, Namur, Antwerp, and Paris were of small strength when compared with the gigantic German system of defence. All that the Germans had learnt when using their monster siege-guns against Belgian, French, and Russian works of armoured concrete had been skilfully employed in making their own lines impregnable.

After the Battle of Loos they perfected their system of defence by a new method of machine-gun fire. Instead of bringing the gun on to the parapet to repel a hostile charge, they constructed, in the redoubts, loopholes almost on ground-level, from which their gunners in bomb-proof chambers could rake the ankles, waist, and breast of attacking infantry. Below the bomb-proof chambers, which resisted all but the heaviest shell, was a lower cavern that no shell could penetrate. In important positions hoists were installed, by means of which the machine-guns could be lowered into the cavern during a hostile bombardment, and almost instantaneously raised to the loophole when hostile infantry appeared. Large stores of hand-grenades, small-arms ammunition, and shells were accumulated in caverns in the lines against the British and French movement. At every point there was more ammunition to hand than any charging British force could bring with it or procure afterwards. This elaborate organisation was the first reason for the confidence of the German Staff.

In the second place, the German Staff reckoned that an attacking British army would be inept in heavy artillery work and Staff work. In the British Navy it takes many years to make a first-rate gunlayer capable of handling the 12, 13.5, and 15 in. guns with exact skill. Howitzers of similar calibre had become the most important of military weapons, though thousands of 6 in. and 9.2 in. pieces of ordnance constituted the only possible means of shattering the new, deeply-excavated systems of field fortification. Great Britain had never foreseen the need of such large pieces in land warfare. Her small original force of Royal Garrison Artillery, trained in the use of heavy guns, had only a few 9.2 in. weapons and a scanty number of 6 in. howitzers. The consequence was that when the Royal Garrison Artillery had to be expanded into a very great body of men and officers, the recruits had to wait a long time before they could be provided with even a few



REPLENISHING THE BATTERY BY THE ROADSIDE.

Reserve of munitions just arrived at a British battery. R.F.A. men were discharging their load of shells while the guns hidden among the brushwood continued to shell the enemy lines.

guns for training purposes. At the front, Royal Marines with naval guns at first did what they could to supply the place of a military siege train. But the guns that could be spared from the Navy were relatively few in number and absolutely inadequate in character. For it was not guns that were most needed for penetrating enemy subterranean fortresses, but heavy howitzers, employed with a special and delicate technique. When the British Ministry of Munitions began to supply heavy howitzers in increasingly large calibre there was a tendency among the British public to regard the problem in armament as solved.

But, in point of fact, the national army was only at the beginning of its greatest difficulty. A large supply of siege-guns and high-explosive shell was only the material and secondary factor in the matter. The primary and intellectual factor was that of the men behind the guns. How were the new recruits to find, in a few months, the means of becoming expert in their arduous and intricately-scientific work? All the mighty contending Continental armies, maintained by a system of conscription in days of peace, had ready hundreds of thousands of trained gunners, who were worked up, by nearly two years of incessant battle experience, into artillerymen of a magnificent class. The German heavy artillerymen, for instance, after blasting their way into Antwerp, went down to the Belgian coast and there outfought all the battleships and monitors that Great Britain could spare against them, drove off the squadrons of Admiral Hood and Admiral Bacon, and made Zeebrugge for a time a German war port strongly secured against a bombardment by the highly-trained gunlayers of the British Fleet.

It was against such men as these victorious German artillerymen, with an experience varying from the Dunajec to the Verdun hurricane-fire operations, that the new bodies of inexperienced, hastily-trained Royal Garrison Artillery had to contend. There were, of course, British artillery officers surviving from the small Regular Army to direct some of the batteries. But most of these officers had been

German  
Staff confidence

Problem of  
trained gunners



promoted from the field-artillery, where they handled little guns. The technique of the new big howitzers, with the new system of aerial control from kite-balloons and aeroplanes, was a perplexing matter even for a field-artillery officer of experience. It was as if the British Army, mainly accustomed to 3.3 in. guns, were suddenly to be provided with as large ordnance as the British Navy, and set to fire against British gunlayers and British gunnery lieutenants who had been practising for ten years with their gigantic pieces.

**Germany's new magazine-rifle**

The training of the new British infantry was good. Indeed, it was miraculously good, and in one branch of attack—bomb-throwing—its skill seems to have been at least equal to all that which the troops of Germany had acquired in a year of trench warfare. The musketry of the infantry, though far from equalling that of the incomparable riflemen at Mons and Ypres, appears to have been almost as effective as that which the French conscripts attained with their inferior Lebel rifle. The Germans had a new magazine-rifle, holding twenty rounds, but did not use it as well as the new British soldier used his Lee-Enfield. And even in bayonet work the new British soldier was not at much disadvantage when charging an average German force. The British machine-gunner was also good, having been promoted by reason of his special marksmanship from the multitude of the new infantry.

The new British field-artillery seems to have been of fair quality. Before the war the French used to say it took

ten years to make a first-class man for their 3 in. gun. Naturally, British civilians who entered the Army in 1914 and 1915 were not transformed by the summer of 1916 into the peers of the field-gunners of France. But their native alertness of mind and the fine system of accelerated training designed for them, together with the opportunities for battle practice they received on first going to the front, transformed them into men of a useful sort. They needed an abundance of shell, though with this abundance they did not always breach the hostile zones of wire entanglement; still less could they sweep with unexpected gusts difficult bits of land as French gunners could. But having regard to the extraordinary circumstances, their work was most praiseworthy. All this the German Staff allowed in its study of the situation on the western front. Having achieved most of its great successes east and west by means of siege-guns, worked by the most highly trained body of expert gunners outside the British Navy, the German High Command concluded that the British attack would be wrecked through inefficient handling of the British heavy artillery. The enemy expected that there would be no close and precise co-operation between the advancing waves of British infantry and the battering-ram of British heavy shell fire. Sir Douglas Haig divined what the enemy thought in the matter, and frankly recognised the factors of weakness in his own vast but improvised forces. In the first grand clash of Briton and Teuton he took all possible steps to remedy the inexperience of his troops.

**What the enemy expected**



*[British official photograph.]*

**THE STRUGGLE FOR THE SPUR: SHELLS BURSTING NEAR THIEPVAL.**

Thiepval was won by the British, September 27th, 1916, after terrific fighting, and with its capture—and that of Combes by the French and British in co-operation—the whole Bapaume Valley was dominated.





[Canadian official photograph.]

CLOSE VIEW OF GERMAN GAS SHELLS EXPLODING NEAR THE PARAPET OF THE CANADIAN TRENCHES. This remarkable impression was secured by the Canadian official photographer actually installed with his apparatus in the trenches, which had been the constant target of enemy shells judging by the pock-marked condition of the terrain in front of the parapet.

At the opening of the campaign of the Ancre and the Somme the machinery of Staff control in the new national British Army was still imperfectly tested. Sufficient officers of experience survived the wreck of the regular forces to make the material work of British organisation in France and Flanders a monument to the genius of their race. Railway and motor transport, food and water supplies, and all the business side of warfare were conducted with foresight and high energy. But, on the other hand, the enormously enlarged corps of British Staff officers contained many men who had never helped to manœuvre masses of troops on a modern battlefield against concealed machine-guns and shell curtains of heavy projectiles. For some of the best of them were men who had distinguished themselves in South Africa, and tended instinctively to rely more upon their fund of former experience than upon the lectures they received from officers who came from the front to teach them the new lessons of warfare.

Enemy brigade, divisional, and army corps Staff officers had been tested year after year in grand manœuvres, and finally brought as near as possible to general perfection by twenty-three months of warfare under changing conditions.

#### Differences in Staff control

Standing on the defence, these enemy Staff officers, working by telephone in underground chambers, with regimental officers whose temperaments they had continually tested in the heat of conflict, had a fairly easy mechanical task of a kind to which they were well accustomed. But the new British Staff officers had to help to work brigades and divisions in the open and in a most disconcerting fog of battle, with field-telephone lines breaking under hostile shell fire, platoons and companies continually getting

disconnected, and confusion prevailing at those critical points in the line of advance where the controlling mind of the commander was most needed.

All this was foreseen and yet inevitable. The new armies had practically to go into battle to learn how to fight. The German Staff was almost arrogantly confident of its power to cripple permanently the new forces of the British Empire before these forces could learn how to win a siege battle. Sir Douglas Haig and his Staff were quietly confident that, in spite of the terrible disadvantages under which the new armies laboured, these armies would quickly learn as they went forward, and become in a few months masters of the field. The British public were too optimistic and the French public too pessimistic of the unsounded capacity of these new British levies. Sir Douglas Haig and his army generals did not look forward to any striking success at the start. The increase in munitions was outbalanced by the lack of men with long training. But the British commander reckoned on the native strength of character in his new troops to enable them to win through the terrible period of experiment while they were being moulded in the furnace of battle and there transformed into quickly-made veterans.

#### Third attack on Ypres

By June, 1916, the enemy knew what was coming, and he tried to distract Sir Douglas Haig by starting a third attack on Ypres. After a long and savage bombardment, masses of hostile infantry on June 2nd broke the Canadian line from Hooze to Hill 60, captured Major-General Mercer and Brigadier-General Williams, and threw the Canadians a thousand yards behind their original line. But the next morning the Canadians counter-attacked and regained nearly two-thirds of their lost ground, and on June 13th





"KAMERADEN" FROM MONTAUBAN.

After an advance at Montauban, German soldiers who took refuge in the cellars from the intense bombardment came up and surrendered to passing British infantry. Many of them had been imprisoned in their funk-holes for days, cut off from the communication-trenches by an effective artillery barrage.

they again went forward and recovered the ridge between Hooze and Hill 60, and thus made the Ypres salient as secure as possible.

Meanwhile, vast preparations for the grand offensive were proceeding without interruption from the enemy. His swoop against the Canadians was met by the troops of the Dominion, with a little help from the Anzacs on their right and the British troops on their left. Though the Germans employed ten thousand troops to create a diversion, these were fought down by local effort, without producing the least change in the allied scheme. The new heavy artillery began to practise up and down the enemy's line, and the new trench-mortars, which had a special part to play in the coming operations, also battered the enemy's trenches in an apparently aimless way. On June 25th the trial registering of the new British siege-guns was undertaken, with such increasing intensity that the fire resembled the grand bombardment. Armed with a new missile against balloons and airships, the British aviators astonished the enemy by suddenly destroying six of his kite-balloons. In the night the extraordinary heavy gun fire continued and

assisted a series of ten raiding-parties, who broke into the enemy's fire-trenches and took some prisoners.

When day broke, the bombardment was resumed on a front of ninety miles and the German batteries became curiously silent. The new Royal Garrison Artillery were still only practising and getting an exact knowledge of their weapons and of the science of co-operating with their aerial observers. Heavy explosions of ammunition dumps in the enemy's rear and violent attacks on his gun-pits, resting-places, and lines of communication made this practice fire resemble the real thing. By night all the sky was lighted with the unceasing flash of the guns, and at Amiens and other westerly French towns people began to climb to their roofs in the darkness and watch with grim joy the roaring rim of radiance on the horizon. Nearly a quarter of a million of shells a day were being spent in this enormous registering fire.

Sir Douglas Haig used his parks of new artillery in much the same way as a fencer employs his rapier. Possessing, in his huge fleets of motor-lorries and his network of light and ordinary railways, a rapid means of supplying every sector, the British commander continually shifted the direction of the main head of shell that was pouring from the British war factories. On June 27th he selected the region between the Ancre and the Somme as his chief demonstrating point, and with his great rail-mounted guns steaming into action he pounded the enemy's lines between Gommecourt and Mametz, and then launched a series of raids at this point. At the same time a strong demonstration was made against the im-

portant German position at Angres, well to the north of Arras, where the Highland Light Infantry inflicted heavy loss on the Germans and took a considerable number of prisoners.

Gas attacks were used all along the front further to annoy and distract the enemy and induce him to prepare in the wrong place for the coming offensive movement. On June 28th the registering fire ceased and the veritable bombardment opened. Rumours ran, in both France and Great Britain, that the attack would be made on this day, and that Albert was the principal centre of operations. There may have been some indiscretion on the part of British officers and their relatives that afforded material for the club gossip concerning Albert. On the other hand, the enemy seems to have been misled to a considerable extent by the changing point of intensity of the British fire and by the rumours that his secret agents collected. He expected the attack to occur between Arras and Albert, and his principal artillery and best and most numerous troops were rapidly collected on this line. The troops in the

#### Opening of bombardment



reserve trenches must have suffered rather heavily during the period of the great bombardment. But with stern and effective reticence the army commanders under Prince Rupert of Bavaria refrained from replying to the extraordinary hostile fire. For one of the chief aims of the British gunners, from June 28th to July 1st, was to discover the enemy batteries, which had been reorganised and strengthened in view of the coming attack. In a great artillery duel these batteries could have been destroyed or

**Silence of  
enemy batteries**

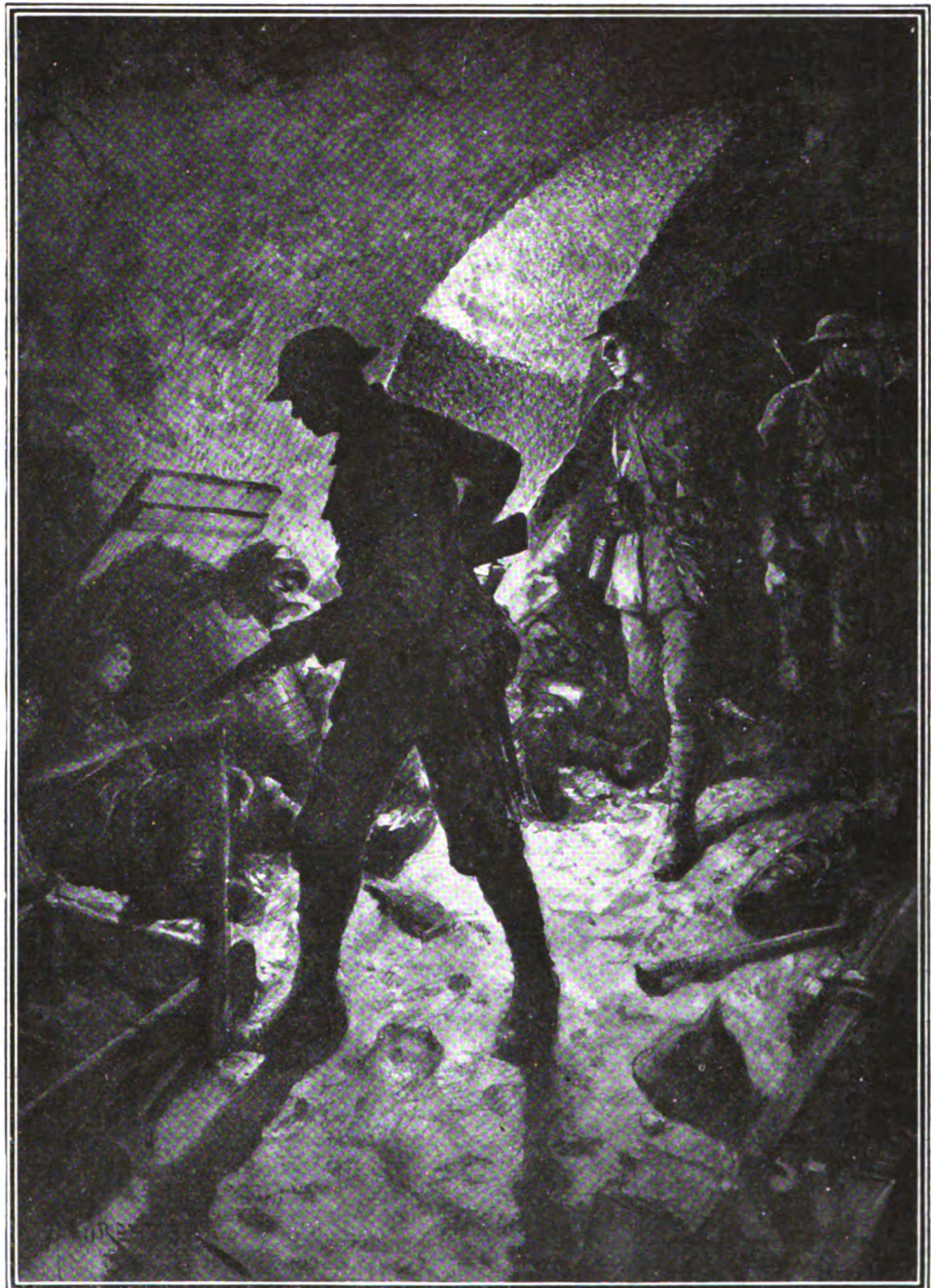
weakened by fierce counter-firing, and the task of the British infantry would then have been much facilitated. The Germans had always begun their great offensives by provoking an artillery duel. But when their aim was to stand upon the defensive they showed resolute wisdom in keeping their guns silent and hidden, and letting their infantry in the trenches endure to the uttermost.

The British guns thus appeared entirely to dominate the battlefield, and when they were joined by the artillery of all the French armies from the Somme to the Aisne, the scene by day and night was one of infernal splendour and fury. Amid the deafening tumult and acrid smoke the work of the infantry was almost as heavy as that of the gunners. In the toil of feeding the guns the crews were not sufficient, and the infantry had to help to transport the shells from the lorries and trucks in order to keep the gunners employed in firing and prevent their ammunition dumps from growing too small afterwards, when prolonged and costly shell curtains would be required to help the infantry movements.

Towards the end of June the raids and the gas attacks augmented in number and violence. At Neuve Chapelle, on June 30th, the German position was penetrated deeply to the second line, making it appear that a veritable offensive was contemplated at this point. The Staff of the Crown Prince of Bavaria became anxious and, as some German newspapers afterwards admitted, at last expected a veritable grand attack from Lille to Bapaume. They looked upon the French bombardment, as has already been explained, merely as a demonstration, and thought that Arras would be the centre of conflict, with perhaps Lille on the north and Bapaume on the south as the wings of the terrific struggle. The Vimy Ridge, south of Loos, which had been the scene of an early demonstration by some fine Lancashire troops, was the principal point of concern of the enemy commander, and it was from this ridge to the height of Gommecourt that he arrayed his main forces with new guns and the support of the Prussian Guard. But when the hundreds of British guns were suddenly augmented by hundreds of quick-

firing mortars, at dawn on July 1st, 1916, the Germans found they had been outplayed. Only a small section of the front where they were thoroughly prepared was assailed. This small sector ran from Gommecourt to Thiepval, and here the Prussian Guard, with hundreds of concealed guns, was ready for any event. But south of Thiepval, in the sectors of La Boisselle, Fricourt, Mametz, and Montauban and a dozen more villages to the south, which were attacked by the British and the French, the enemy was taken at a disadvantage.

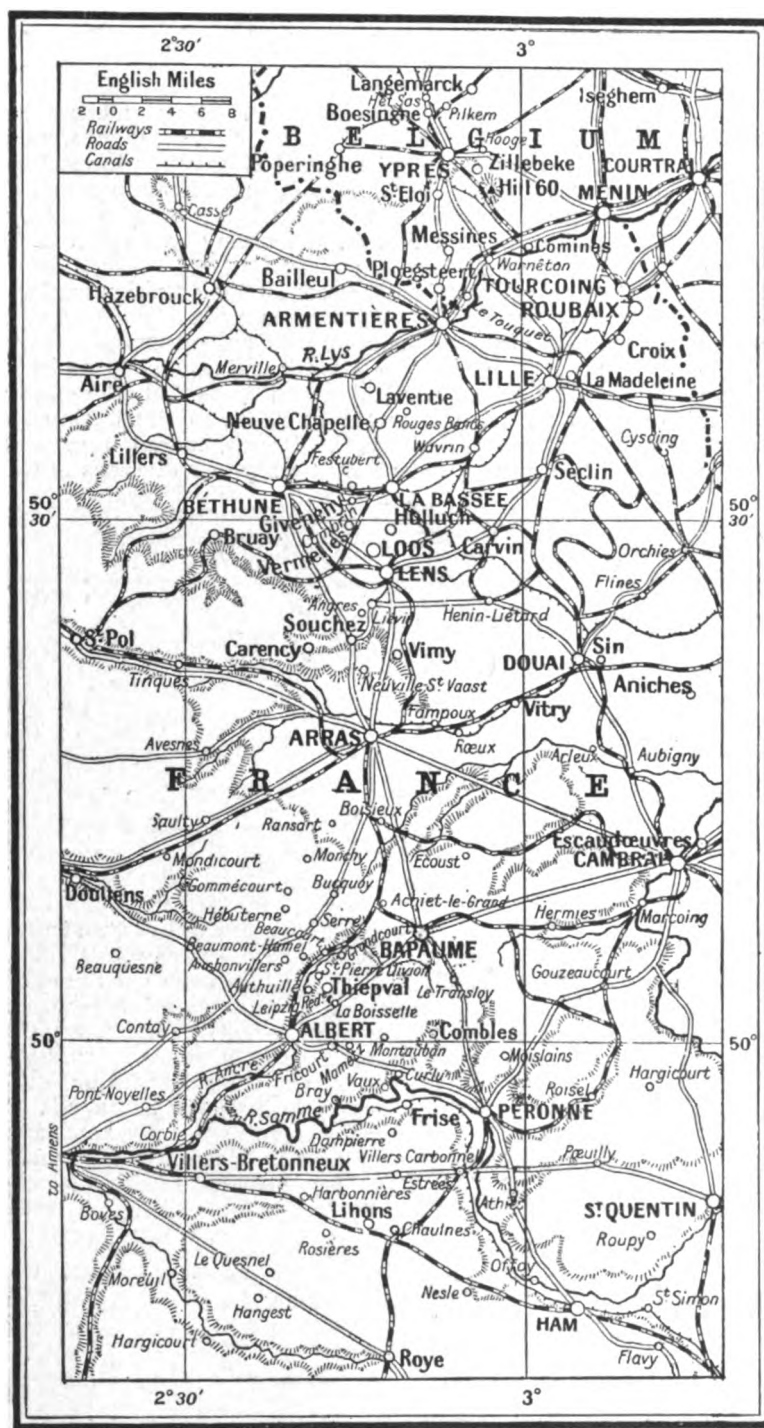
This was a triumphant success for the munition workers of the Western Allies. At an expense of millions of shells, and the life of the tubing of hundreds of guns, such a stress of fire had been maintained for four days and four nights around Lille, the Vimy Ridge, and Arras that the enemy expected an attempt would be made to thrust through towards Douai and Cambrai. It was, indeed, rumoured that he massed at last nearly twenty-four divisions in the



CLEARING LURKING GERMANS OUT OF THE CELLARS UNDERNEATH MONTAUBAN. Montauban was captured in the early days of the great advance. The maze of underground cellars had been used as store-houses and living quarters, connected by long galleries, and all these had to be cleared of lurking enemies by armed parties carrying electric-torches.

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Copyright The Great War  
GENERAL MAP OF THE BRITISH FRONT FROM YPRES TO PÉRONNE.

sectors fed from his great rail-head at Cambrai. One of the reasons why he was expectant of an attack on his northern wing was that this wing covered most of the coal-mines of North-Western France. The coal-field had been the chief and immediate objective of the earlier Franco-British attacks. With an abundance of native coal that could be transported cheaply by canal to her munition centres, France would have been able to wage the war with increased strength, and neither the German General Staff nor the Staff of Prince Rupert thought that the great Franco-British movement would be designed without any direct regard for the lost French coal-field. In the German operations at Verdun, as we have seen, the vital iron basin of Briev had entered largely into the German commander's choice of the sector he attacked. All this went greatly to increase the weight of the mighty and expensive feint northward

which Sir Douglas Haig made with his heavy guns. But as the most gigantic of these guns fired from rails, it could rapidly be moved along the network of light lines to the empty chalk downland by the Somme River. This was a country of difficult and intricate undulations that offered no immediate prize to the attacking Allies.

To General Foch falls the honour and the responsibility for selecting the apparently uninviting region of the Somme as the point of attack. He was able, with the help of Sir Douglas Haig, to convince his chief that a pure military operation on the Somme, where the British had excellent means of communication and the French possessed also a magnificent railway service, was the best available means of answering the increasing German menace to Verdun. It was necessary, in the interests of all the Allies, that the untried British levies should prove themselves in battle as soon as possible. And nothing was more favourable than that the chief striking forces of France should make use of the main line from Amiens to Paris to come strongly into action by the side of their new comrades-in-arms.

If only the millions of citizen soldiers of the British Empire, with their gigantic new material, could be transformed into experienced fighting men of the scientific school, without being crippled in the process of winning experience, the cause for which France, Russia, Italy, Belgium, and Serbia were fighting would be enormously promoted. Rumania was hesitating because she thought that the great new British Army, with its great new guns and its great new shell supplies, was a mere lath-and-plaster façade, without the solid strength of a military State possessing millions of well-trained conscripts.

Everything depended on the quality of the new British troops. At Verdun, Germany, the most powerful military State in the world, had lost men at the rate of a hundred thousand a month, without in the end making any very important gain of ground. A counter-attack lasting a few hours was ere long to rob her of her most expensive gains. Great Britain, a new-comer among modern military States, was destined to grind forward, incurring losses proportionately serious. But her recruits were about to show that they could hold what they won with a tenacity surpassing that of the veteran corps of the enemy. For about two and a half months a terrible struggle raged between the Ancre and the Somme, until something like a miracle occurred, and by painful and laborious ways the Briton won the mastery. He seemed to improve in every direction, and by astonishing skill as well as downright pluck he outfought the enemy and stormed the main crest of the Bapaume ridges.

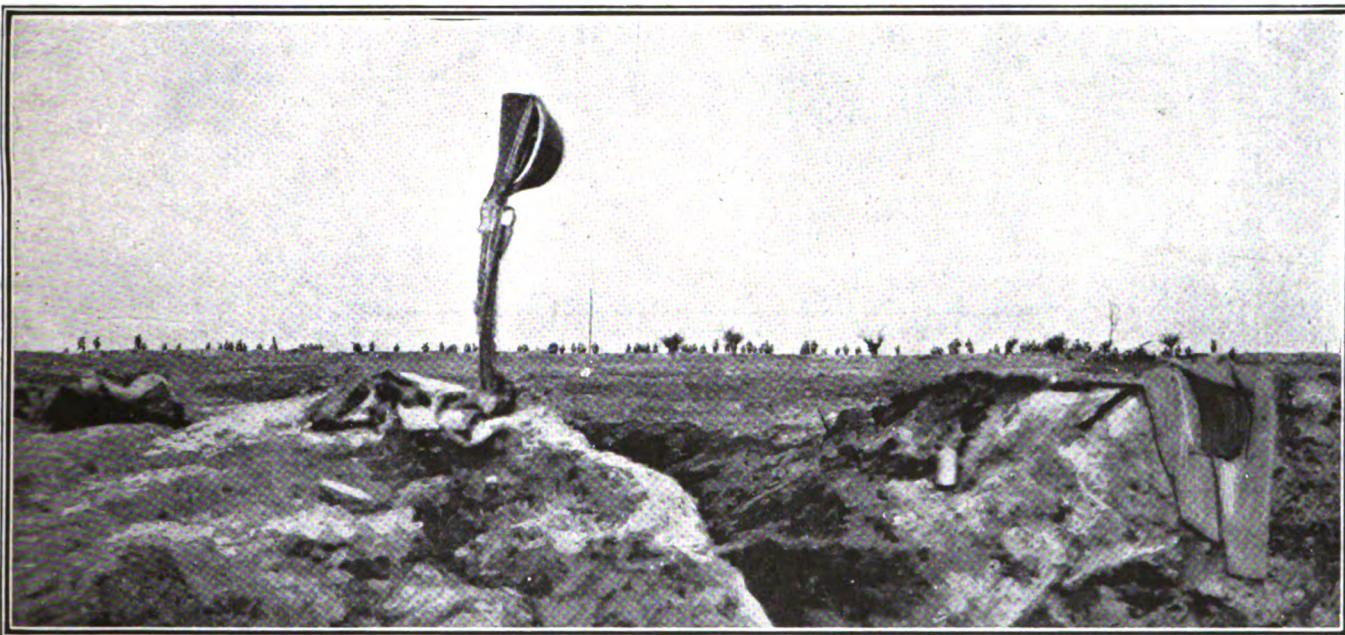
In spite of heavy losses, which must have been at least as large as those which the Germans incurred in their sheltered defences, the outcome was inspiring to all the Allies and disheartening to the Central Empires. It meant that the new armies had trained themselves in action into one of the most efficient fighting forces in the world. All that the British nation and Mr. Lloyd George had accomplished, in raising and arming millions of men with a speed hitherto unknown in history, was perfected by the achievement of Sir Douglas Haig and his army commanders and Staff, in transforming with utterly amazing rapidity an extraordinary multitude of untried recruits into practised fighting men of fine quality. Thus a new factor of great moment appeared in Europe, and it became a question of increasing the output of munitions

**New factor in  
the war**





Supports moving up on the morning of September 25th, 1916, the day when our troops, attacking everywhere with success, captured the two militarily important villages of Morval and Lesbœufs, and thereby practically severed the enemy's communications with Combles.



British troops advancing on the crest of the hill. Morval stood on a height north of Combles, and, with its subterranean quarries, system of trenches, and wire entanglements, constituted a formidable fortress.



Germans after being taken prisoners were employed to carry back our wounded from Morval. The number of prisoners taken on the 25th was large, and in comparison with the results achieved the British losses were comparatively small.

SCENES IN THE SUCCESSFUL ADVANCE UPON MORVAL, SEPTEMBER 25TH, 1916.





[Canadian official photograph.]

## THE PICK FOLLOWS THE BAYONET.

Types of Canada's finest manhood, men from the Far West used to life in the open air, and thus some of the most formidable fighters among the Empire's armies. This illustration shows them proceeding to consolidate new gains on the Somme front.

and maintaining the strength of the new armies to ensure victory. Great Britain at last had men able to handle all the gigantic machinery of war with precision and thorough technique, so that the increase in new machinery at last promised to be decisive.

All this we must bear in mind when studying the first phase of the operations. For in this first phase there are many episodes which seem disheartening unless we clearly understand that they were only incidents in a long and eventually successful apprenticeship in warfare waged by half-trained and untried men.

The attack was conducted by the Fourth British Army, numbering some 144,000 infantrymen, arranged in six army corps. Near Gommecourt was the Seventh Army Corps, under Lieutenant-General Sir T. D'Oyly Snow; then came the Eight Army Corps, under Lieutenant-General Sir A. Hunter-Weston; the Tenth Army Corps, under Lieutenant-General Sir T. Morland; the Third Army Corps, under Lieutenant-General Sir W. P. Pulteney; the Fifteenth Army Corps, under Lieutenant-General H. S. Horne, and the Thirteenth Army Corps, under Lieutenant-General W. N. Congreve. The leader of the Immortal Division at Ypres in 1914, General Sir Henry Rawlinson, promoted chief of the Fourth Army, was in command; Sir Douglas Haig, as Commander-in-Chief, exercised general control, with Lieutenant-General Sir L. E.

**The opposing  
army leaders**

Kiggell as his Chief of General Staff. The opposing commanders were General von Marschall, on the Gommecourt-Serre front, and General von Below, with General Sixt von Armin as one of his army corps commanders, on the Somme front.

When the British guns lifted at half-past one in the morning of July 1st, 1916, all the attacking forces from Gommecourt to Thiepval rushed into an inferno. The opposing fronts faced each other on gentle slopes, with the narrow bottom of the Ancre brook making a level in the southern part. The Germans held a series of high points of great natural strength, each of which had been turned into an underground Gibraltar, interlocking with each other and commanding each other. The northern height of Gommecourt was the westernmost German salient in France, and it had therefore been fortified with extreme industry and skill and garrisoned by the Prussian

Guard. The German artillery was densely massed in the rear of the seamed and ravined plateau. There were hundreds of new 6 in. guns firing shrapnel and maintaining two or more wide and distinct curtains of death over the ground where the British troops charged.

The enemy knew the great movement was coming. Before the quick-firing mortars ceased to pound the enemy's fire-trench, and before the field-artillery finished shooting down the wire entanglements and the heavy guns lifted on the hostile rear, German gunners were back in their bomb-proof shelters and traversing the ground between the front with their terrible cross-fires of streams of bullets. All along the British line dense smoke-screens were projected over the enemy's trenches to blind his gunners and his observation officers. But this device did not have full effect, as the hostile machine-guns and artillery had all their ranges carefully marked, and maintained a regular mechanical sweep of fire over No Man's Land and the

British trenches. It was as though a gigantic single machine-gun was levelled at the British lines, worked by some mighty engine. There were, however, some curious differences in the manner in which the heroic charging divisions went to their death.

North of Gommecourt a division of Midland troops had the most difficult task of all. They were on the extreme northern edge of the attacking line, and had to open the battle by making a thrust along the northern side of the high-wooded enemy salient at Gommecourt. The height itself was not assailed, as it was impregnable to a frontal attack, but an attempt was made to envelop it by Midland troops on the north side and London troops on the south side. The Germans were well prepared on this sector, being in very strong force with many new guns, and with their positions not seriously injured by the great British bombardment. There was a very wide gap between the opposing lines, and though one of the Midland battalions, in a splendid effort, drove a trench the previous night towards the enemy's parapet and thus reduced the charging distance, the assault failed.

**Heroic Midlanders  
at Gommecourt**

For when the troops came out steadily and coolly, they were swept by machine-gun fire on their flank from the peak of Gommecourt, raked in front by streams of bullets, and further crushed by a shell curtain between the wire entanglements. So numerous were the German guns that they were able to maintain another barrage over the British trenches. The Midlanders showed extraordinary gallantry by marching through this enveloping storm of death. But they were brought down in such numbers that only a remnant reached the German line, and the reserves, with the shell curtains falling behind them and before them, were unable to strike home with any effect. The courage of the troops was glorious, but the enemy's machinery of slaughter was too powerful and precise to be overcome. The heroic remnants, that had attempted to make a long thrust below the peak, were at last recalled after reaching the point they had been set to attain.

Now all is done that men can do,  
And all is done in vain.

So it must have seemed to the broken and withdrawing Midlanders. But, like all the apparently beaten British





*Sir Douglas Haig (right) with Sir Henry Rawlinson, commander of an army on the Somme.*

F 41





[Official photograph.]

*Wiring party off to consolidate newly-won terrain on the western front.*



[Official photograph.]

*Infantry leaving the trenches to take part in the battle before Morval.*





[Official photograph.]

*Reserves and stretcher-bearers moving up on the morning of September 25th, 1916.*



[Official photograph.]

*Bombing party setting out for the German trenches in single file.*





Official photograph.

*While waiting for the order to advance: A young Canadian officer giving some final instructions to his men.*



troops on the northern sector of attack, they were accomplishing the heaviest work of victory on the glorious July 1st, though they did not know at the time that they were in any way successful. We have seen that the enemy had a large number of new guns, a vast store of shell, and two divisions of the Guards Corps as a local strategic reserve—all ready to strengthen any weak part of his line. This great mass of men and guns was partly misplaced, through being stretched above Arras; and at

**Splendid London  
Territorials**

any cost it had to be prevented from moving quickly down to the Somme, where it was urgently and vitally needed. The Midland Division was the first British force to engage in the great northern holding action, which made the British and French northern successes permanent and less costly at the critical junction-point of the Franco-British forces.

Then to the south of the Gommecourt wooded height the splendid London Territorial Division succeeded in making a complete thrust along the great German salient. In charging, the men had to cover a very broad stretch of ground four hundred yards deep in some places. Yet they almost completely escaped the front and flank machine-gun fire which shattered the strength of the Midland charge. Their good fortune was probably due to the fact that the wind was in their favour. Blowing from the south-west, it rolled the black clouds of screen smoke in blinding, choking masses over all the hostile gun positions, whereas the Midlanders, being on the northern side of the high German wedge, could not get the wind to carry their smoke-screens against the enemy. All along the changing angles of the fighting front this deadly difference in the action of the smoke-screen was found. As the wind was south-west, only hostile trenches lying on a northerly or north-easterly line were liable to be smothered in the black smoke discharged from cylinders by the British troops. All trenches in the German angles running south of the attacking force were saved from the smoke-screen, and the German machine-guns in the southern positions had a clear field of fire.

The enemy tried to crush the charge at the outset by an enormous barrage of high-explosive shell. The great bursts of explosion opened the ground under the racing feet of the men, destroyed some of them so that they could not be traced, and caught many others with flying fragments of steel. Those who survived dared not look back, for fear of weakening themselves by the sight of their stricken friends. Half walking and half running they reached the ruin of the German first-line trenches, which was a sea of tumbled earth, timber wreckage, and strewn sand-bags. But many of the dug-outs, going thirty feet down, had remained intact. As the line had been strongly held, they were full of Germans, who dauntlessly came forth with bombs and machine-guns to contest the position. The high-nerved and alert Londoners, however, remained masters of the situation. A number of them swirled into the strong underground system on the left, and with their hand-bombs knocked out machine-guns and machine-gun crews. On the right another battalion, with equal quickness, stormed a formidable redoubt in a very nasty piece of ground. Then, secure at the wings, the centre

went forward, part staying to clear the caverns while others bombed their way down the shattered German communications. Some four hundred prisoners were taken with remarkable ease and still more remarkable celerity. Apparently it was a notable victory, for everything that London had been asked to win had been won.

It was one of the quickest pieces of work that had been done in the war. But when the armed guards tried to escort the first batch of prisoners to the British lines an obstacle was met. The enemy's wall of fire had become impassable. Some two hundred prisoners were rushed through it, but many more perished with their guards. The German gunners must have seen their own grey-clad men going back, but they sternly killed them by the hundred with a continually increasing shower of shell rather than allow any British soldiers to come forward.

For some hours the Londoners held on to the first zone of captured works containing three lines of trenches and to various strongholds and redoubts in front of the second zone of defences. Meanwhile, the other British troops on either side of the London Division had been



[British official photograph.]

**LOOKING TOWARDS A VALUABLE PRIZE.**

Within a hundred yards of Thiepval two vigilant Britons were keeping watch on the enemy, awaiting a favourable moment when they and their comrades could go forward and capture this important position at the bayonet's point.

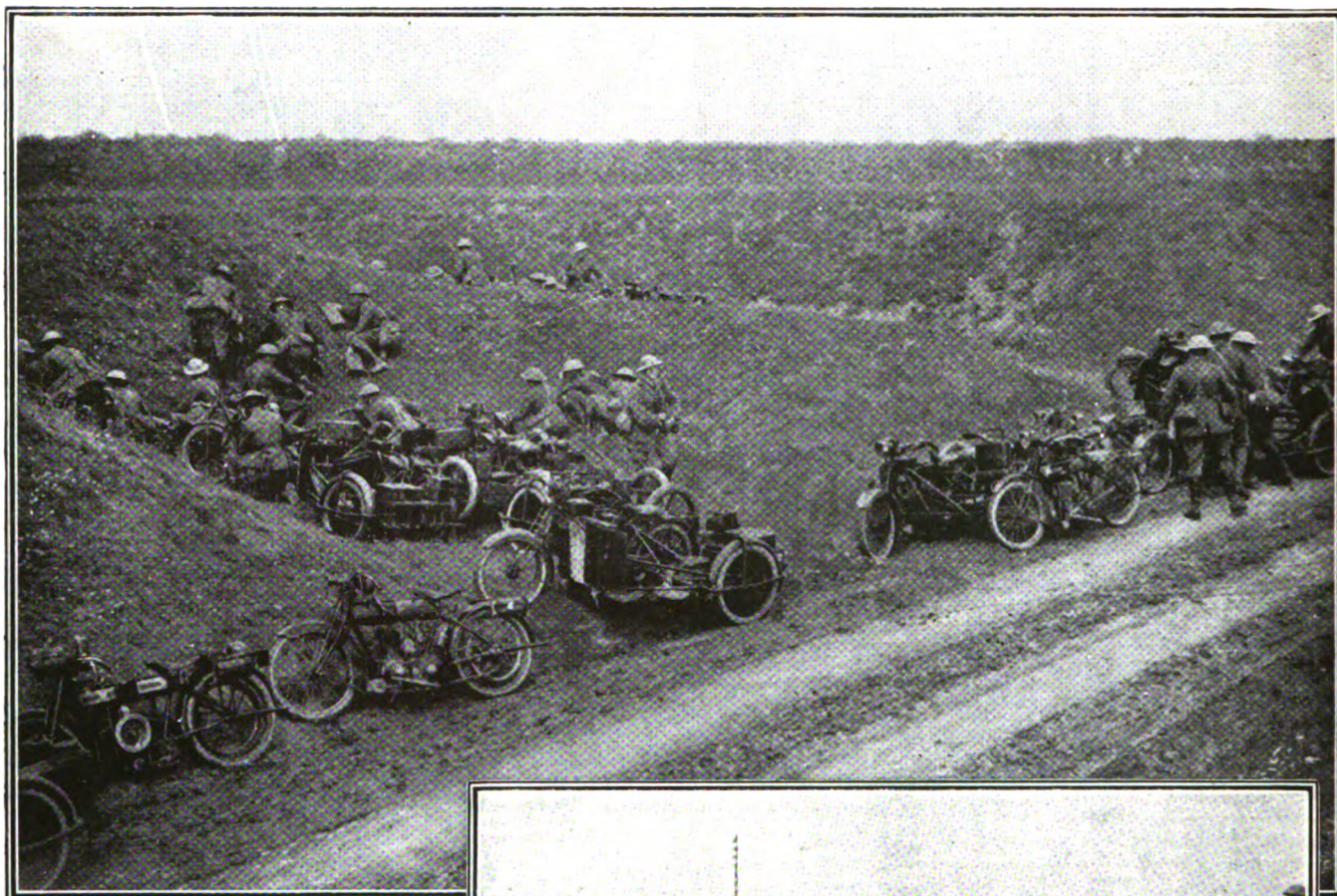
beaten back, leaving the metropolitan troops in a salient of the enemy's lines. Thereupon, the Germans, having held their ground successfully on the northern and southern sectors near Gommecourt, massed their guns on the Londoners. In addition to intensifying the curtain of high explosive and shrapnel over No Man's Land, that prevented supplies of reinforcements from arriving, the phalanxes of German artillery smashed the British trenches and communications.

Numerous as was the British artillery, which had apparently dominated all the field to a depth of ten miles for a week, it could not cope with the unexpected number of hidden German guns. The command of the air won by British aviators was not of much immediate use, as an extraordinary quickness and precision in discovering the hostile gun positions and registering upon them would have been needed to wage a successful artillery duel.

**Hidden German  
gun-trap**

It will be remembered that in the same operation the French troops at Curlu were caught in a similar trap, but were rescued by their aerial artillery, who so controlled the fire that the hostile counter-attacking force was





TAKING COVER.

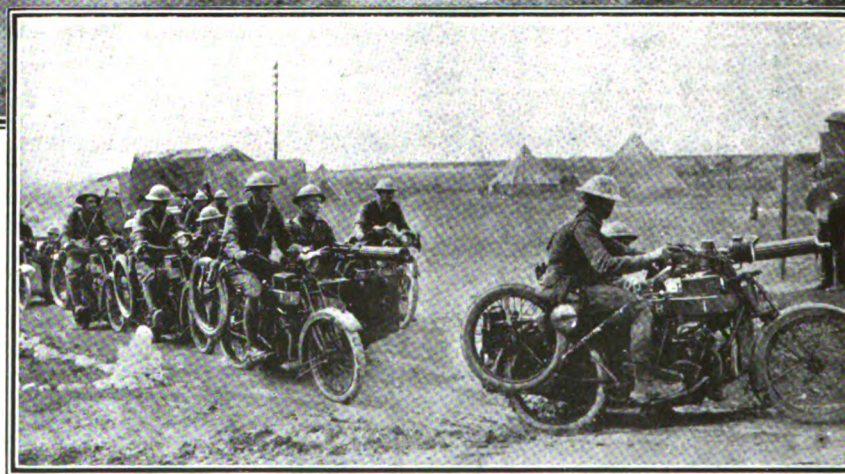
Motor machine-guns taking cover in a sunken road.

obliterated. The Londoners, however, do not seem to have been assisted in this way, as it was only later that the British Staff fully adopted the French method of aerial control for infantry attacks. The trapped London battalions were assailed by numerous parties of bomb-throwers, who had abundant ammunition and maintained a furious combat until the small supply of bombs of the Britons was exhausted. Desperate efforts were made by the Territorial reserves to get new bomb supplies through the walls of shell fire. A party of sixty men set out; three came back. All the carrying parties failed, with terrible casualties, and many single men perished in vain attempts to get through with bombs. The British guns tried to maintain a similar impassable barrage over the

#### Londoners' terrible ordeal

German communications, but the German bomb-throwers, men of high courage and audacity, not only got through the shell curtain, but crossed in small groups on the top of the trenches and flung their missiles down upon the Londoners.

Late in the afternoon the battalion on the left of the salient were enfiladed by heavy machine-gun fire, and the supply of bombs was practically exhausted. For some time the heroic Londoners went about collecting German bombs, but this curious method of getting supplies was soon worked out. At last, surrounded by increasing numbers of hostile bomb-throwers, hammered by shell fire, swept by streams of bullets from machine-guns, and with most of their leading men picked off by snipers, the Londoners left a series of heroic rearguards, and, carrying their wounded, retreated—a tragically diminished force—through the barrages of their own lines. A very fine stand was made on the left of the salient by an officer



LIMBERED UP AND AWAY AT FULL SPEED.

Motor machine-gun battery leaving camp in answer to a signalled summons from a hotly-pressed part of the front.

and seven of his men. All ammunition was finished; the bombers had empty hands and only a few cartridges remained. The officer collected the cartridges, and with his seven men held the barricade until it was blown away and five of the defenders killed. The two remaining men and the officer held the enemy back alone, and by a miracle of luck managed to get into our own lines with nothing but a few slight wounds.

South of the London Territorials at Gommecourt was a quiet gap in the battle such as occurred at intervals all along the fighting-line. Sir Henry Rawlinson left unattacked nearly all the high German strongholds on the downs. Instead of wasting men in a general frontal attack, the British general attempted a series of pincer movements between the hills.

From the British position at Hébuterne a strong British force made a turning movement around the high plateau of Serre in conjunction with another attacking force that set out from Auchonvillers towards Beaumont-Hamel. This was an operation of grand importance, designed to carry the great broken slab of chalk, from which the vital German railway junction of Achiet-le-Grand could be dominated. One of the railway lines from Achiet-le-Grand ran along the Ancre brook and fed the fortress



system immediately in front of Bapaume. Another railway line from the junction ran into Bapaume itself, and thence connected by means of light railways with the strongholds around Combles. It had been foreseen by Sir Douglas Haig and his army commanders that the thrust by the Midlanders and Londoners against Gommecourt might only succeed in holding up the enemy's mass of men and guns in the north. But it was hoped that a firm footing would be obtained on the Serre plateau, enabling siege-guns to be brought up against the Achiet rail-head.

**Weather favours the Germans**

A magnificent body of troops from regiments with great traditions engaged in the struggle for the plateau. In front of Hébuterne, however, Prince Rupert of Bavaria had begun his mighty, concealed line of preparations that stretched northward past Arras to Souchez near Lens. The weather, though dry, became overcast and dull, making artillery observation work very difficult. This condition of the air greatly favoured the enemy, as it enabled his numerous new batteries, which had remained silent and hidden during the long British bombardment, to carry out their mechanical work of maintaining curtain fire at marked ranges, with but little serious interruption from the counter-fire of the British guns. And the British gunners, despite their enormous wealth of munitions, could hardly have been expected to prove as expert as the enemy. Especially in regard to indirect firing at sheltered enemy positions in hollows did their preliminary work at times show a lack of precision. Many of the artillerymen, recruited since the outbreak of war and left to wait for many months till guns could be spared for training purposes, were new to heavy-howitzer work.

The best controlling officers with most experience seem to have been placed against the Fricourt and Montauban sectors, where a permanently successful British advance was an absolute necessity, in order to save the French

from being outflanked and thrown back. And here the British artillery work was such as to excite the admiration of the French, the hostile trenches being pitted with shell-holes as regularly and as closely as a machine punctures the division between postage-stamps. But on the northern sector there were some wire entanglements by the first German fire-trenches which were intact after a bombardment lasting a week. In places the foremost German parapet, though exposed to the fire of British trench-mortars, field-guns, and 6 in., 9.2 in., 12 in., and 15 in. siege ordnance, remained sufficiently uninjured to enable German gunners to hoist their machine-guns on the breast-work and shoot down the charging infantry in the open.

Yet, despite the natural inexperience of some of the artillery preparation and counter-battery firing, the attack on the Serre plateau was conducted with extraordinary intrepidity. In open order at four yards interval, with a good distance between each wave of assault, the men advanced at a quick marching pace from their assembly trenches around Hébuterne. The enemy's lines ran at all angles, on ground that sometimes sloped up and sometimes sloped down. Thus, although the general attack was made in an easterly direction, some of the assaulting waves rolled north-eastward with a south-westerly wind behind them driving their smoke-screen well upon the enemy, while other attacking forces, such as that which moved along the valley up to Beaumont-Hamel, advanced in a southerly course and could not use a smoke-screen, as it would have been blown back in their faces.

**British use of smoke-screens**

In one of these clear spaces, where the wind was against the British troops, the enemy displayed an unusual amount of courage. Amid the closing bombardment by quick-firing trench-mortars some of the Prussian Guard hoisted their machine-guns on unbroken parts of the parapet, came out into No Man's Land, and delivered an immediate counter-attack against the charging lines of British troops.



INDIAN CAVALRYMEN ROUND-UP FUGITIVE GERMANS IN "DEVIL'S WOOD."

Delville, or "Devil's" Wood, as it was appropriately nicknamed, will go down to posterity as one of the hottest centres of Armageddon. The bitterest fighting took place here in the early days of the Somme offensive. On one occasion a number of Germans were trapped by a tempest of shells

and endeavoured to reach a safer part of their line. At that moment a troop of Indian cavalry dashed in upon them. The enemy surrendered to the Indians, and one of the Germans, who spoke English, asked for mercy on behalf of his comrades.





[Canadian official photograph.]

## A DESERTED STRONGHOLD.

Once heavily fortified German entrenchments as they appeared after a British bombardment. Equipment scattered about with, on the right, a bayonet stuck into the soil, suggests a precipitate retreat on the part of the occupants of the trench.

German guns and German mortars opened a terrific fire as soon as the British guns lifted, so that the fury and precision of the counter-movement were of a staggering nature. Having regard to the fact that the troops concerned were mainly new levies, whose confidence had been greatly excited by the power of their own guns, and who were caught unexpectedly before their attack had developed, the conduct of the men was beyond praise and beyond comparison.

In no armies is the courage of the men trusted entirely. It has been found in every severe attack and in every arduous defence that a considerable proportion of troops lose heart and, pretending illness or wounds, creep out of the battle-line. This matter was minutely studied by the Germans after the war of 1870, and they found that some

**New Army's  
splendid spirit**

of the most successful of their divisions showed in great battles an alarming proportion of malingerers. To guard against this weakening of the line a strong cordon of military police always followed the attacking troops and drove back the irresolute into the firing-line. Only when the fugitives break away in such numbers that the military police cannot cope with them, even by shooting some of them down, does a modern line give way. This is how it becomes possible for tyrannical military States, such as Germany and Austria, to compel races they oppress—like the Poles, Bohemians, and Serbs—to fight for them against their will. The Teutonic military police are armed with machine-guns as well as revolvers, and connected by telephone with the batteries. They annihilate any Polish or other troops of oppressed nationality who refuse to stand in the firing-line. Napoleon employed a similar system when he compelled the Prussians to fight for him against the Russians, and all modern armies exercise varying degrees of pressure in the immediate rear of the troops they deploy. This is one of the sombre factors in a modern battle.

But it can now be clearly explained to British readers. For against all precedents and all expectation there was

no work for the military police of the British armies on July 1st, 1916. Here there were no stragglers. The New Army at once created for itself the finest tradition in the world. It was composed of troops of such quality as the old Duke of Wellington used fondly to imagine he might have obtained if he could have drawn upon all the manhood of his country—troops such as he sadly confessed he never possessed in any of his wars.

Shells and streams of machine-gun bullets made gaps in the thin lines of khaki figures, but the depleted lines continued to surge forward into the caverned strongholds of the enemy, where relief was obtained from the fire of the German guns at the cost of a ghastly hand-to-hand struggle with bomb and bayonet. The German organisation and resource

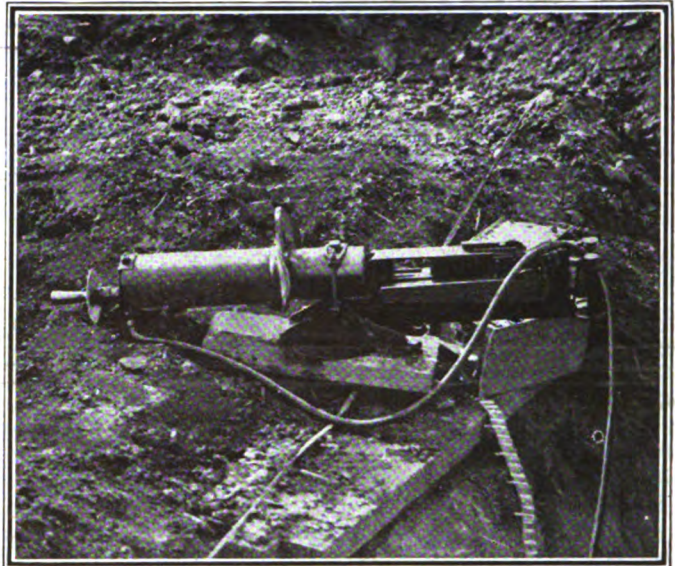


## A CAPTURED "FUNK-HOLE."

Entrance to a German officer's dug-out. Many of these shelters remained intact in spite of the terrific bombardments.

as displayed in the northern sector were marvellous, but when it came to a sheer test of manhood on fairly equal terms the German veteran was not a match for the British recruit. The Briton's advantage resided largely in his athletic habit of body and his sportsmanlike spirit. A friendly French military critic, indeed, said that the Briton entered the campaign on the Somme as a sporting athlete and emerged from it a cautious professional soldier. In this connection it must be borne in mind that pure pluck and gameness were the only available qualities of race that could have carried the new levies through their fearful ordeal. The punishment they received, to use the word in a sporting sense that offends the Germans, was indescribable. But the men who survived went steadily on. Among them were the Middlesex—the bravest of the brave—the Devons, the Lancashires, South Wales Borderers, the Dublins, Inniskillings, and the Border Regiment. The Royal Irish Fusiliers, York and Lancasters, Seaforth Highlanders,





Captured German howitzer on the battlefield near Mametz Wood. Right: A machine-gun found in the German front line. The operator was lying dead in the trench. Only one British soldier was wounded in front of this gun.



A German gun, half of whose shield had been destroyed by a direct hit. Right: Canadians testing a captured machine-gun.

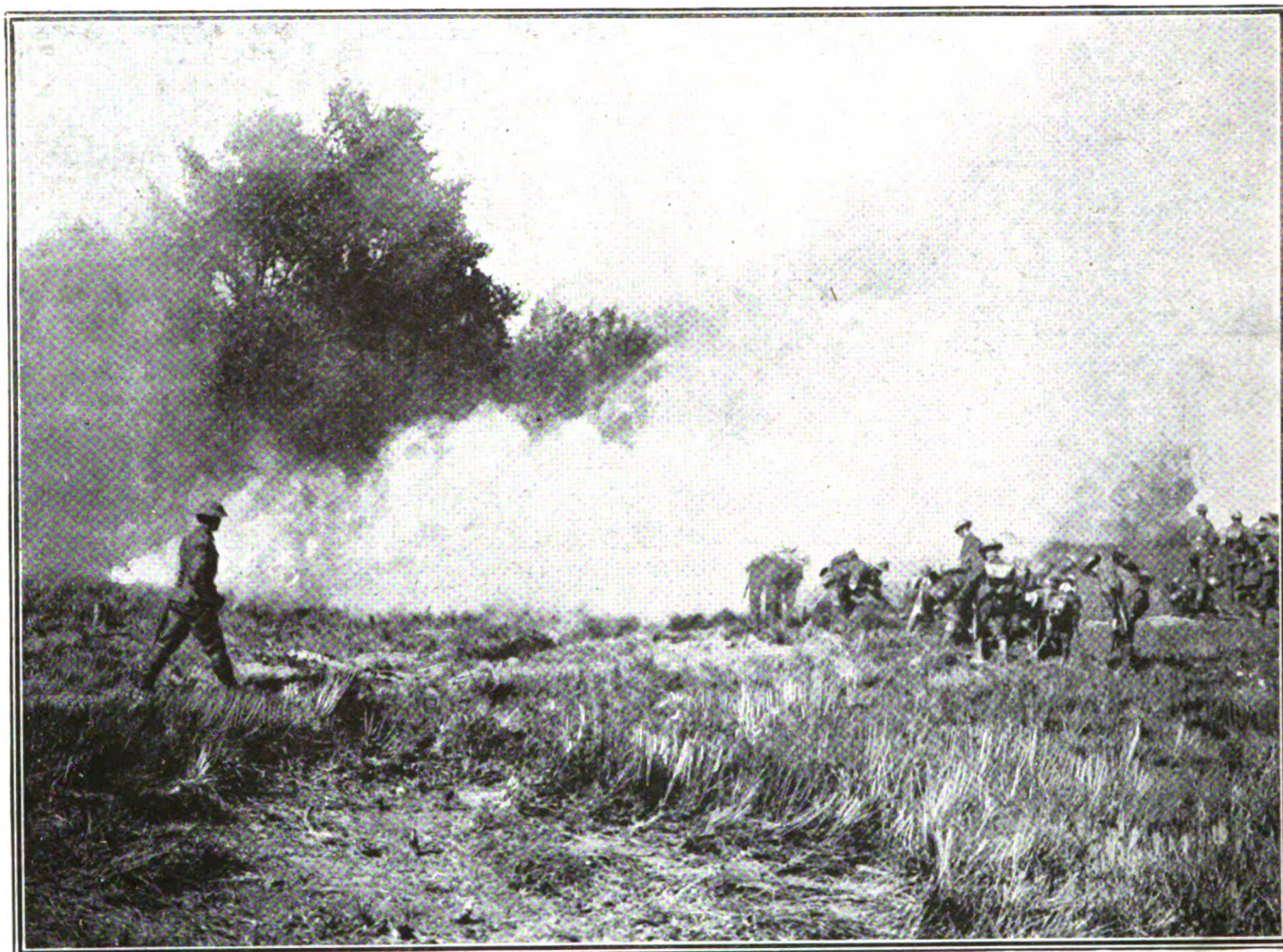


A few of the German guns captured by the British. Between July 1st and November 1st, 1916, the Allies captured 130 heavy guns, 173 field-guns, 981 machine-guns, and 215 trench-mortars—and, in addition, 73,000 officers and men.

#### SOME OF THE GERMAN GUNS CAPTURED BY THE ALLIES

[Official photographs.]





*(Official photograph. Crown copyright reserved.)*

#### BRITISH SOLDIERS HURRIEDLY ENTRENCHING BEHIND A COVER OF SMOKE IN FRANCE.

Smoke, an obvious but effective form of cover, was utilised both for offensive and defensive movements. In the former case it was produced by specially thrown smoke-grenades.

Hampshires, Somersets, and Essex also nobly distinguished themselves. The East Lancashires and York and Lancasters were among those who suffered for their heroism. Not one battalion was missing at the end of the action, though many were at times enveloped by hostile infantry and cut off by shell curtains.

In the fierce confusion of hand-to-hand fighting, amid the maze of German trenches, redoubts, tunnels, and entanglements on the Serre plateau, regiment after regiment drove into their first objective, and then vehemently tried to penetrate the enemy's second zone of defences.

#### Staff work in northern sector

Sometimes the advance over the great down was undertaken with more spirit than science. The signalling between the foremost infantry and the protecting heavy artillery miles in the rear does not appear to have been conducted with the general precision of the French operations. Like the French, the British used Bengal fires and rockets to indicate their successes. But this rough method could not convey to the observation officers any detailed information about affairs in the distance; and the military critic of the leading newspaper of France, "Le Temps," even remarked that some of the Staff work in the northern sector was wanting in efficiency, with the result that the efforts of various successful battalions were not rapidly co-ordinated and strongly supported.

It certainly would be only reasonable to suppose that many of the members of the brigade and divisional Staffs were, like the troops they handled, going through their apprenticeship and winning experience as they went along, and the difficulties they had to contend against were greater than those on the French sector. The two gigantic shell curtains, which the massed German guns maintained by means of new shrapnel and high explosive, were calculated

to upset all Staff work, even the most experienced. Telephone lines lasted scarcely a minute, and the men who tried to lay new ones fell before they could do so. Messengers and liaison officers perished when attempting to get through the barrages, and in the dull atmosphere of the afternoon both heliographic work and ordinary aerial observation are said to have been impeded. Only by the use of a very large force of aerial infantry, which would have been much more exposed to gun fire than was the French aerial infantry, could the British Staffs have maintained a close control of all the troops fighting in front of the German zones of incessant shell fire.

On the other hand, the German Staff work was also interrupted and partially disorganised by the British barrages over the enemy's rear position. An historic instance of this condition of things was seen in the heart of the great plateau, where the village of Serre lay in ruins far behind the battle-front. By a magnificent feat of fighting and endurance a small party of British troops burst right through the German lines and, in a dashing advance of a mile, stormed and carried part of Serre village. In some respects this impetuous little break-through was the most sportsmanlike thing in the whole battle. But it was scarcely an operation of a modern scientific sort, as it was not supported by strong forces on either flank.

#### Audacious entry into Serre

The village, though in ruins, contained in its underground works a large mass of Germans armed with machine-guns and bombs, and the enemy army corps commander had a cross-fire of heavy batteries directed on this key position. On arriving in the village and meeting with strong opposition, the small party of British troops somewhat hastily signalled their partial success by means of rockets. The German gunners saw the signals, and, although their Staff



must have been in telephonic communication with the large German garrison, the hostile batteries opened an annihilating fire on Serre and killed, wounded, and suffocated their own men who occupied nearly all the position. It seems clear that somebody in a position of authority on the German side either lost his head or acted on the British signal, without waiting for confirmation from his own officers in Serre. Friend and foe were overwhelmed by the tornado of shell, and with a blind, brutal sacrifice of a large body of defending troops the small and audacious attacking party was defeated.

About two miles south-west of Serre the hostile stronghold of Beaumont-Hamel was the scene of a struggle of awful intensity. Rising to a height of about two hundred feet above the valley of the Ancre, and connecting with the neighbouring hamlet of Beaucourt, lying on the plateau directly above the ravine of the brook, Beaumont-Hamel was the most formidable of all the German fortresses. Its underground system, elaborated in the easily-worked chalk, was superior in strength to that of Thiepval on the other side of the Ancre ravine. Wave after wave of the finest flower of British valour broke against the burrowed rampart above the Ancre brook.

**Epic of  
Ancre brook**

The Germans on the height brought their trench-mortars into action as soon as the British guns lifted, showing that no vital damage had been done by the long and heavy bombardment. Then through the German barrage and the rake of machine-gun fire the Inniskillings, with the Irish Fusiliers, Irish Rifles, and other battalions of the Ulster Division, English troops, and the Newfoundland Regiment made an immortal attempt to achieve a great victory against all odds. The Inniskillings, advancing with great dash, went over the ridge, south of Beaumont-Hamel and flanking the Ancre brook. On their right a

battalion of Fusiliers heading the main Ulster force stormed into the hollow where the trickle of water of the Ancre flows down to join the Somme. The Inniskillings won the ridge and vanished into the smoking furnace of the valley, and there they were joined by the long-jawed and stern-eyed Covenanters, who had swept over two lines of enemy trenches and were charging deeper into the hostile works.

What made the charge of the Ulstermen especially memorable were the circumstances in which it was undertaken. In the first place, the British bombardment in the Ancre section had not been completely effectual. Much of the barbed-wire and other entanglements had been blown away, but awkward patches still remained, and even the parapet of the enemy fire-trench had not been battered down, but only holed, and the holes formed a kind of battlement which the Germans used as machine-gun emplacements. All this was only the beginning of the Ulstermen's difficulties. The massed German artillery was of arrogant strength about the Ancre brook, where the Ulster Division was formed up in a wood for attack. Long before the hour of assault, when the British guns were still maintaining the general bombardment, the German gunners opened an overwhelming shell fire upon the packed trenches in the woodland. The enemy clearly knew the exact position of the Ulstermen's parallels of assault and, in a rapid and intense fire, they turned the top half of the wood into a slope of shattered stumps and white chalk holes, in which it seemed impossible that anything could remain alive.

**Overwhelming  
enemy fire**

Some of the leading battalions suffered heavily, yet when these untried Irishmen emerged from the shattered wood and began to walk slowly over No Man's Land, they went as steadily and as coolly as though they were on the training-ground. The enemy's gun fire continued to rake

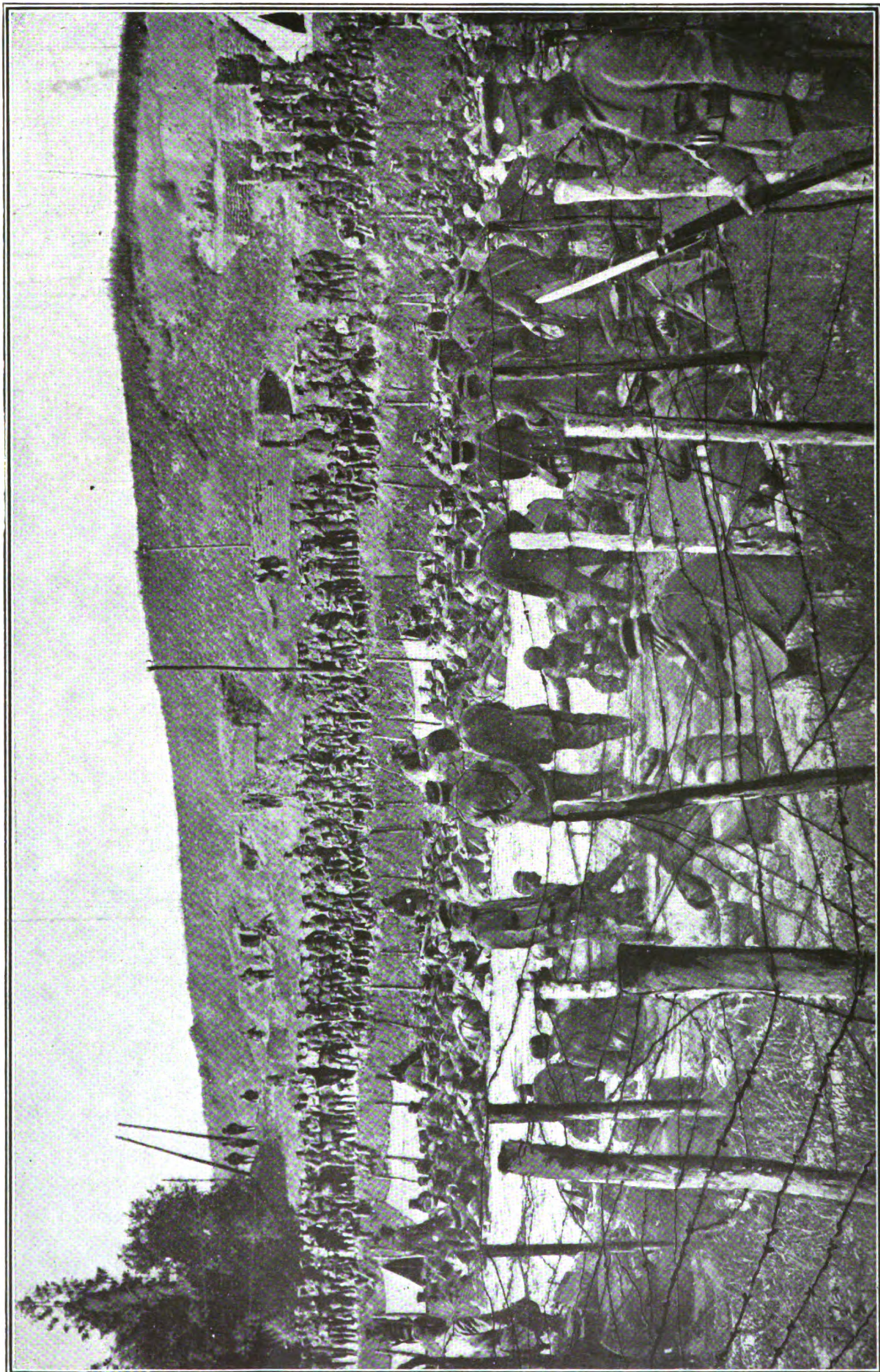


*Official photograph.*

AN OBJECT-LESSON IN MINING WARFARE ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

Lieutenant-General Sir Herbert Plumer and a group of officers on the edge of a mine-crater which had been exploded for instructional purposes. The lecturer can be seen by Lieutenant-General Plumer's side, speaking through a megaphone.





[Official photograph.]

#### UNDER LOCK AND KEY: GERMAN PRISONERS CAPTURED DURING A SOMME ADVANCE.

Seated, standing, or sprawling on the ground of their camp, from 1,500 to 2,000 German prisoners are of the officer class—were truculent and confident. The sight of so many captives apparently gave enduring the first hours of captivity, having just been rounded up on a Somme battlefield. Many of considerable satisfaction to the large number of British soldiers who are seen congregated in the them did not disguise their pleasure at being out of the war. A few were morose, others—particularly background of this illustration.



them from the left, the enemy's machine-guns enfiladed them from a village on their right. Nevertheless, battalion after battalion walked out of the wood of death and then, going forward at the double with the Ulster battle-cries of "No surrender!" and "Remember the Boyne!" made one of the most glorious charges to the death in history.

The front line of German trenches was stormed by the Fusiliers, and on their flanks their comrades thrust and bombed the Germans from a series of redoubts. A large number of prisoners were taken, and they refused to cross their own shell barrages, and begged to be allowed to lie down and wait. But the dauntless Ulstermen shepherded them across the zone of death, and continued to work forward and upward, while the fire increased in raking power from both sides of the Ancre hollow. The German second line was taken through a ring of shrapnel and machine-guns,

and then, with the enemy's fire pursuing them in greater intensity, as more enfilading redoubts were approached, the brown waves burst over the third and fourth German lines until only the fifth line remained to be conquered.

Officers in neighbouring corps and divisions fighting on the heights around the great salient the Ulstermen had made were amazed at the terrific drive of the division. But they pointed out that the last and fifth line could not

#### Charge of the Ulstermen

be carried until the flanks of the victorious force were cleared. The Ulstermen had produced a long, narrow salient, like a knife-thrust, running through the enemy's lines on either side of the Ancre. It was necessary to widen the conquered position in order to get more elbow-room, and to destroy various enfilading hostile posts, before the final thrust could be delivered. In several places desperately brave German machine-gunners had retired during the charge of the Ulstermen into caverns running beyond the main underground chamber. The attacking troops had thrown bombs by the half dozen into the principal caverns and had seemed to clear them. But in many cases the Germans had sheltered in the outrunning chambers, and when the bombs had all exploded they cautiously crept up and peered through periscopes. Then, finding no British garrison at hand, they emerged and resumed the struggle. Thereupon the Irishmen were raked from the rear, where the enemy's shrapnel was also falling upon them, and their thinning lines began to waste away at a deadly rate.

The order was given for the heroic division to stay in the captured enemy's fourth line, until both flanks were cleared and the "resurrected" Germans in the rear were cleared off. But it was the anniversary of the Boyne, and the original order to the division appears to have directed them to press onward as far as they could hold. Very probably the second order, countermanding the final attack, did not get through the enemy's shell curtains and streams of flanking machine-gun fire. However this may be, the Ulstermen continued their incomparable charge. The German gunners swept them with shrapnel as they worked forward in rushes from the fourth line. Yet, by a miracle, small parties of brown figures could be seen through field-glasses from the British lines struggling forward into the last German trench system. The fifth line was won, but the heroic remnants that won it were so small and so



A PAYMASTER'S OFFICE ON THE SOMME.  
British soldiers lining up for their pay at an improvised office in a shell-hole.

[British official photograph.]

closely hemmed in on either side by the enemy that they could not get sufficient hand-bombs up to establish themselves strongly. Both corps on the right and left of the Ulster Division had been unable to advance far enough to give support.

Then occurred a splendid tragedy of deathless heroism. Some of the Ulstermen would not retire. Directly in front of them they could see a beaten and retreating enemy, and they were not in a position to appreciate their danger on their long flanks. No veteran troops would have done what they did, and, except as an example of vehement spirit, their action was vain. Instead of withdrawing, some of the parties in the fifth German line stayed and fought until they died; then, with their supplies of bombs and other ammunition running out, the remnant of the division tried to hold the fourth line while reinforcements came through the dreadful valley of death.

The Ulstermen at this time still held in their grasp the promise of a great and far-reaching victory. Half shattered as were the descendants of the terrible Ironsides that Cromwell planted in North Ireland, they remained defiant and full of menace. Blood told. Chiefly to the men of Ulster, England in the eighteenth century owed the loss of her New England colonies, and they it was who afterwards did more than the Catholic Irishmen to attempt to make Ireland independent with the help of Republican France. Always they had been the most persistent fighting race in Western Europe, and in a century of peace they had maintained their extraordinary fury of character by provoking annual street fights with the Catholic Irishmen. Small in number but strangely strong in soul, they constituted, in all attempts at settling the Irish question from the days of Pitt to the days of Asquith, the hardest political problem of the British Empire. Just before the outbreak of war they were ready to fight the Nationalists, and their threat was intended in sombre, deadly earnest. And in the valley of death by the Ancre the amazing race of Ulstermen, with their curious combination of Puritanic grimness and Celtic perfervidness, displayed to their Catholic countrymen on their left flank, who were themselves among the finest fighters in the field, the sheer, dreadful, driving power with which they went to war. Not since the Irish Brigade broke the British column at Fontenoy was there seen so mighty an explosion of Irish valour.

Promise of a great victory





PACK-HORSES OF THE SOMME.

How ammunition was conveyed to the Somme batteries when the weather was so inclement as to turn many of the roads into quagmires such as this illustration forcefully depicts.

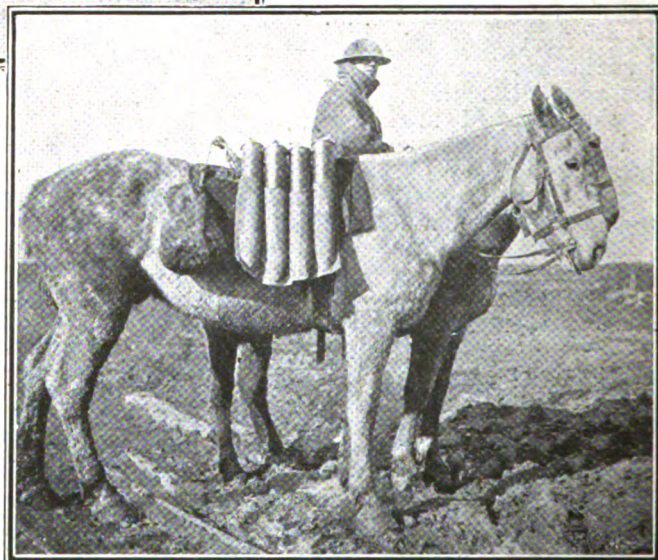
With half the men out of action, and the advanced fifth line driven in, the Ulstermen still held Thiepval Wood on the southern heights of the Ancre, while across the brook they maintained connection with the forces fighting around the Serre plateau. Some six thousand Ulstermen, closely wedged all round by the enemy, but thrust well into the hostile lines, constituted the central pivot for both the attacking British wings. If their principal gains could have

been maintained, the pressure on the German front would have been doubled, and the combined thrust towards Bapaume and Achiet could have been driven home with unusual speed. Reinforcements were, therefore, sent up to the hard-pressed Ulstermen, but the enemy machine-gunners and snipers who had arisen from their caves and dug-outs made things very difficult in the narrow angle of advance. The first strong supports seemed to reach their objective through the valley, and sent up signals of success. Then a second support of English battalions went forward, with much hard fighting and fearful losses. Later in the day the Newfoundland Regiment charged over the hill on the north-western slope with the aim of clearing the flank of the Ulstermen.

The Germans were increasing in strength and cutting off patrols and groups and bits of battalions between Serre and Beaumont-Hamel and the Ancre brook. When the Newfoundlanders appeared on the ridge, in an air from which the smoke had cleared, they encountered a converging machine-gun fire through which they could not pass. There was especially a south-easterly slope firmly held by the Germans and packed with guns that raked every foot of land on the northern slope across which the Newfoundlanders marched. This slope had been reconnoitred the night before by British patrols and found to be weakly held. But it had been greatly strengthened by the German commander on Saturday morning. Clearly he knew what was coming. The enemy's fire was like a driving rain across a Scottish moor, but never a Newfoundlander wavered. Wounded men crawled for shelter into shell-holes, while German bullets swept the top of the grass above them with the effect of a heavy wind. The noble regiment wasted away in tragic heroism on an impossible task, and few returned at night to the British lines. By a miracle some men managed to reach the German line on

the height, and there found that the hostile wire entanglement was practically intact. One private, who got nearest to the German trench, had all his comrades shot down on either side of him, and fell himself into a shell-hole full of dead. For four days he remained there, with shells and bullets falling about him, and fed on the rations of the dead, and then falling back, met a British patrol.

Getting no assistance on their flanks, the Ulstermen in their advanced positions were subjected to a series of vicious attacks with hand-grenades. Yet they not only withstood the Germans, but drove them back with heavy losses. But at night-fall they ran out of bombs, and



[British official photographs.]

GETTING MUNITIONS OVER MUD.

Two old retainers which had experienced the gloom and peril of the winter battlefield. The horses were carrying shells over rough country.

after continuously and desperately struggling for fourteen hours, and capturing a large number of prisoners, of whom only five hundred got through the German shell curtain, the Ulstermen began to fall back to the two first German lines. There they made another great stand through the night and following day, until a relieving force, organised of men who had been fighting for thirty-six hours, carried ammunition and water to the gallant garrison. The old Ulster Volunteer Force, originally designed for the event of civil war, sacrificed itself for the Empire and the cause of humanity. Fearful as were the losses of the division, and vain as seemed the sacrifice of thousands of Irishmen, Englishmen, and Newfoundlanders, it was on the pivot of the Ancre that the southern British wing won forward to victory. But before the field of success was reached there was another scene of disaster.

**Terrible fighting  
around Thiepval**

Between the valley of the Ancre and the southern ridge of Bazentin was the village of Thiepval, backed by a down rising two hundred and ninety feet above the brook. Here raged one of the longest and most furious battles on the Somme. The hamlet of Grandcourt on the north-east, the hamlet of St. Pierre Divion on the north-west, with Thiepval, Leipzig Redoubt, and Mouquet Farm on the southern slopes, formed the four sides of the great chalk





Where top-boots were an advantage. Crossing a muddy road:



British billets at "Mud Terrace," as it was humorously and appropriately called, and some soldiers coming through the rain in macintoshes.



Hauling a big gun into position, an operation which was greatly impeded by inclement weather. The upper illustration gives an idea of the depth of mud in parts of the Somme area. A horse has actually sunk up to his haunches in the mire.

CAMPAIGNING IN THE MUD: FORETASTE OF WINTER CONDITIONS ON THE SOMME.



stronghold. The British attack was made in a series of thrusts from the north and the south and in the centre. Early in the day the village of Thiepval, where two valuable roads crossed, seemed to have been won by a series of furious springs. But the men advanced too confidently through the village, and the Germans, who had been hiding in deep caverns, came out into the streets and with machine-guns, rifles, mortar-bombs, and hand-bombs, assailed the victors in the rear with surprising effectiveness. The tactics of the French armies on the Somme were different. Each French attacking force was carefully trained and controlled to divide on a captured line, first into a strong bombing and clearing party that penetrated into the entire system of caverns and firmly held it, and secondly into a lighter and reconnoitring party that went cautiously forward under the eyes of its aerial infantry to prepare the way for a farther advance.

Nevertheless, a considerable degree of success was at first won around Thiepval from the drive of the Ulstermen on the north and the thrust of the Borderers and

cauldron of seething green, black, and white fumes. From a quarter to four to a quarter past five, when the struggle was at its fiercest, Thiepval, seen from the high ground in the British lines, was a sight of volcanic horror. Here the main concentration of British artillery overlapped the misplaced line of the principal German batteries, and from both sides shells and mortar-bombs poured in an incessant flood upon the down, ruins, corpses, and river valley. All the night the contending lines and groups swayed over the slope, till the German commander, having countered the attack on the Gommecourt and Serre sectors, brought reinforcements down to Thiepval and retook some of the ground south of the village.

#### End of the first phase

At the end of the first phase of the struggle on the Ancre sectors the British gains were limited to small reaches cut out of the German front line and united to the British fire-trenches. The men would have done better had they not gone so far. The advance had been too quick and hasty. All that was actually accomplished after the rushes into

Serre and Thiepval, and the partial envelopment of Beaumont-Hamel, was a great and costly holding action on a winding front of more than ten miles. It facilitated the main advance towards Bapaume, and in this measure served a purpose. But clearly the movement was not designed merely to hold the enemy, it was intended to break the first zone of German defences across the Ancre brook, and speed, by a northerly turning movement, the Franco-British advance on Bapaume, Combles, and Péronne. This indecisive result of the Ancre attacks most seriously interfered with Sir Douglas Haig's and General Foch's plan of the offensive. It left the British army on the La Boisselle and Montauban line with scarcely any elbow-room in which to work forward. The enemy retained a tremendous flanking fire over the small new British salient, together with rampart after rampart of high downs overlooking the comparatively low ridges around Albert from which British observation officers directed their guns. Months had to pass before some of the high ground round Thiepval



THE MEASURED TREAD TO THE FIRST LINE.

Dogged determination suggested by every line of their heavily-encumbered figures, these men were on their way to take their turn in the trenches.

Manchesters and other battalions working from Authuille towards the copse known as Blighty Wood. All the Thiepval woods were covered by the main mass of the new German guns which Rupert of Bavaria had sited with a view to breaking the British offensive at a single blow. As the British troops advanced among the trees they were caught in an intense barrage by shells of many colours—

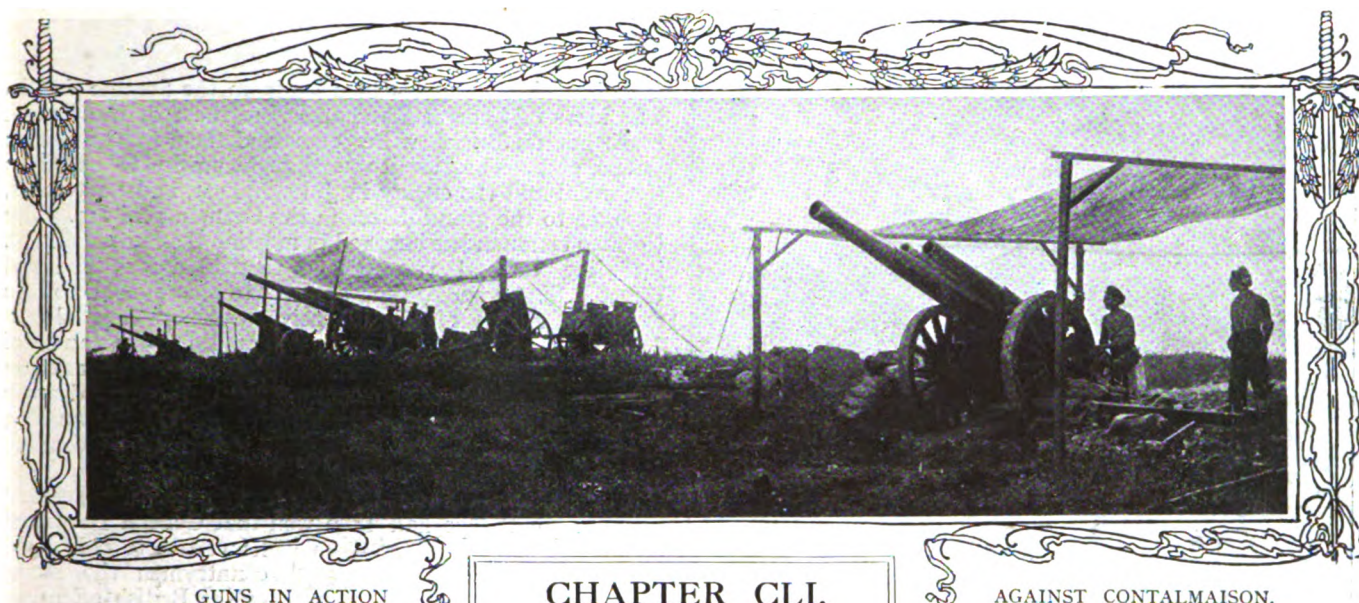
#### Advance through the woods

the small green 4.2 in. universal shell that combined a high-explosive effect with a rain of bullets; the black new 6 in. shrapnel with its increased propellant power, and shattering high-explosive shells of all sizes. "They threw everything at us except half-croons!" said a Scotsman. In Blighty Wood the Germans accurately marked all the ranges before their retirement, and with machine-guns, mortars, and artillery maintained a sweep of fire over the huddled heaps of their own dead that had been slain by British guns and aerial torpedoes.

By the time that all the front trenches had been secured and Thiepval won and lost, the little town became a devil's

was won, giving room and observation to the British forces. Thus the Battle of the Ancre on July 1st, 1916, ranks with the Battle of the Lille Ridges on May 9th, 1915, as failing to achieve its main objective. At Rouges Bancs and Aubers, Sir John French had lacked heavy guns and high-explosive shell. This grand deficiency in the machinery of war had been made good when the Battle of the Ancre opened, but the issue of the battle was practically identical. Something more was needed than thousands of guns and millions of shells. And this something the new British armies laboriously and terribly acquired, sifting out new leaders of talent and Staff officers of ability and general experience as it crawled forward from trench to trench and from shell-hole to shell-hole. Bulldog courage was at first the only really effectual virtue of the citizen army of the British Empire. Strangely like a bulldog fighting a quick and clever retriever in woolly armour, the slow-minded but stubborn Briton got at first a small and unimportant hold, and then worked up his grip until it became dangerous to his foe.





GUNS IN ACTION

## CHAPTER CLI.

AGAINST CONTALMAISON.

# THE GREAT BRITISH BATTLES OF THE SOMME.

## II.—Opening Victories on the Bapaume Front.

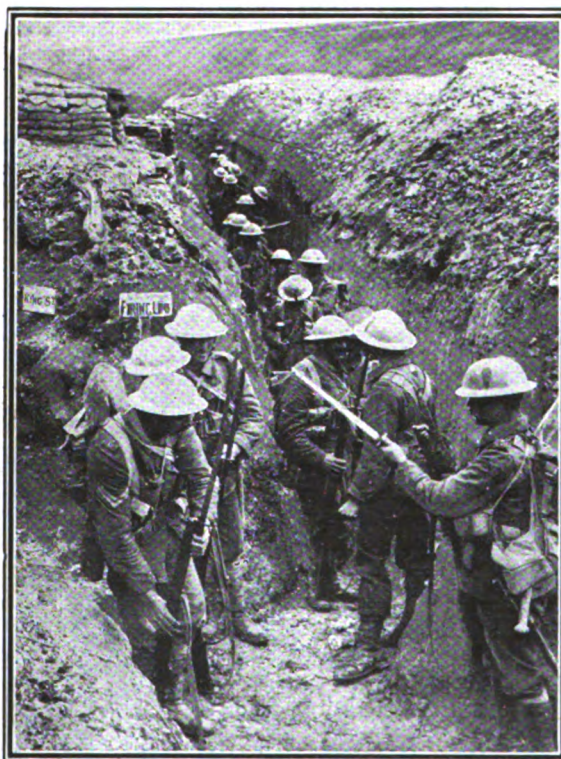
By Edward Wright.

Apparent Strength and Real Weakness of German Position North of the Somme—A Two-Mile Slope Directly Exposed to British Shell Fire—Extraordinary Phalanxes of Allied Artillery on Four-Mile Front—Perfection of Lancashires' Team-work at Montauban—The Navy Labour that Won the Battle—Footballing East Surreys and the Fight around the Warren—Great German Counter-Attack Broken by Lancashires—Gordons, Devons, and South Staffs at Mametz—How the Yorkshires Took the Crucifix Trench—Terrific Conflict at Fricourt—Heroism of German Machine-Gunners at La Buiselle—The Clash of the Children of Odin—Tynesiders, Royal Scots, and Suffolks Thrust Towards Contalmaison—Immortal Display of Tragic Valour—Terrific Struggle around Ovillers—Ditch and Cave Warfare on the Great Slope—Sir Douglas Haig Feints below Lille and Springs Again Towards Contalmaison—Great General Battle between Reinforced Germans and the Toiling Fourth Army—Yorkshiremen Reach Contalmaison Only to Draw Back—Large Balance of Gains Won by the British—Opposing German General's Praise of the New British Troops—Enemy Confesses He Had Not Foreseen and Prepared Against the Somme Operations.



THE British front near the Somme River was apparently weak, but really strong. It ran for the most part along a hollow, threaded by two small water-courses and undulating between them. In the lowest levels the British fire-trenches were some three hundred and fifty feet below the topmost ridge occupied by the enemy. The German works seemed unassailable. The first hostile line, composed in places of seven systems of earth-works, was a maze of connecting communications, and rose in terraces to the ridge of Montauban, which was about two hundred feet above the British trenches near Fricourt. Beyond the Montauban ridge there was a fall into a tortuous ravine, along which wound a stream. Then the land again rose in long slopes for nearly two miles to the second and higher ridge at High Wood, Martinpuich, and the Pozières Windmill. It was about three and a half miles from the British line in the hollow to the principal German observation-posts on the main Pozières-High Wood ridge.

Before the development of heavy-artillery tactics the



THE FINAL ORDER BEFORE THE ASSAULT.  
Lancashire Fusiliers fixing bayonets just before charging, July 1st, 1916. They were one of the half-dozen regiments singled out for praise in the first accounts of the British offensive.

broad rolling slopes held by the enemy and fortified by him with mole-like industry would have been regarded as practically impregnable to attack. Indeed, the ground had been carefully selected by the Germans in August, 1914, and rapidly organised by their engineers in October, 1914, after having been carefully surveyed by their Staff officers and General von Kluck in person some years before the outbreak of hostilities. As we have before remarked, the slopes between Combles and Bapaume had been the theatre of a notable battle between General Faidherbe and General Manteuffel in 1870, and since that date thousands of German officers had studied this classic field of war. The Germans displayed all their foresight, all their patience, all their attention to minute precaution in their lines immediately north of the Somme River.

This was why the enemy was confident that no serious attack would be made upon him around Fricourt. He thought that the two-mile slope of intricately fortified ground, garrisoned by good troops sheltered in deep underground chambers, and swept by the fire of hundreds of concealed guns, was perfectly





[Canadian War Records]  
**NOVEL AMBULANCE.**  
Bringing wounded men from the field on a light railway truck drawn by a horse.

secure. He would, in fact, have welcomed a grand attack there, so assured was he of his natural advantages of ground. But he reckoned that commanders of such talent and experience as General Foch and Sir Douglas Haig would not waste men in vainly attempting to win the great slopes. So he placed his reserves, new guns, and main ammunition dumps farther north.

In Champagne and at Verdun, however, some of the best French generals had discovered that a long slope overlooking lower but undulating ground was a weak position. By arraying hundreds of long-range howitzers and cannon against a long gradual slope it could be made uninhabitable. All that was necessary was that the heavy artillery of the attacking force should be more powerful than the batteries of the defending force. Given anything like an equality of munitioning between the opposing armies, it was fairly easy for the attacking commander to make a sudden concentration of heavy ordnance against a long slope held by the enemy with only a normal number of pieces. Ridges with long slopes had lost their value, causing such a revolution in tactics as overthrew all the traditions of warfare that had grown up since the Stone Age. Any force on an exposed hillside and summit could be slaughtered by massed siege-guns and driven away without an infantry charge. The ravines between two heights or ridges were, however, difficult to attack, even with the indirect fire of howitzers. The strength of the German position around Fricourt lay in the ravine winding from Fricourt behind Montauban towards Guilleumont and Bazentin. The rest of the battlefield for the most part consisted of exposed slopes, giving little shelter until the ravine behind Thiepval was reached.

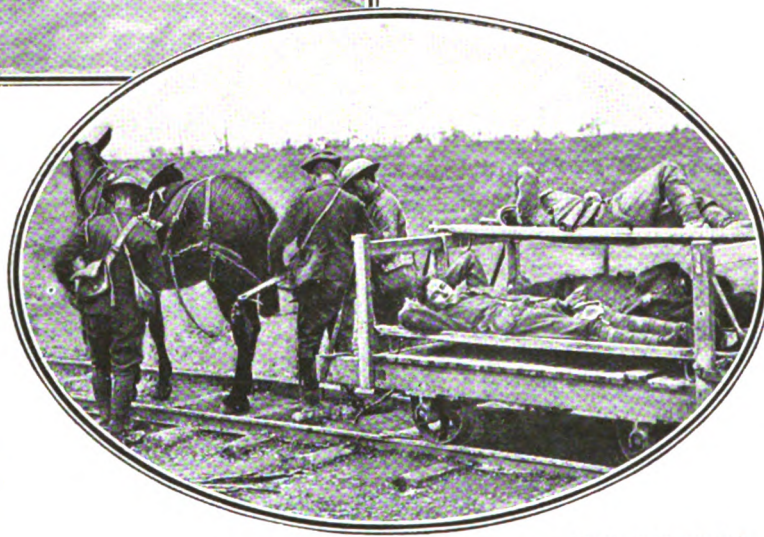
This view of the matter had been explained by the famous French divisional commander, General Marchand, who forced a similar slope in Champagne in the autumn of 1915, and came in the autumn of 1916, when his wounds

were healed, to lead his men again in the Somme battle. The ideas of General Marchand were those of the French Staff, but no British writer explained them to the British public, perhaps because it was thought unwise to enlighten the world and the enemy in July, August, and September, 1916, as to the grand defect in the German position. The German commanders engaged in meeting the British attack, including General von Below, General von Stein, and General Sixt von Arnim, appear to have held to the exploded notion of the defensive value of long slopes. Rather than retire for three or four miles to the tangle of downs in front of Bapaume, the German commanders deployed hundreds of thousands of men, who wasted away in the terrific furnace of British artillery fire. Naturally, the enemy deserved to be encouraged when he was defending the indefensible.

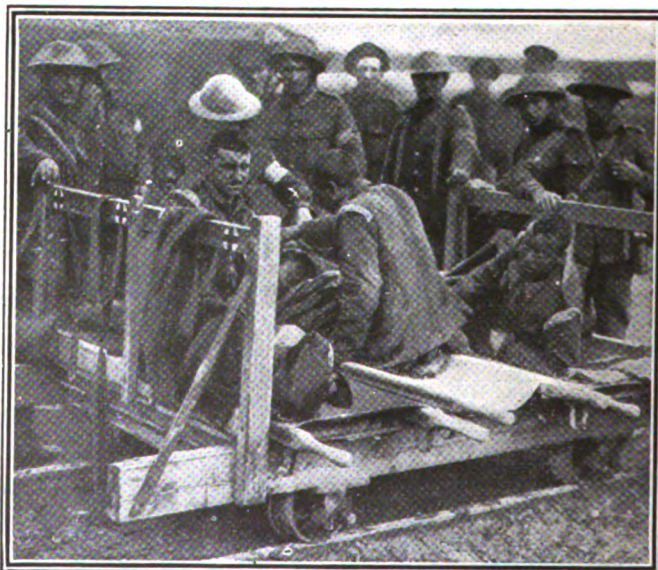
It was not until the battle had lasted some three months and the great slope had been won that General Marchand

hinted to his own countrymen the secret of the British offensive. When the slope was won and the contending forces began to fight over the long, undulating reverse incline going down to Bapaume, the advantage of ground was altered. It fell in turn to the Germans, who had then greatly increased their heavy artillery and rained millions of shells upon the British trenches, exposed from Flers and Eaucourt l'Abbaye to Courcellette and the ground near Grandcourt. This, as we may as well explain in advance, was one of the reasons why the British movement slackened

when it won the main ridge and began to descend the long incline to the strategically important little town of Bapaume, where it was directly exposed both to the cannon and howitzers of General von Below's army.



[British official photograph.]  
**FIRST STEPS TOWARDS HOME.**  
How wounded came down to the clearing station. Light railway commandeered by the R.A.M.C.



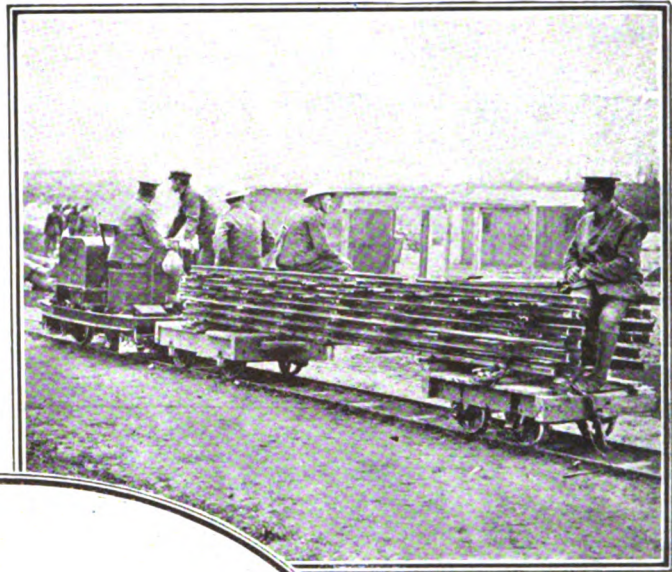
[British official photograph.]  
**BACK FROM BAZENTIN.**  
Wounded soldiers arriving at a dressing-station in the R.A.M.C. train. Doctors and orderlies are seen giving first-aid.



It is now clear that Sir Douglas Haig enjoyed a great advantage of ground on that part of the front he skilfully selected for his main attack. As we have seen, he completely misled the enemy by his stupendous artillery demonstration in the last week of June, 1916. By one of the most brilliant feints in the history of warfare he induced the Germans to waste most of their strength around Arras. Then, while General Micheler further misled the enemy well to the south, at Roye, Sir Douglas Haig struck unexpectedly at the defensive German positions by the Somme, in conjunction with General Fayolle's similar surprise attack.

The southern British line of battle stretched from the hill of Ovillers, four hundred and twenty-six feet above sea-level and separated by a wide slight hollow from the somewhat lower southern hill on which the village of La Boisselle rose. Then came another valley, nicknamed Sausage Valley, above which the ground rose nearly a hundred feet to Fricourt Down. South of this down the village of Fricourt tumbled in utter ruin at the mouth of the ravine which wound behind Mametz and Montauban. These two villages rose on a long mass of rounded chalk four hundred and twenty-six feet above sea-level, with the few main bosses jutting two hundred and thirty feet above some of the British fire-trenches around Carnoy. The Mametz and Montauban Down, forming the grand bulwark of the German system of fortification on the Bapaume sector, was particularly strong

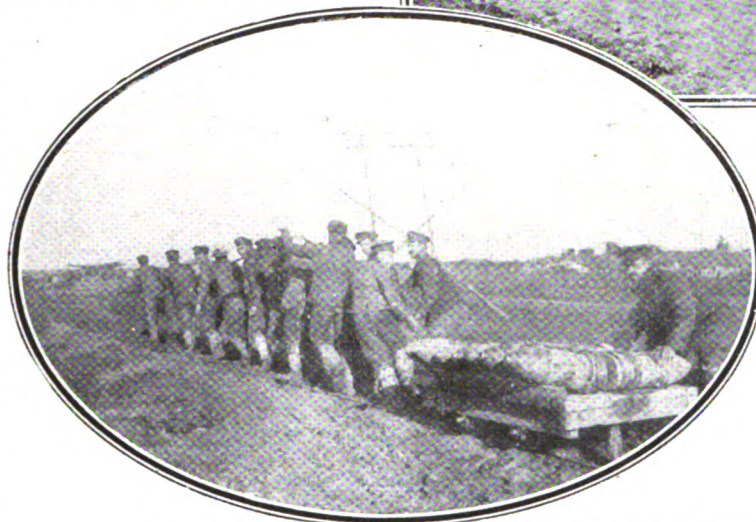
It broadened and rose eastward, where three high woods, Favière Wood, Bornafay Wood, and Trônes Wood, with Delville Wood above them, afforded cover and dominating observation points for many German guns. These guns could sweep the Montauban ridge from the



[Official photograph.]

#### RAILWAY SPINNING.

Taking rails along a light railway for its own extension.



[British official photograph.]

#### TAKING UP SHELLS TO THE GUNS.

British soldiers pulling a trolley laden with heavy shells along a light railway to the guns, a duty in which they delighted.

east, while the guns on the Bazentin ridge swept it from the north, and batteries at Pozières shelled it from a westerly direction. Exposure to this intricate and threefold cross-fire of artillery constituted the main disadvantage under which the British troops laboured. As explained in a previous chapter, the southern British army and the connecting French force

occupied the low-lying salient of some four square miles by the Somme River. And as the British were north of the French, they alone came fully under the enemy's cross-fire.

The attack on the Montauban ridge was, therefore, an affair of peculiar difficulty. On July 1st the French wing at Maricourt only advanced towards Favière Wood, penetrating the enemy's lines to a depth of less than half a mile. This left full scope for all the enfilading hostile batteries in front of Guillemont to bombard the flank of the British advance at Montauban.

The delicate junction-point of the allied armies had to move forward with extreme caution for fear of a great counter-attack against the linking units of the Franco-British armies. There was a further difficulty in regard to the very restricted space between Fricourt and the marshes of the Somme, which was available for massing the British and French parks of artillery. The enemy on the heights had a large arc of great depth, on which he could station his field-guns and heavy ordnance, while the Allies, being closed in a narrow salient, had a line of only four miles from Fricourt to the river along which to concentrate, row behind row, the guns of both Sir Henry Rawlinson's and General Fayolle's armies. The result was such packed phalanxes of British and French guns as made everything that Mackensen, Hindenburg, and Haeseler had organised seem insignificant. There was a very grave disadvantage in the extraordinary closeness with which the British and French guns were packed together on the four-mile front. The target they offered to the enemy was such as gunners had never dreamt of. A German shell, fired at hazard between

#### Crowded four-mile salient



[Canadian War Records.]

#### LOADING AN AMMUNITION TRAIN.

Loading ammunition cases on a light railroad motor-train behind the firing-line. The distribution scheme was perfect for an infinite supply from all the munition works.





[British official photograph.]

#### WORCESTERS RETURNING FROM THE TRENCHES THROUGH HEAVY RAIN.

Conditions of trench life in wet weather steadily improved after the first winter, but at their best they remained a tremendous test of the spirit and physical endurance of the men—a test which was triumphantly withstood.

Fricourt and Curlu, might always strike some gun-pit, ammunition depot, supply train, or infantry communication. Between the close-set array and long wedge of batteries of all calibres, many of them working in the open, there had to be maintained routes of movement and supply and munitioning for the attacking infantry. The perfect organisation by means of which the two great British and French forces, crowded into a salient four miles broad, preserved

#### Brilliant British Staff work

a long-sustained energy of movement until victory was obtained, forms one of the most remarkable pieces of Higher Staff work in the history of the war.

Clearly the Staff officers of the High Command of Great Britain contained men of genius. The brain of the British Army was excellent, and only its latest and improvised and untested extended nervous system, represented by the Staffs of new divisions and brigades, showed occasionally any deficiency in function.

Special care was taken in all the details of Staff work of the southern British army. The team work of battalions, brigades, and divisions around the Montauban ridge showed what the old professional British Staff officer could have done had there been time to amalgamate the Regular Army with the Citizen Army. When the British Staff College training was combined with two years' experience of Continental warfare, the gentlemen with the red tabs were superior to the similar directing class of the German Army. The checks on the Ancre front arose from the fact that Great Britain, in July, 1916, had not sufficient Staff officers remaining from the original Expeditionary Force to control every detailed movement of the great new national armies. Happily, the best of those that remained worked well in the vital sector.

At Montauban all went magnificently. The Prussian regiment holding the village was annihilated by the preliminary bombardment, and replaced, by July 1st, by 3,000 men of the 6th Bavarian Reserve. All these 3,000 Bavarians were eventually killed or captured by the British

infantry. The attack was entrusted to two Lancashire brigades, largely composed of Manchester men, on the left of whom were the East Surrey, Kent, Essex, Bedford, and Norfolk Regiments. The Manchesters, who led the charge, were composed of the worst material in the world from the German point of view. For they were town lads of a highly industrialised breed—clerks, warehousemen, and cotton operatives drawn from the smokiest city in the world. But factory life had not sapped them of vitality and spirit. They broke through the large-boned peasantry of Bavaria with all the ancient courage of the strange, romantic Iberian race that Lancashire has sheltered for thousands of years in her hills.

The charge of the Manchester battalions was conducted with Napoleonic perfection. The artillery preparation was superb, and greatly facilitated their onset. The six or seven hostile trench systems, with five or more zones of wire entanglement, had been blasted into chaos by heavy shells and aerial torpedoes. The defences rose on a slope, forming a sort of great spider-web of parapets, communications, and frontal and flanking redoubts—all directly exposed to the plunging fire of British mortars and siege-guns. A large part of the new Bavarian garrison was put out of action a few hours after it arrived in the trenches by the stupendous volcanic eruption of high explosive from the British artillery phalanx. When the guns lifted, about half-past seven on the morning of July 1st, and the quick-firing trench-mortars sent their last torpedoes travelling visibly into the German fire-trench, the enemy batteries northward and eastward were unable to help their infantry, for they were in turn assailed by an indescribable tornado of heavy shell. Scarcely any new German guns had been sited in this part of the front, which was under the control of General Sixt von Arnim. The fact that he replaced the shattered Prussian regiment, on the morning of July 1st, by the 6th Bavarian Reserve shows he expected an attack, but he did not foresee the strength of it.

General Arnim  
misled



Most of his guns were placed in orthodox fashion on the reverse slope of shelves and ridges, where they were searched out by the British artillery.

Amid a Niagara of sound from their guns and from some assistant 3 in. French quick-firers, the two Lancashire brigades charged up the height, in a good wind that carried their smoke-screen blindingly upon the

**Dogged German  
machine-gunners**

enemy. One German section in a vital spot was completely blanketed by the thick smoke, and the leading officers of the Lancashires appreciating the situation, hurried their men forward and then collected them from wide groups of sixes into closely working companies that broke into Montauban village. Many Bavarians, though absolutely fresh troops, were completely cowed by shell fire and at once surrendered, and three of their field-guns were taken. But the ubiquitous and heroic German machine-gunner gave some trouble. Amid the terrific bombardment, some of these admirable and imperturbable men hastily constructed rough brick emplacements behind the ruined walls and fought to the death. One Manchester sergeant, turning a corner in Montauban, was caught in the ankle by a stream of machine-gun bullets that also hit him over the heart. He thought he was dying, but in spite of

his broken ankle he stumbled on and bayoneted the machine-gunner, and then sitting down to die found that the two bullets that had thumped over his heart had been turned aside by a shaving-mirror and a novel he had taken to read in the German trenches.

Joyful to find he had only a broken ankle, the sergeant got along a bit farther with his men, and disarmed another German gunner on a platform high in some trees, and shot him down before he could do much mischief. Meanwhile, the cellars of the village were thoroughly cleared by bombing parties, and the magnificent soldierly qualities of the Lancashire lads were displayed by the quickness and



THE MAGIC OF THE PIPES: TWO TYPICAL INCIDENTS WHERE THE BATTLE ROLLS.

Black Watch celebrating the capture of Longueval with pipe and drum. On the left three officers are seen seated at a table, while other members of the audience are looking on from trench parapets. Above: Five

splendid Scots swinging back to billets to the skirl of the bagpipe, which doubtless went through the ordeal of battle with its owner; a delightful photograph with the appeal of many a more ambitious work of art.

[British official photographs]





CAVALRY ON THE MOVE: EQUESTRIAN ACTIVITY IN FRANCE WITH THE FIRST FLUSH OF DAWN

After nearly two years of comparative inaction, British cavalry—Dragoon Guards and Decan Horse—took part in a minor though significant affair near the Bois de Foureux, during July, 1916. The sight of a strong patrol of horsemen going forth further heartened British infantrymen already elated by a foretaste of victory. Mr. A. C. Michael expresses the scene with his usual skill and dramatic effect.



skill with which they rebuilt the defences of Montauban. It is hardly too much to say that they were equal to the veteran Iron Division of France in the speed and efficacy with which they fortified the ground they had won. This businesslike navvy work of theirs was soon to prove the decisive factor in the first phase of the British action by the Somme.

Meanwhile, an unexpected piece of good luck enabled the more easterly Lancashire brigade to strengthen itself greatly on its right. Between Montauban and Bornafay Wood there was a large brickfield, lying on the dominating slope beyond the village. Airmen's photographs had shown that this flanking work was a nest of machine-guns and trench-mortars, and it was feared it would prove a terrible obstacle in the drive up to Montauban. Therefore, in the original plan of attack, it was arranged to pass by this stronghold and make no direct attempt to take it, but leave it to be gradually encircled. Only a small force was detached to reconnoitre the brickfield, but instead of reconnoitring it they captured it and made prisoners of

#### East Surreys at the Warren

the survivors of the company that garrisoned it. The position was a ghastly monument to the destructive power of British guns. The sheltering brick-stacks had been scattered on the machine-gun sections concealed behind them; the dug-outs were caved in, and the deeper caverns choked. Since the attack on the brickfield near La Bassée the British Army had obtained guns throwing a shell of immense weight, with the result that the brick-stacks exploded into innumerable and deadly fragments.

On the left of the Lancashire brigades the Bavarian machine-gunners were not blanketed so well by the British smoke-screen. In particular, there was a very strong redoubt known as the Warren, which by reason of the curious twist in the wind as it flowed up the slope was not screened from the attacking infantry. Here some of the Home County battalions were caught by a scythe of bullets, and compelled to shelter in shell-holes and wait for relief. But the hostile gunners were mastered by the spirited East Surreys, who went forward with a great rush, playing footballs into the German line through the enemy's curtain of shrapnel fire like the London Irish at Loos. They broke far into the network of defences, cleared the ground, and then directed other battalions round the worst clump of German machine-guns. By steady fighting and good team-work, the great danger spot was overlapped by English bomb-throwers, and then the supporting troops, who had got somewhat too far to the right of their original line, went over to the left and captured the long German position running westward from Montauban, towards and through an orchard. By this means the Warren was completely enveloped and ferreted out, and some eight hundred prisoners taken.

With Montauban carried on one flood of invasion, and the flanking brickfield on one side and the Warren on the other wrested from the enemy, his position became perilous. For the British advance at this point was much the deepest along the whole front, a depth of a mile and a half of intricately fortified ground being occupied by the victorious division. The German commander hastily prepared a grand counter-attack, and at three o'clock on Sunday morning the 12th Reserve Division and the 16th Bavarian Regiment—15,000 men in all—tried in turn to inundate Montauban. On the north side of the village, overlooking the valley of the Fricourt stream, the Germans retained a long position that wound from the rear of Bornafay Wood to within a few yards of the new line made by the Lancashire men. Eastward of the village, also, the German positions were very close to the British. In these circumstances the enemy commander reverted to the method of a mass attack, and launched his men in dense grey waves upon the fatigued Britons. The strength and massive character of the German attack were a surprise, but the Lancashires and their comrades had also a surprise for the enemy.



CANADIANS COLLECTING KIT AFTER A BATTLE.  
Advancing men naturally discard as much as possible of their impedimenta. After an action much of this is collected, as well as arms and cartridges left by the wounded and dead.

Since Le Cateau and Ypres the marksmen of the Regular British Army had fallen, or had gone into the machine-gun organisations; but they had left behind them the technique of the intensely rapid fire that had saved Western Europe on at least two occasions. The trainers of the New Army did not only attempt what was possible in regard to rifle fire, but, carried away by enthusiasm, owing to the glorious tradition of the "mad minute," took in hand the millions of new recruits and achieved the seemingly impossible. They reduced the minute to a mad thirty seconds, in which twenty rounds were discharged by the Lee-Enfield. No doubt the marksmanship of the Citizen Army was inferior to that of the old long-service Regular soldier. On the other hand, quick accuracy of vision seems to have been a native quality of the British race, and this quality, educated by the finest musketry instructors in the world, employing disappearing targets and a system of platoon competitions, administered to General von Arnim and the German Staff a severe and disconcerting shock.

#### A surprise for the enemy

German masses had gathered in the woods in the darkness, but as they came out on the open slopes flickering search-lights caught them and star-shells illuminated them, and though they charged with high personal bravery they went the way of the first new German formations at Ypres. Onward they surged, wave after wave, the living storming over the fallen and arriving, by reason of the density of their masses, within point-blank range of the defenders of the village. They were badly caught by the raking fire of the British machine-guns that had been hastily emplaced around the ruins, but this the German commander had allowed for when he formed his dense columns. Then, however, came the great surprise of the new British infantry.





[British official photograph.]

## IN THE ENEMY'S QUARTERS.

Staff work in an underground stronghold captured from the Germans. A telephone exchange is seen affixed to the wall, while the dug-out boasts the convenience of electric light.

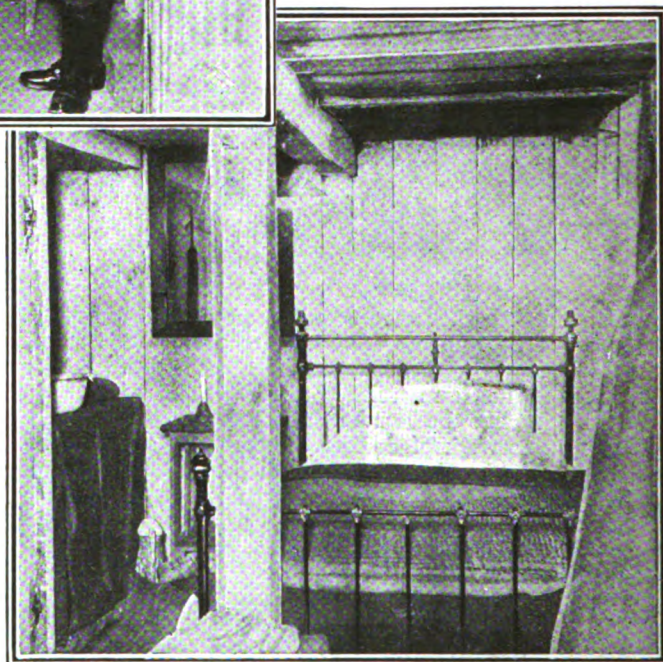
Between the spouts of flame from each Vickers gun and Lewis gun there was an unbroken line of smaller flames from thousands of rifles, into which clips of cartridges were being fed with mechanical regularity. A score or two out of 15,000 German troops got into a British trench known as the Staubwasser trench, and were killed there. Nearly six thousand fell on the slopes around Montauban village, where the wayside image of the Virgin Mary rose above the indistinguishable ruins of the houses. The rest of the broken German brigade fell back to the second zone of defences running from Longueval to Bazentin-le-Grand, under a terrific fire from the British artillery. The German divisional commander flung out every man he had without making the least impression upon the British line. He was afterwards retired from his command, apparently on the charge of having arranged his great counter-attack with too much haste. But the failure was not his fault.

Triumph of the  
citizen soldier

Every officer in the German Army had underestimated the fire power of the new British citizen soldier. German newspapers rang with praise of the old British regular private, who was justly said to have used his rifle as if it were a machine-gun. But all this hostile praise was intended to reflect upon the steadiness and marksmanship of the new British soldier, who the enemy thought could be easily staggered and swamped by the brutal method of the mass attack. At Montauban, at 3 a.m. on Sunday, July 2nd, 1916, the new British soldier violently conquered the respect of his veteran enemy.

On the left of the victorious Lancashires, East Surreys, and other Home County battalions, the land dropped in a steep slope south-eastward to Mametz village. Here there was a closer tangle of German defences, rising above the British front line at Carnoy, and falling to the north into the narrow valley of the Fricourt stream. The caverned fortresses were not entirely choked by the British artillery, and by reason of the lie of the ground the screening smoke clouds did not veil some of the most important hostile redoubts. North-countrymen and South-countrymen of Great Britain at first advanced easily up the down with

sloped arms, among them being the Gordons, Devons, and South Staffordshires. Connecting with the Manchester troops, the South Staffords crossed the enemy's first line in a promenade. No machine-guns worried them, the enemy's artillery fire scarcely troubled them, and stalking among the dug-outs they gathered groups of disheartened grey figures who surrendered easily. But near the end of Mametz village a strong position, known as Danzig Alley, remained uninjured by British siege-guns, and full of the fresh troops General von Arnim had sent forward. At this place the Gordons seemed about to capture a village without a struggle when they were caught at a range of a hundred and twenty yards by a machine-gun blast. "Suddenly," wrote an officer



[British official photograph.]

## SUBTERRANEAN BED-SITTING-ROOM.

Some of the German shelters in Picardy actually contained beds and bedding, as well as mirrors, one being seen suspended on the wall over the small table.

of the Gordons, "a machine-gun opened upon us point-blank, and caught us in the face. I shouted to my men to advance at the double, and we ran forward through a perfect stream of shattering bullets. Many of my poor boys dropped, and then I fell and knew nothing more for a while. But afterwards I heard that we had taken Mametz, and held it still. My Gordons were fine, but we had bad luck."

The battalions sent up to reinforce the Gordons were caught in a sudden barrage of German shrapnel. The German guns beyond the Bazentin ridge had lost their observation-balloons, while their directing airmen had been chased from the sky, and as they were also subjected themselves to a severe battering they did not get the exact range when first the British smoke-screens were loosened. Yet as soon as the leading battalions of attack got through, the German gunners worked by the map over the British front and over their own lost line, and catching in a furious fire the supporting troops of the attack,



made the struggle around Mametz a desperate affair. The Devons had also had to charge like the Gordons through a tornado of machine-gun bullets, and in the turmoil of these two checks some of the supporting battalions, harassed by the enemy's curtain fire, lost their direction and confused the Staff work. Nevertheless, the magnificent heroism of the Highlanders and the lads of Devon was not wasted. The remnant of these battalions continued the great charge, bombed the German gunners to death and held the line. Then, reinforced, they swung up

**Mametz gained  
at the double**

the valley of the Fricourt stream and, taking the Germans in an enveloping movement, mastered Mametz and all the reverse slope of the down facing Mametz Wood. This turning movement between Mametz and Fricourt was of double importance. Fricourt village, lying near the lowest hollow in the British line, was an extraordinarily strong position. The German engineers had achieved their masterpiece of subterranean fortress work in this apparently weak part of their lines. A great wedge of downland rose steeply above the village, and with its tunnelled communications, caverned machine-gun redoubts and large hidden garrison made a frontal attack impossible. No artillery could reach the main force of defenders, and their machine-gun emplacements remained intact. At the opening of the British movement, when smoke-screens were useless against the Fricourt promontory, the attacking troops on both sides were compelled to swerve more than their commander had intended. But the formidable stronghold, which constituted the enemy's key position to the Bazentin ridge, was slowly enveloped, and then, as it weakened, stormed by a second frontal attack.

While English and Scottish troops worked down from Mametz to the western side of the promontory fortress, a magnificent body of North-countrymen—Yorkshiremen, Northumberland Fusiliers and others—with the Somersets in support, made a drive of heroic tenacity across the high

ground north of Fricourt. The charge of the Yorkshires was one of the most superb examples of intrepid suffering in the war, ranking with the advance of the Ulstermen and the London Territorials at Gommecourt. There was an open slope, a hundred and fifty yards broad, between the British assembly trenches and the enemy's fire-trench. Some of the German redoubts remained uninjured by the British artillery, and the German machine-gunners sat thirty feet down, with their guns ready to be hoisted up, and looking through long periscopes, through which they could see the first wave of attack. Before the order came through their telephones the grey machine-gunners were upstairs with their guns and mowing down the khaki line. With every gun team there was a picked rifleman, whose orders were to kill every British officer. Few of the leading lieutenants escaped, and in one battalion only two officers who were dressed as privates remained to direct the men.

With nearly all their officers gone and their ranks horribly thinned by the swathes that the machine-guns cut, the lads of the North Country held to their task, every man playing up to the others as well as he could. To many the charge was just a dreadful blank. "I went mad," said one Yorkshireman, "and all I can remember is finding myself in a trench with the Germans lying dead around me, and myself throwing bombs at a clump of men in grey uniforms." But there was one Yorkshire sergeant who retained his presence of mind and found a way of escape. He and his men were lying down to avoid the stream of machine-gun bullets, but he noticed that the enemy gunners were traversing only ankle high, and thereby killing his crouching men. He saw it would be better to be hit in the ankle than in the head. He sprang up and led a charge, surprised the enemy, and captured the machine-guns without receiving a scratch.

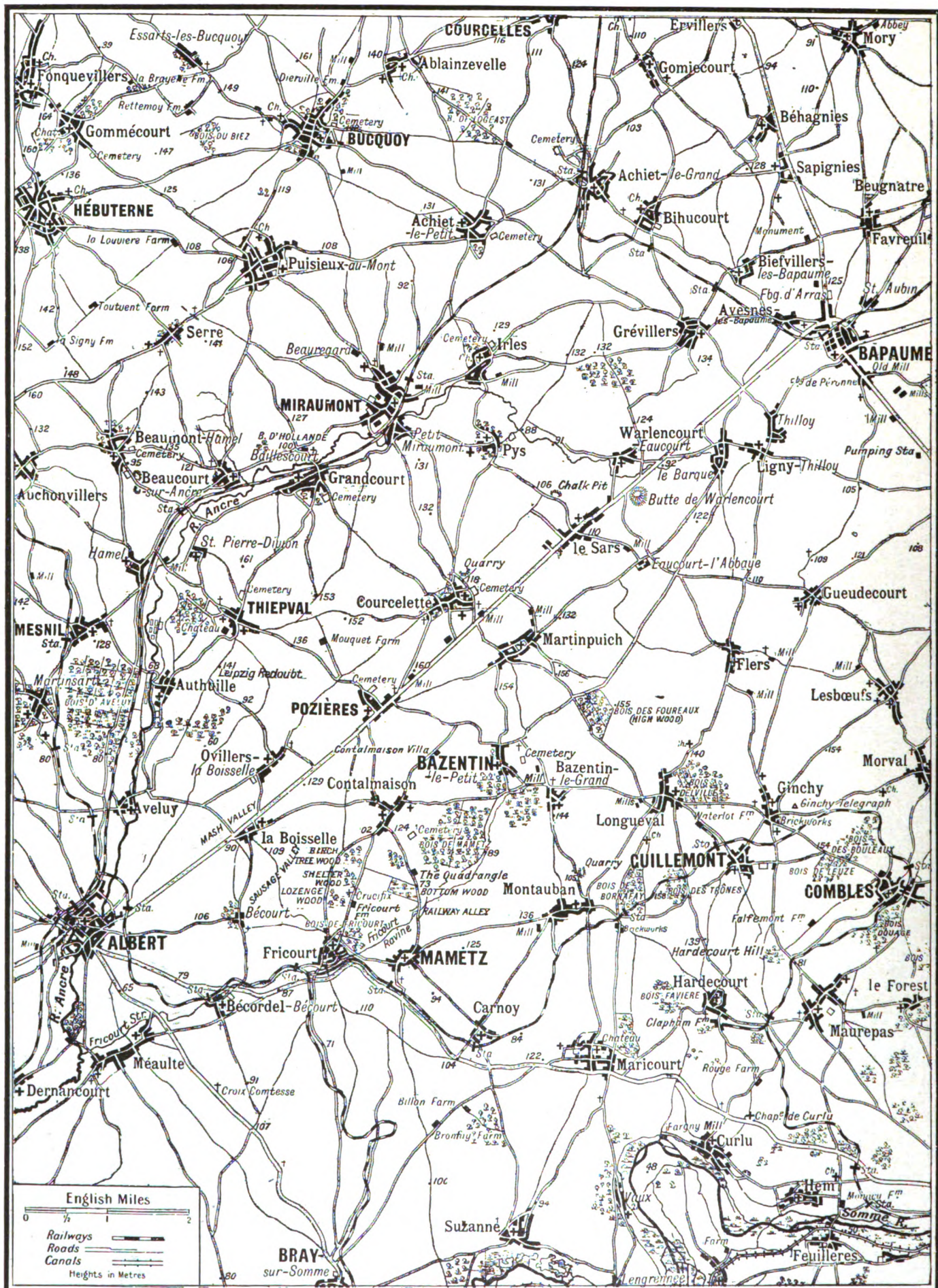
**Canny Yorkshire  
sergeant**

All this was done in a heavy curtain fire from the German



THE FORBIDDING ASPECT OF THE NEUTRAL ZONE : IMPRESSIVE FRENCH OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPH. Some faint idea of the horror and desolation of No Man's Land may be gleaned from this picture. It winds, a strip of bare earth, between the opposing trenches only a few yards apart, dotted with still figures that cannot be brought in. Beyond it shells are bursting continually. H





# AREA OF THE BRITISH OFFENSIVE NORTH OF THE SOMME.

This map shows the points of fiercest fighting during the course of the British advance across the rectangle of ground contained by a line drawn from Albert through Hébuterne, Achiet-le-Grand, Gueudecourt, Comblès, and Mametz.



artillery. But when the West Yorkshires and their comrades broke into the enemy's trench system and bombed their way through caverns and winding, narrow ditches six feet deep, the bombing parties had some relief from shells, and fighting with great fury forced their way up the ridge to Crucifix Trench. Stumbling over shell-holes and dead and mangled bodies, they reached the trench of the Crucifix and found it full of Germans. Their work, however, had been carried out ahead of the Staff time-table, and all the approaches to the Crucifix were being violently hammered by British guns. But the Yorkshiresmen, lashed to absolute recklessness by their heavy losses, would not stay until their messengers dashed through the enemy's curtains. Charging through the British gun fire they



A HAUL OF UNWOUNDED MEN.

German prisoners in a trench waiting to be sent to a compound behind the lines.



THE HUN LOOKING MORE OR LESS PLEASANT.

Smiling types of enemy captives photographed before being sent to the rear. They do not seem to be any the worse for their experiences. Or is it that they were glad to get out of the inferno?

jumped into the sunken road and into the main trench, took all the Germans that remained prisoners, and began to bethink themselves of their own position. Their captain was struck down with a bullet in his ribs, and suffering great pain, but he sent up a red rocket, and at the signal the British guns lifted and crashed beyond into Shelter Wood.

The rocket, however, was seen from the Bazentin ridge, and the German gunners there at once shortened their range and began to register around the Crucifix. The wounded Yorkshire captain sought for cover, and with ten men dragged himself towards Shelter Wood. Finding that a thousand or more Germans garrisoned the wood, he slowly crawled back and directed the consolidation of

three dead Germans, with whom he remained for eight hours until the British bombardment ceased.

During these eight hours the nine hundred survivors of the first British assault, who had reached the Crucifix position, were subjected to the massed fire of the German guns. All the night of July 1st the Germans bombarded the Crucifix, while the British bombarded Shelter Wood and Birch Tree Wood. The design, of course, was to keep the infantry on both sides down by an unending blast of shell, and thus to enable bomb throwers to work forward. The North-countrymen were in the worst situation, as the trenches they held had already been completely wrecked by their own guns, and they could not find proper cover

#### A night in Crucifix Trench



from the enemy's intense heavy fire. But the granite character of the Yorkshiremen enabled them to endure the night of indescribable horror, and when morning broke and found the gallant nine hundred tragically diminished in number, with their fighting spirit raised to still wilder frenzy, they again advanced and, in fierce bombing sprints, tore more ground from the enemy and tightened the neck of the net around Fricourt.

From the line of trees that fringed the slope where the famous Crucifix rose the Durham Light Infantry, who fought a great fight alongside the Yorkshiremen and Northumberland men, made sallies into the copses where German machine-guns were concealed, and enlarged the British grip on the Fricourt promontory. All Sunday the struggle went on behind and through Fricourt, where the victorious North-countrymen were surrounded on three sides, as the division on the left had only advanced in small groups that were unable to make good the ground they had carried in their first rush. Gradually, Sir Henry Rawlinson and his southern army corps commanders, by violent counter-battery firing and continual bombardment of enemy infantry positions on the heights, diminished the strength of the German barrier fire and strengthened the

#### Victory at Fricourt



LIGHT REFRESHMENTS FOR SLIGHTLY-WOUNDED MEN.

Great as our casualties inevitably were in the Somme advance, it was established that the proportion of slightly-wounded men to the total was unusually high. Refreshment stalls were pitched immediately behind the fields of battle for the use of the walking wounded.

division on the right of the North-countrymen. On Sunday afternoon Fricourt fell.

North of Fricourt, in another high angle of downland, was the hill village of La Boisselle, lying between Mash Valley and Sausage Valley, and forming the mighty outwork of Contalmaison. Like Fricourt promontory, La Boisselle seemed too strong to be carried by a frontal attack. The downland village, however, was a point of decisive importance, as it rested on the highway from Bapaume to Albert, and was barely two miles from Albert. Its great hill completely dominated the little town, and the German batteries, firing at close range, reduced the place to as wild a ruin as Ypres. Only the Virgin of Albert strangely survived the wreck. Above the red ruin of the shattered cathedral the image of the Mother of Christ leaned from the wreck of the tower, and though the bright statue seemed ever about to fall, as shell after shell roared by it, it remained bowed as in benediction over the rubble of the old city.

La Boisselle, with its volcano of batteries and observation-posts and shell-pitted high road, was the grand menace to the British and French forces on the Somme. A strong and sudden German advance from La Boisselle would

have cut the allied communications in the four-mile Somme salient. Special attention was therefore devoted to La Boisselle by the British troops around Albert. Mining operations on a gigantic scale were undertaken some weeks before the offensive, and on the morning of July 1st the advance was heralded by three tremendous explosions that destroyed an important stretch of enemy redoubts. Then, as the works went up in smoke and dust, the Lincolns charged over the craters and invaded the village. But the German machine-gunners in their burrows beneath the houses fought with admirable fearlessness and, supported by three regiments of Baden troops, checked the frontal assault. One Baden gunner, who maintained his deadly work until Monday afternoon, excited the admiration of the men who at last captured him. He was badly wounded in nine places, yet he worked his gun for nearly sixty hours with only a few short intervals for sleep.

The German was on the whole a great fighting man. The position to which he had lifted his Empire quickly by war after war was a solid testimony to his strength of character, and this strength of character had not weakened since 1870, but greatly increased. An Englishman of genius who knew more about Germany than any of his countrymen, Professor Cramb, prophesied just before his death in 1913 that the clash of the children of Odin—Teutons and Englishmen and Lowland Scots—would result in an unparalleled display of spirit on both sides. For fifteen hundred years the two great streams of Northerners had flowed apart without conflict. The Germans had won and lost a great European empire in the Middle Ages, had depopulated their own country in wars of religion, and only slowly recovered unity and population. Then, mixed with a large Slav element—the original Prussian and Wend—the Continental Teuton at last made a bid for the empire of the world against the island Teutons who had mixed in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland with Celt and Norseman. From Charlemagne to Bismarck there had been an almost uninterrupted peace between the two chief races of Northern adventurers. Great

Britain had fought Bavaria and beaten her in the days of Marlborough, and before those days Queen Elizabeth broke the power of the Hansa towns. But never had there been a main struggle between the German and the Briton until the New British Army charged into the enemy lines in July, 1916.

The Anglo-Celt was more adventurous—the Slav-Teuton was more patient. In hardness of character they were alike. But the Anglo-Celt represented the spirit of liberty, while the over-organised German, with his curious strain of Slavic submissiveness, stood for little more than the virtue of almost perfect discipline. Nearly all the strong points of the German line were garrisoned by hundreds of men who had volunteered to fight to the death. Some of them were cowed into surrender by the overwhelming power of the British artillery. But, generally speaking, the German showed himself a man of heroic mould, and the extraordinary virtue he displayed is the best and the fairest evidence of the quality of the untried British troops who mastered him. Had the Germans been a free race and the Britons a modern feudalised race, the issue of the battle would probably have been different.

#### Anglo-Celt v. Slav-Teuton





*Heavy gun in action at long range from a rail emplacement.*



*Impression of the smoke-cloud emitted by one of our big guns when firing.*

[Official photographs.]





*Gunners and horses hauling a heavy weapon into position on the Somme.*



*Convoy of motor-transport passing a column of New Zealanders on the march.*





[Official photograph.]

*Artillery officers using a captured German gun against the enemy.*



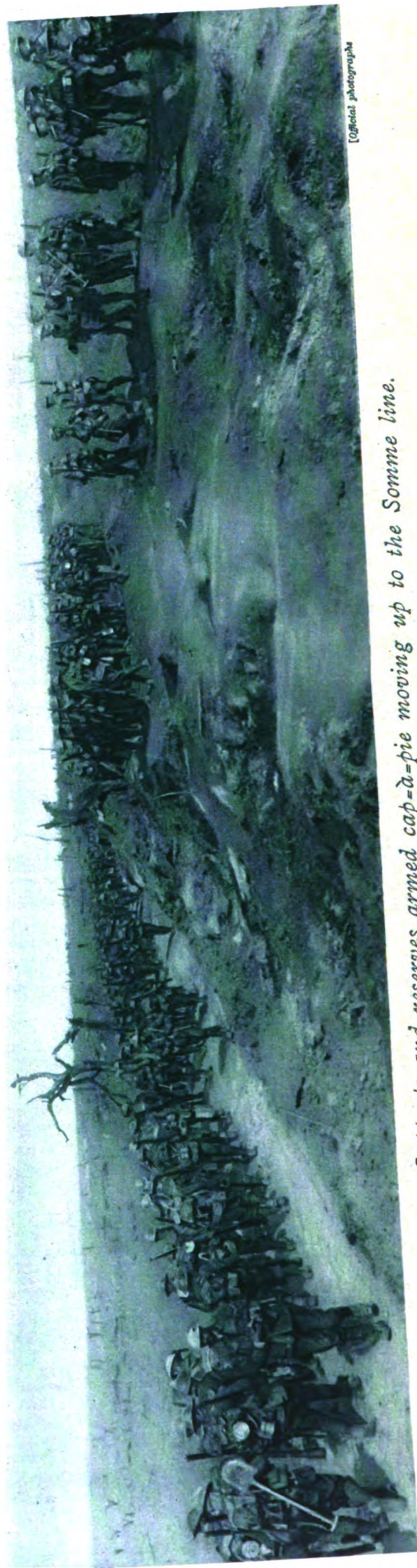
[Canadian War Records.]

*Canadians fix bayonets in readiness for a charge on the Somme.*





*British troops advancing in open order through shell and gun smoke.*



*Supports and reserves armed cap-a-pie moving up to the Somme line.*

[Official photograph]



Fine as was the democracy of France, it could not have saved itself by its own effort. Even with the help of the backward peasant communities of Russia and the inefficient system of Imperial bureaucracy of those village communities, the French democracy, with its tendency to race suicide, could not have survived against the better organised Teuton. On the sea power, financial power, shipping power, and manufacturing power of the Anglo-Celt the strength of the Allies rested, and it was not until Great Britain improvised a vast army that hope of victory could be entertained. And such was the warlike genius of the Teuton that the ultimate issue seemed still to incline to a stalemate, even when Great Britain struck her first blow in full force.

At La Boisselle, where Sir Henry Rawlinson's Staff had done their utmost to achieve success, the operations were brought to a standstill by the German machine-guns. A report came through of the capture of the village on Saturday morning, and Sir Douglas Haig believed he had won the position when he issued his bulletin at 1.15 p.m., July 1st, 1916. But the German troops there continued to fight strongly until the afternoon of Monday, July 3rd. They retired into their caverns during the first hasty, sweeping charge of the British troops, then emerged with their machine-guns, and by desperate attacks in front and rear and on both flanks defeated the troops in both the first assault and the supporting movement. Only the remnant of a German battalion was in La Boisselle, running short of food and quite without water; but the store of bombs was large, and though the attacking forces drew away at intervals to allow the massed British siege-guns to pound the chaos that had been a village into something like a lunar desert, the encircled Germans fought on heroically amid the blasts of heavy shell-fire, and were conquered only by slow bombing advances.

Many acts of cruelty were committed by the Germans on July 1st. For instance, they captured a wounded British officer, and after deliberating the most ghastly means of putting him to death, bound his suffering body on the parapet telling him he should there learn what it was to stand the fire of his own guns. By a strange chance the exposed, wounded, and manacled man survived the gun fire and was rescued by British troops after his torturers had been killed in fair fight. But though the German was often a vile brute, he was also a great fighting man. Weeks of incessant warfare had to pass before he generally showed signs of failing confidence in himself.

Around La Boisselle some of the deeds of the British troops appeared at first more adventurous than scientific. The advance past La Boisselle to Contalmaison was a splendid and memorable thing, like the charge of the Light Brigade. But it does not seem to have been a perfect example of siege-battle technique. Many of the men who took part in it were Tynesiders, with Irish blood in them, who went forward cheering while their pipers played them on. Royal Scots and the Suffolks took part in the long, terrific charge that broke clean through the enemy's first zone of defences and reached his second



ENTENTE IN MEN AND MACHINES.

British gunners bringing a French howitzer into position.

*British official photograph.*

zone at Contalmaison. The German guns put out a heavy curtain of shrapnel, through which the waves of khaki surged steadily forward, the men going at parade step with imperturbable courage. Then at the second German trench the defending machine-guns came into action with devastating effect. The Tynesiders and their comrades were enfiladed from the high ground at La Boisselle, the bullets coming pattering down in showers, so that when they hit men in the shoulder they came out at the wrist.

"It seemed to me," said a Lincoln man, "as though there was a machine-gun to every five men." Handled with deadly skill by the gunners, the unnumbered Maxims about La Boisselle brought down Irishmen, Scotsmen, and Englishmen by the thousand. Yet the extraordinary brigade held on its course and, passing La Boisselle, entered the scene of a more terrible ordeal. Every machine of death the Germans had was turned upon the head and flanks of the shattered but undaunted Britons. Trench-mortars ploughed the ground and blew men asunder; high-explosive shells roared down in heavy salvos, while shrapnel and machine-gun fire played continually all along the route of advance, back to the British trenches. Amid this whirlwind of death a force of German troops appeared unexpectedly, under the covering fire of their guns, to stay the advance. But the sight of resistance in human form was a relief rather than an extreme menace to the suffering Britons. The Royal Scots went forward at the double with the bayonet, and killed or captured all the Germans. The other battalions also changed step into the double, and in a long, furious spurt killed, captured, or routed all the Germans in the woods and works before Contalmaison. Then as the leading troops settled to consolidate the ground won, the battalions that had been behind them came forward and fought towards Contalmaison, which was reached by the Suffolks.

#### Ordeal of Contalmaison

The position bore mute testimony to the valour of the new British soldier. The three high entrenched downs in



front of Contalmaison—Ovillers, La Boisselle, and Fricourt—were strongly held by the enemy, and days had to pass before they were conquered. But by a feat of incomparable vehemence and tenacity the division to which the Suffolks were attached had thrust itself far into the rear of the enemy's line. What was then needed, while this brigade was being reinforced in great strength, was a directing squadron of aerial infantry to carry Staff orders to the victorious brigade to clear its flanks and enable it to advance southwards against the rear of the enemy lines. But at the hour in which the wonderful charge was driven home to Contalmaison, some of the brigadiers and divisional generals who were attacking La Boisselle and Fricourt appear to have thought that they were in a position to master the villages, advance over the downs, and connect near Contalmaison.

All down the line, during the first rush into the hill villages, there was an almost general misapprehension of the strength of the enemy forces concealed underground. These concealed forces were not always attacked in overwhelming strength, owing to the fact that, as they were invisible, an immediate farther advance seemed to be the obviously correct tactics. To seize as much ground as possible before the enemy recovered from the stunning effect of the bombardment appeared good tactics. From the marvellous thrusts made by the Manchesters at Montauban, the Gordons at Mametz, the Suffolks at Contalmaison, the Ulstermen in the Ancre sector, and the North-countrymen at Serre, we may fairly conclude that this series of long swift thrusts was designed by the General Staff because the long bombardment was expected to crush the enemy's first line. The unparalleled strength of the enemy's underground defences may thus have been underestimated, and the destructive power of the new heavy British artillery rather overestimated.

The troops who reached Contalmaison were in much



[British official photograph.]

#### HIGH SPIRITS AND HIGH COURAGE MARCHING TOGETHER.

The East Yorks marching up to the trenches the night before an attack, their boyish spirits an essential part of the splendid fighting quality they consistently displayed from the very beginning of the advance.

the same position as the troops that had got into Serre. There was no other British force in the neighbourhood to which they could link up, as the other thrusts had been checked. So Contalmaison had to be abandoned, and the Suffolks and their comrades drew back towards the vicinity of La Boisselle, under an indescribable combination of shell fire, machine-gun fire, and front and flank bomb attacks, such as made the awful conditions under which the charge had been driven home seem light compared with the conditions of a retreat. The charge of the Light Brigade in the Crimea, undertaken by long-service men going at a gallop against slow, muzzle-loading guns and slow, short-range rifle fire, does not bear comparison with the charges which the new British infantry made at a walking pace, down valleys two miles long, against machine-guns firing six hundred rounds a minute, quick-firers throwing twenty shells a minute, and scores of siege-guns and trench-mortars. Wordsworth said of his countrymen in the Napoleonic era: "In everything we are sprung of earth's first blood." And he founded this claim upon the fact that Great Britain had produced Shakespeare and Milton, But without derogating from the genius of these poets, every man and woman who had children or kinsmen in the national army feels that something greater even than the greatest poetry had been achieved by the average young Anglo-Celt of the present time. The dead increased in number, but that which upheld them did not die, and either quickly or slowly it will turn this blood-stained planet into a fairer training-place for the pilgrim soul of man.

The toll of sacrifice on the tragic and glorious First of July was as heavy around Ovillers, between La Boisselle and Thiepval, as it was north of the Ancre. Ovillers, rising on a large, high down behind Pozières, and flanking the highway to Bapaume, was a position of terrible strength. Its zones of barbed-wire defences were in places more than a hundred feet deep, and the galleried caverns running through the chalk were so profound that the thunder of exploding shells on the ground above could scarcely be heard through the steel doors. But the light British artillery and the British trench-mortars had been excellently handled on some sectors around Ovillers, where the Dorsets, the Manchesters, the Highland Light Infantry, and Borderers swept over the enemy's front line with comparative ease. In



#### A WELCOME HALT BY THE WAYSIDE.

[British official photograph.]

Worcesters resting on their forward way have a cheery greeting for the official photographer. They were among the regiments that had much heavy pounding, but always gave more than they got.





CHEERS FROM THE WILTSHIREMEN.

[British official photograph.]

Spirited scene as a number of gallant Wiltshiremen passed by the official photographer on their way to the Somme front.

the second line, however, a large body of Germans emerged full of fight from their burrows, and a battle of bombs opened. The Englishmen and Scotsmen rushed the line with the bayonet, and the German bomb-throwers would not face the cold steel at close quarters, and surrendered. Their water-pipes had been smashed early in the bombardment.

After the first successful drive around Ovillers a wall of shell on the British trenches and the ground between the Germans' lost line shut off the victorious brigades from their supports. The enemy arose from his subterranean retreats and, with bombs and machine-guns, trench-mortars, and skilfully placed snipers, battered the head of the advance, while the barrage fire almost severed its neck. The struggle rose to supreme intensity on Saturday afternoon, when the British wave that had swept over Thiepval in the morning and over La Boisselle began to recede, and Ovillers, lying between these two main strongholds, was strengthened by the enemy and retained. The British troops held to the ground they had won on either side of the village. Also in the elbow between Ovillers and Thiepval a formidable work known as the Leipzig Trench, guarding the southern approach to Thiepval, was at last carried after a long and violent struggle. But at nightfall on July 1st all the line south of the Ancre from St. Pierre Divion to Fricourt was practically unconquered.

Each great bastion of tunnelled chalk held out against the gallant and battered British divisions clinging to the lower slopes. Only at Mametz and Montauban was there a decisive break in the enemy's first zone of defences. Little more than three miles of connected works had been carried to a depth of a mile and a quarter by the six British army corps under Sir Henry Rawlinson, which had gone into action on a front of sixteen miles. The general situation at nightfall resembled that of General Castelnau's forces in the Champagne offensive in the autumn of 1915. The British left wing, led by two newly promoted generals—Lieut.-General H. S. Horne and Lieut.-General W. N. Congreve—had forced the enemy's line as the troops under General Pétain had done at Massiges. But the main movement had not produced the designed effect.

There was, however, a profound difference in the spirit of the two offensives. Sir Henry Rawlinson,

who had made his name as the leader of the Immortal Division at Ypres, where he had been reinforced by Sir Douglas Haig's two divisions, was fully prepared for a slow, long, grinding movement. Unlike General Castelnau in Champagne, he had not expected to storm through all the enemy's lines. The utmost he had attempted was to master the first zone of German defences, and though he had not fully achieved this end, he had at least driven a three-mile wedge through the hostile fortress system. And by means of the wedge at Montauban and Mametz he began to disrupt

the principal German positions south of the Ancre.

There was a rapid reconcentration of British artillery on the Somme sectors, and the great head of shell was all turned south. Although this move was answered by the shifting of German guns from Prince Rupert's front to the Somme sector, the complete massing of the British artillery was carried out more quickly. From Thiepval to Fricourt the German hill fortresses incessantly flamed and smoked with exploding British shells. Trench after trench, already menaced by British soldiers lying in shell-holes and gutted, broken ditches, was blasted by the Royal Garrison Artillery, who were learning their work with astonishing quickness. Continually, amid the thunder and counter-thunder of the British and German guns, the bomb-throwers of the New Army worked forward and behind Fricourt, La Boisselle, and Ovillers. Fricourt fell first—at two o'clock on Sunday afternoon. Its capture enabled Sir Henry Rawlinson to increase the pressure on La Boisselle, which became the scene of fighting of tremendous severity on Sunday night. There the British troops made small but constant progress, hammering at the garrison on one side and stalling off counter-attacks by fresh German troops that poured forward from the east. The struggle in the Hohenzollern Redoubt in the autumn of 1915 had seemed at the time to be the summit

#### Capture of Fricourt

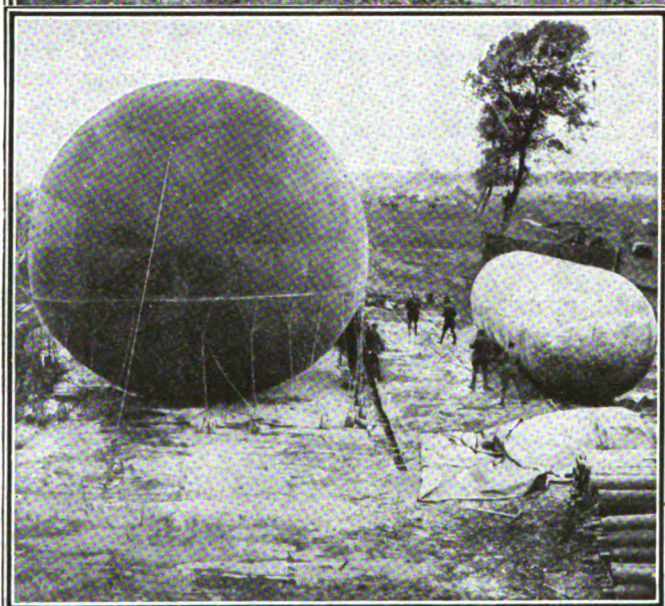


THE SLEEP OF THE BRAVE.

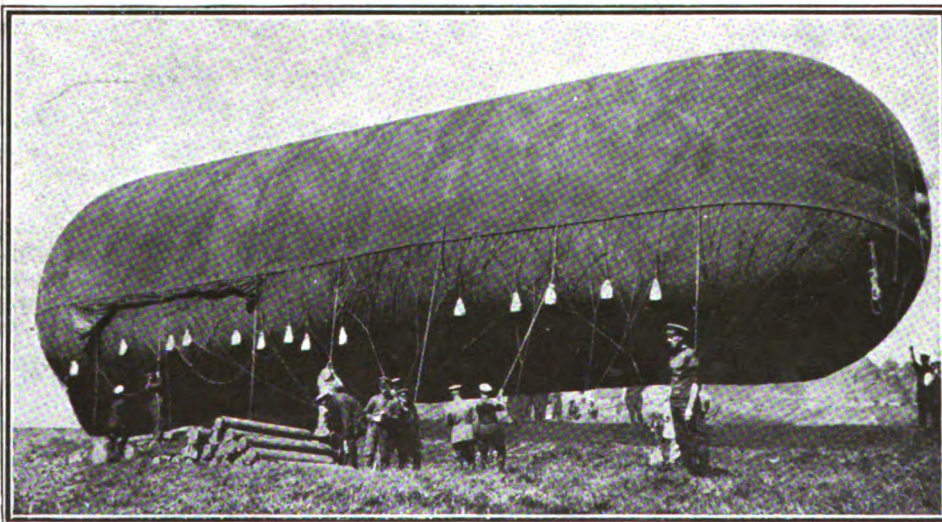
[British official photograph.]

Royal Fusiliers resting after an action. Most of them have shed part of their equipment, the better to rest after their strenuous work. A party is playing cards.





**CAPTIVE AIRCRAFT ABOUT TO ASCEND.**  
Observation-balloon being inflated somewhere behind the British lines. The first photograph shows men of the R.F.C. bringing up the "nurse" balloon.



**NEARING THE NECESSARY PRESSURE.**  
The observation-balloon rising from the ground as the gas is being pumped into it. It is being held in position by members of the Royal Flying Corps.

of human endurance. But the ditch and cave warfare that went on south of the Ancre in July, 1916, exceeded in ghastly ferocity and strain the fight in the Hohenzollern. The area of mole warfare was much larger, and, instead of a brigade carrying on the fight, army corps were fed through the shell curtains into the pitted, ditched, and parapeted slopes, which seemed to the casual eye a vacant stretch of lumpy, undulating ground.

Two invisible forces pounded the empty waste of chalk and gravel into white scars, spurts of white dust, flames, and windy funnels of green, black, and white smoke. Sometimes the red breath of a gun could be seen, but this was unusual, as it provoked counter-battery firing. The guns were hidden against reverse slopes or amid trees, and trench-mortars, that also produced terrific explosions, crawled unseen,

like toads, at the bottom of the trenches. All that was plain to see was the long line of British and French kite-balloons squatting on their air-bags near their heavy hidden guns, while convoys of allied flying machines scouted over the enemy's lines, with perhaps one German observation-balloon timidly ascending for a brief glance at the British motor lorries conveying the infantry to and from the field of battle.

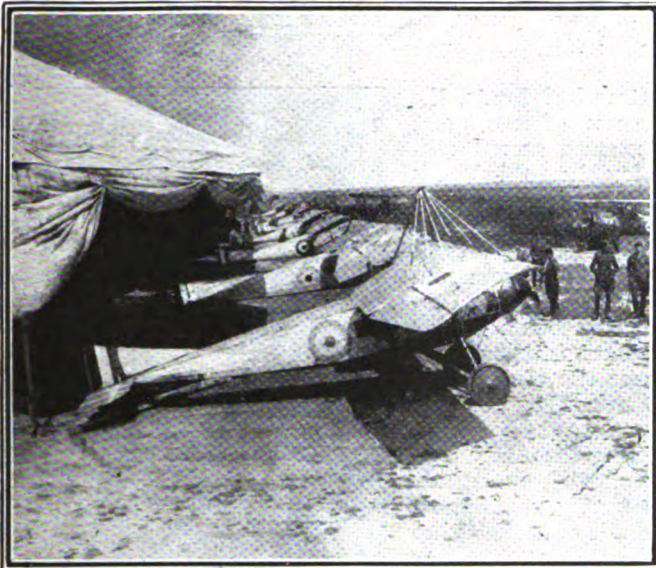
Now and then a faint stir of movement appeared on the bright surface of shell-ploughed chalk. Brown figures, lying apparently dead in the holes, would rise and converge upon some long white scar that suddenly became tipped with flame. It was a British bombing-party charging a German machine-gun redoubt. And if they won the redoubt, the invisible German guns would strangely turn on it, in answer to some red signal fire or telephone message telling that the position had been lost. Such was the spectacle of modern scientific warfare, to which the thunder of guns, the racking shell explosions, the roaring travel of shells, the whistle of bullets, and rattle of machine-guns, made an infernal accompaniment. Poison gas from high-explosive shell, chlorine shell, and bromide shell

drifted about the slopes and made yellow stains upon the freshly turned soil. To add to the horror of the empty, flaming, screaming, rocking scene, the German machine-gunners and riflemen employed in large proportion explosive bullets, which are properly used only to strike the ground and measure the range. Yet in this daylight nightmare and nocturnal inferno the apprentice soldiers of Great Britain stuck to their work as nobly as the practised veterans of France, and by the pure virtue of their manhood and the native gift of leadership of their officers, ground the enemy down, forced him to surrender La Boisselle on Monday afternoon, and in the night broke a great counter-attacking force that came up in massed columns.

**Surrender of  
La Boisselle**

*[British official photographs.]*





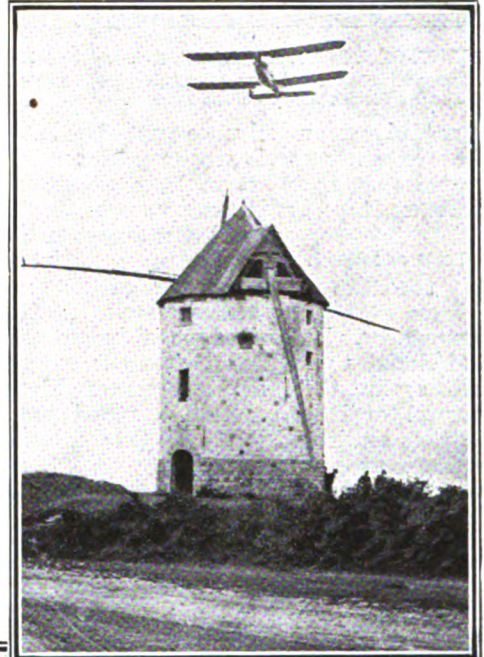
The nest: A canvas hangar at the front in France, with one of its mono-plane occupants just being brought in.



Taking wing: A flight-commander starting off upon a raid over the enemy lines in a biplane.



Anti-aircraft gun ensconced among the sheaves of corn, and (inset) an aeroplane out on reconnaissance passing over a mill—two pictures full of a curious and suggestive poetry.



Group of British airmen in front of a machine. Germany produced a few airmen of genius, but as a body her airmen did not prove comparable to their British and French competitors, who definitely secured supremacy in the air towards the end of 1916.

MEN AND MACHINES OF THE ROYAL FLYING CORPS IN FRANCE.

[British official photographs.]





LIEUT.-GEN. SIR T. MORLAND, D.S.O.  
Commanding the Tenth Army Corps of the  
Fourth British Army on the Somme.

A few hundred of the Germans managed to retake one of the small defences south of the village, but in another conflict that lasted twenty-four hours the fatigued but indomitable Britons in La Boisselle recovered all the village. Then, holding off the increasing multitudes of German troops coming south from Prince Rupert's army, the British forces near the Bapaume road pressed upwards against Ovillers.

The capture of La Boisselle was a decisive factor on the Somme front. It gave the army under Sir Henry Rawlinson the room

entrenched fronts, the success of the great Scotsman served considerably to help his fighting army commander, Sir Henry Rawlinson. At present it is only from unconscious hints in German accounts of the operations that we can trace the effect of Sir Douglas Haig's demonstrations before and during the Ancre and Somme operations. Naturally, no German admits or is allowed to admit that artillery and shells were retained on the Lille and Arras front which might have stopped the progress of the British Fourth Army on the Bazentin slopes. This,



LIEUT.-GEN. W. N. CONGREVE, V.C.  
Commanding the Thirteenth Army Corps of  
the Fourth British Army on the Somme.

it needed for an advance up the Bazentin slopes to the German second zone of defence. But later, it appeared that the German High Command and the Staff of Prince Rupert of Bavaria thought that Sir Douglas Haig was dissatisfied with the progress of his

#### Scots and Welsh at Hulluch

Fourth Army, and intended to attempt another break farther north. This led to a telling piece of feinting by the British commander. He divined the misjudgment of his opponents, and skilfully played upon it by resuming his demonstrations against the Prince of Bavaria. There was an abrupt renewal of British activity around the French mining districts south of Lille. On July 6th the enemy's front at La Bassée and Hulluch was furiously bombarded, then swept with a flood of poison gas, and afterwards blanketed in black smoke-screens. Behind the smoke-screens the Royal Welsh Fusiliers and the Highland Light Infantry raided the enemy's trenches, killing hundreds of men and capturing material and troops.

All this seemed to indicate that Sir Douglas Haig was testing the enemy's line on the old battlefield, with a view to a multiple offensive. The German commander behind the Royal figurehead, Prince Rupert, was confirmed in his idea of the general situation, and led to keep a large force of guns in the north when they were vitally needed upon the Somme. In the art of reading the enemy's mind Sir Douglas Haig at times approached the Duke of Wellington, and though the skill with which he played on the enemy's fears was somewhat veiled by the stable conditions of war on

however, is what seems to have happened, owing to the fact that Sir Douglas Haig was a better general than any German facing him. The day after the feint below Lille the British garrison in La Boisselle made a tiger leap towards Contalmaison, and captured a maze of German trenches over a space of nearly ten thousand square yards. At the same time a brigade on the left drove into Ovillers, while another brigade on the right linked up with the La Boisselle force and captured two of the woods above Fricourt.

During the struggle immediately south of the Ancre the victorious British corps around Montauban, Mametz, and

#### Lancashires at Bornafay Wood

Fricourt pressed against the enemy continually. On the right wing the large wedge of ground won by the Lancashires was extended on July 3rd by a storming advance into Bornafay Wood between Montauban and Longval. The Germans had trenches on the southern and northern edges of the wood, with a row of entrenched redoubts down the middle. But in the first assault the Lancashire men broke into the sloping mass of shattered trees, and then by twenty-four hours of bomb and bayonet work entirely captured the wood on July 4th. They thus obtained command of all the valley of the Fricourt stream fronting the main slopes of the Bazentin ridges. The capture of the Bornafay Wood assured our hold on the Montauban heights, endangered the flanking German position in Trônes Wood, compelled the enemy to withdraw most of his guns around Guillemont, for fear they should be taken in a sudden assault, and relieved



GENERAL MARCHAND AND GENERAL MICHELER.

General Marchand (on the right), the famous French divisional commander, was badly wounded in 1915 when commanding in Champagne. In the autumn of 1916, his wounds being healed, he was given a command on the Somme. General Micheler had also been previously wounded.



the pressure on the Franco-British junction-point near Hardecourt.

Meanwhile, the British position on the left of the Montauban-Mametz ground was not so satisfactory. The enemy still retained a large wedge of wooded slopes and sheltering hollows in front of Contalmaison, and the reduction of this intricate system of fortified copses and trench undulations went on rapidly after the conquest of Fricourt. On July 2nd a fresh brigade replaced the gallant troops that had carried Fricourt, and charged into the high wood above the village. Swept at point-blank range by machine-gun and rifle fire and torn by shrapnel the leading battalions held on, and the heroic survivors got through the wire entanglements, and by slow, savage fighting captured the whole of Fricourt Wood by nightfall. All the night the diminished but undaunted brigade, which had had no sleep since July 1st, endured a heavy, smashing bombardment. When day broke, the men again charged the blunted top of the enemy wedge that ran from Bottom Wood, behind Mametz, through Railway Alley to Lozenge Wood and Shelter Wood near La Boisselle.

#### Vigorous frontal attack

A great stretch of wire entanglement protected the front of the enemy's works. A sharp, fierce storm of shells from the British guns swept away the wire without, however, damaging the sunken earthworks. And against these strongly held and intact works the gallant brigade made a vigorous frontal attack. The first wave of khaki surged out and withered away in the terrific German fire. A second wave speeding up, drew closer, but also ebbed away in death and agony. But the third wave broke over the German parapet, swiftly followed by a fourth and a fifth; several hundred prisoners were taken, and only a remnant of grey figures escaped into Shelter Wood. The British soldiers raced them across the slope, and before the original garrison of Shelter Wood could form up with the fugitives all were overwhelmed, and another four hundred prisoners were taken.

This frontal attack appears to have been made in

misapprehension. The British brigadier, at the opening of the action, sent a company against the enemy's flank at Bottom Wood, which was quickly taken, and the conquerors began to bomb their way back towards Railway Alley.

Another company broke into the enemy's system on the other side, and also began to work back to Railway Alley.

Thereupon some of the Germans in the central Railway works lost heart, and, breaking from all control, fled up the bare slope towards the great quadrangle of trenches which lay in front of

the village of Contalmaison and Mametz Wood. The sight of these enemy fugitives led to the belief that all the Railway system had been abandoned by the enemy, owing to the pressure on his flanks. It was in these circumstances that the frontal attack was undertaken, and the superb steadiness of the troops enabled them to win a larger victory than would have been possible had the German garrison been able to retreat in order into Shelter Wood. Lonely Copse and the works in Lozenge Wood were also stormed by the brigade, who took another hundred and fifty prisoners on the heights between La Boisselle and Fricourt, and enabled all the ground between these villages to be consolidated in preparation for the advance on

Contalmaison and the great Quadrangle works that linked Contalmaison with Mametz Wood.

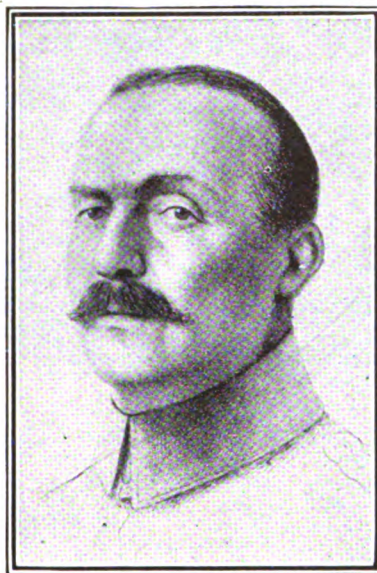
The Quadrangle, a mile in length and half a mile wide, connecting with Bazentin and Contalmaison, was a position of deceiving strength. It ran down a long slope into a hollow, and was protected by the Montauban and Fricourt ridges from the direct fire of the British artillery. It was difficult to place howitzer shells, at long range, exactly on the yard's breadth of the great works, and the light British field-guns had to fire practically in the open, under the eyes of German observation gunnery officers on the Bazentin ridge, in order to break down the wire entanglements around the Quadrangle. There was more than a quarter of a mile of bare slope between the British valley position at Bottom Wood, and the German machine-guns, working through loopholes in their dug-outs thirty-five feet

#### Fall of the great Quadrangle

above the charging British infantry, poured a deadly plunging fire down the long incline. Three frontal attacks on the Quadrangle failed, and it was only captured, after five days' operations, by a flank and rear attack from Mametz Wood and Contalmaison.

Before the fall of the Quadrangle, General von Below on the morning of July 7th fought a grand pitched battle with Sir Henry Rawlinson. The German commander on the Somme front, with General von Arnim as his local subordinate in the Bapaume sector, employed all the available strength of Germany against the Fourth British Army.

He borrowed the best troops of General von Marschall from the Arras front, collected divisions, brigades, and even battalions from the Aisne and Champagne sectors, greatly increased the number of guns around Bapaume, and made a supreme attempt to obtain a decision. The British offensive had then been proceeding day and night for a week, and the German commander reckoned



GENERAL VON STEIN.  
Commander of an army corps in General von Below's army.

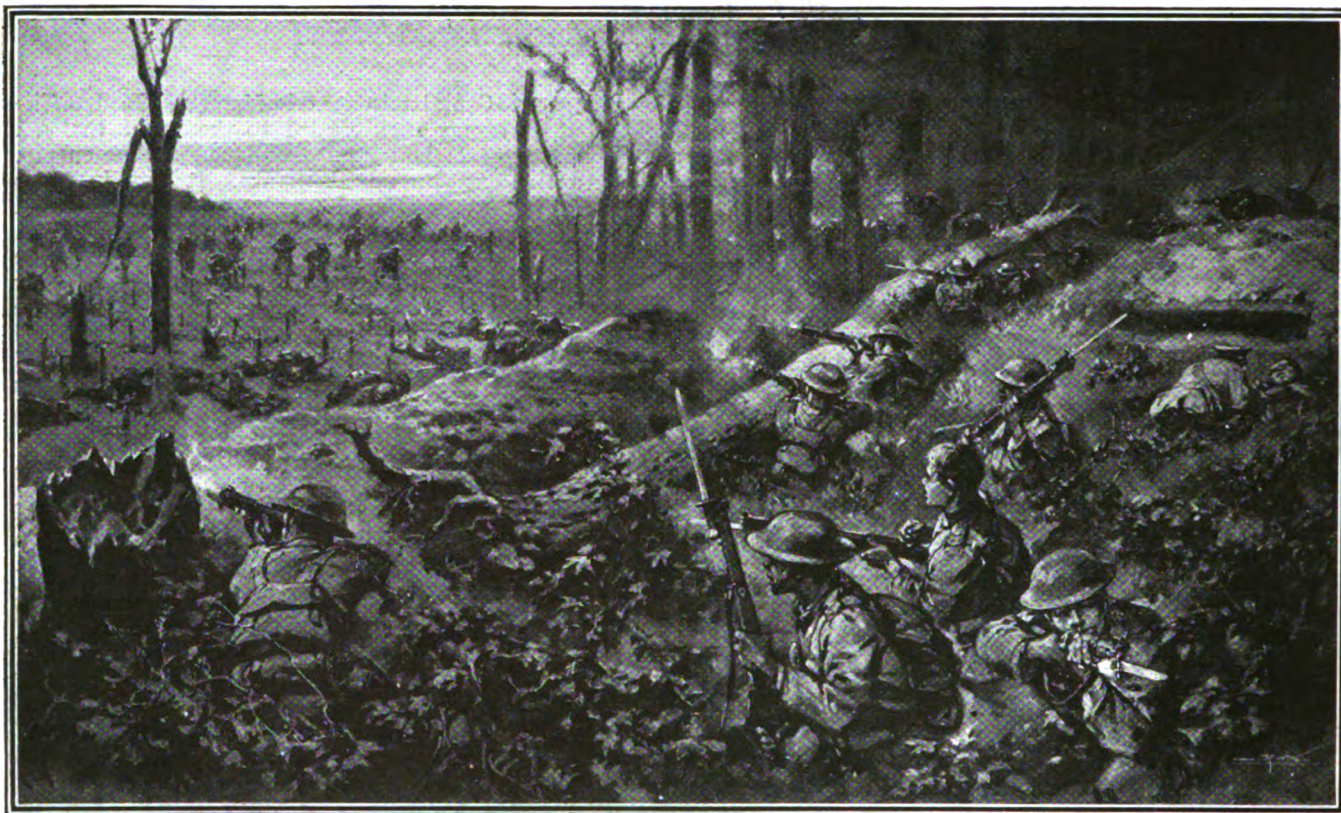


GENERAL SIXT VON ARNIM.  
Commander of the Fourth Army Corps in General von Below's army.



GENERAL VON BELOW.  
Commander of the German army upon the Somme front.





HANDFUL OF ROYAL WEST KENTS COVER THEMSELVES WITH GLORY IN DEFENDING TRÔNES WOOD.

One of the outstanding incidents of heroism in the early days of the Somme advance was the stand made by a handful of West Kents, almost surrounded by an overwhelming number of the enemy, in Trônes Wood. The men

had become separated from the main attack, which was unsuccessful. A stronghold was organised, and with unlimited ammunition and two Lewis guns the enemy was kept at bay till dawn, when relief arrived.

that the survivors of the infantry in the battered British Fourth and Third Armies, and all the gunners and sappers who had been working for these armies, would have been tired out. The German High Command had had seven days in which to collect a mighty army of fresh troops, which was écheloned for many miles behind the Somme front. Headed by the Prussian Guard, fresh divisions were flung against the British army with a design to wear it down and bring it to a standstill. All that the Britons had won by months of concealed preparation, vast artillery demonstrations, and disconcerting raids had now to be held against a strengthened and desperate foe who had had time to mass his machinery in fairly equal force. All guns fired as fast as they could be served, in a mutual bombardment to which the preliminary artillery preparation of the British offered no parallel.

With the heavens roaring above them and the earth breaking beneath them, the main forces of Germany and the main forces of Great Britain met on equal terms. On July 7th, 1916, when the British brigades were sweeping upward from La Boisselle, Fricourt, and Montauban in a heavy rain that flooded trench and shell-hole and reduced what little cover there was, 5,000 men of the 3rd Division of the Prussian Guard tried to reinforce the garrison of Contalmaison, which was yielding, and advanced in close formation between the village and Mametz Wood. They

**Below's gigantic effort**

were caught by the British guns and thrown back. Behind the shell curtain that caught the Guards came the slipping and lumbering, widely-spaced and heavily-laden Yorkshire infantrymen, and, as the Prussians reeled, the khaki figures loomed out amidst the splintered trees of Mametz Wood and closed the Prussians, killing, capturing, or dispersing all of them. Then the Yorkshires, with other North-countrymen, dashed into Contalmaison, cleared the cellars and fragments of wall with bombs, and released some British prisoners. By noon the village was completely stormed and occupied. But the rest of the Prussian Guard Division returned to the attack with magnificent intrepidity, and, coming down through the barrier fire of British shells, recovered Contalmaison. The Yorkshiresmen, however,

held on near by in Mametz Wood, and the large number of captives they had taken from the finest force in Prussia, before storming Contalmaison, were disgusted to find they had fallen to the new British levies. They thought the British Guards alone could have put up so terrific a fight.

All the afternoon the battle swayed with indescribable intensity from the Ancre to Trônes Wood. British airmen began to act as aerial infantry, and swooped down on German battalions, raked them with machine-gun fire, and then directed long-range guns upon them.

**Aerial infantry in action**

The Bavarian regiment that had been driven from Montauban and taken shelter in a hollow near the top of the Bazentin ridge was observed by low-flying British air scouts and swept with shrapnel. When night fell both sides had captured hundreds of prisoners, but the British had won more ground and inflicted very severe punishment on the enemy. Some thirty yards of trench around Thiepval was all that the Germans had gained since daybreak. The British troops had advanced in Ovillers, and had progressed on a front of nearly two miles around Contalmaison.

The lie of the ground was against the enemy, as he had to fight on a wide-exposed slope upon which a great mass of British guns had been skilfully posted by months of organising work. The enemy had not prepared water reservoirs for the million men he gradually brought into battle in the narrow front between Combles and Thiepval. He used shells sometimes at the rate of a million a week on a front of little more than six miles. But as he had been struck unexpectedly on the Somme, he had not prepared platforms for unloading his trucks and stacking his shells where they could not be exploded by the long-range British artillery. His troops that detrained at Bapaume were continually caught by British naval guns, and the roads by which they marched to the communication-trenches were roads of death.

The crown of the Germans' misfortunes was their defeat in the air. After much delay Fokker had at last been temporarily conquered by Mr. Sopwith and other British and French aeroplane builders, and the aerial motor of the



German Mercédès Company had been rivalled, if not excelled, by British motor engineers, who had once had to work under the drag of the Royal Aircraft Factory. The traditions of the Mons era, when Messrs. Vickers, Mr. Roe, and other British aeroplane makers gave Sir John French's army fighting machines superior to those the Germans possessed, were re-

**Fokker finds  
his peer**

lived and gloriously developed owing to the agitation initiated by "the Northcliffe Press" that followed the Fokker successes. The British pilot, who had made himself the peer of the British seaman, was again provided with material means of meeting the enemy on equal terms.

The result was that the German disappeared for a time from the sky in almost the same measure as he disappeared from the North Sea. He could not direct his guns or observe the preparations for British infantry movements. All his railway centres from the Yser to the Aisne were subject to aerial bombardment. At times his troop trains were wrecked by bombing airmen, and when the troops fled from the carriages the British airmen descended and lashed them with machine-gun fire. These consequences of the loss of the mastery of the air told heavily upon the spirit of the German infantry. In many of the letters taken from prisoners the death-dealing exploits of French and British airmen and the refusal of battle by German airmen were chief causes of complaint, distrust, and war weariness.

The second week of the British offensive opened with the garrison at Ovillers still holding out in a mass of ruined ditches, unrecognisable rubble, and shell-holes deep enough to drown a man, and full of mud. The main work of the British army consisted of navvy labour, making new positions, new roads, and ammunition store caverns, to enable the guns to move forward towards the conquered

ground. There was also heavy labour in improving the positions won on the slopes of the downs, and in making new communications to hollows that the German artillery could not easily reach. The rain impeded all this new labour of organisation. The chalk became as slippery as asphalt, and the horses and mules that worked behind the old railway lines took long to bring up the building material and stores. Like Mackensen in Galicia, Sir Henry Rawlinson worked onward only as fast as he could prolong his railway system. His motor-lorries moved the troops with perfect flexibility, but when the big guns went forward new railway-stations had to be built at the end of the three thousand miles of track that served to feed the batteries with millions of shells.

While the labour of extending the range of the artillery was proceeding, the British troops on the right flank on July 8th stormed into Trônes Wood, capturing a hundred and thirty prisoners and several machine-guns. As at Contalmaison, the enemy at once reacted and launched a great mass of men down the bare slope leading to the lost wood. But the Iron Division of France, that linked with the British army near this point, had brought forward some of its quick-firers and worked them upon the slopes around Trônes Wood. Also some British batteries of 18-pounders were trained on the western approaches to the climbing woodland, and from the combined allied batteries there poured such a dense storm of high-explosive and shrapnel shell that the enemy masses were shattered before they could strike.

**Iron Division  
strikes hard**

All that the British suffered on July 1st between Gommecourt and Fricourt was well balanced by the ghastly punishment inflicted on the enemy in his large and ill-prepared counter-attacks such as this. On July 1st



**CONCLUSION TO A VAIN GERMAN EFFORT:** ATTACKING ENEMY ARRIVE AS PRISONERS. German prisoners coming into the British lines after a futile counter-attack on Trônes Wood, following upon a particularly heavy bombardment. Although the first wave of infantry managed to get through the British barrage, it fell foul of some unbroken barbed-wire entanglement, and was held up, having no alternative but to surrender and cross the British trenches as captives. This convincing illustration shows the Germans, with hands above their heads, being shepherded through the unbroken obstruction by a businesslike-looking guard.





RESPIRE BEFORE ACTION.  
(British official photographs.)  
 Royal Welsh Fusiliers in bivouacs behind the lines.

the British troops in the Ancre sector did at least break and hold considerable parts of the enemy's defences. But great bodies of German troops were smashed before they could attack, owing to the lack of skill of German commanders and German Staff officers. The enemy's artillery preparation was often futile, as he merely hurled shells on the British infantry positions and left the supporting British artillery practically undamaged by counter-battery firing. This in turn was due to the enemy's absolute

defeat in the aerial struggle. An officer of the Royal Flying Corps has stated that during the first phase of the Somme battle fourteen German reconnoitring machines crossed the British lines during a period in which three thousand British and French machines crossed the German lines.

Under these conditions the tragic lack of preparation shown in the German counter-attacks can be explained. On the other hand, a long and confidential report upon the situation, written by General von Arnim, was captured by the British, and in this technical and careful judgment of the German operations Arnim clearly indicates that some of his leading officers lost their presence of mind and wildly flung their troops out to die when there was no



ROYAL WARWICKS RESTING IN RESERVE.  
 Everyday scene on the Somme during the great British offensive.

possibility of achieving a success. Thus did the native strain of brutality in the feudal caste of Germany, which made them devils in the hour of victory, weaken their military efficiency in the hour of defeat. Instead of saving their men for intelligently designed counter-strokes they wasted their forces prematurely in a series of brutal and ineffectual convulsions. Animating the bulldog courage of the British and the incomparable resilience of the French there was a quality of directive intelligence, which the German, for all his stubborn ferocity, did not display. He was a master of the routine of warfare, and industrious in preparation of a mechanical kind, but when manœuvring in difficulty, after being shaken by



NEAR TRÔNES WOOD.  
 Units busy laying the foundations of an advanced dressing-station.

a great reverse, he did not display the intellectual grasp that Frenchmen and Britons had shown during their great recoveries from serious checks and disasters. Such at least seems to be the verdict of Arnim upon his own officers.

With some illuminating extracts from the memorandum of General Sixt von Arnim we may well conclude this chapter:

The British infantry has undoubtedly learnt much since the autumn offensive. It shows great dash in the attack, a factor to which immense confidence in its artillery greatly contributes. The Briton also has his training and his physique in his favour. I must acknowledge the skill with which the British rapidly consolidated their captured positions. The British infantry showed great tenacity in defence. This was especially noticeable in the case of small parties, which were very difficult to drive out when once established in the corner of a wood or a group of houses.

Particularly noticeable was the large proportion of medium and heavy guns in the British artillery, which, apart from this, was far superior in number to ours. The British ammunition seems to have improved considerably. All our important tactical positions, and all our known infantry and battery positions, were methodically bombarded by the British guns. Extremely heavy fire was continually directed on to the villages immediately behind the firing-line, and on all natural cover afforded by the ground. Well-organised aerial observers assisted in registration and fire-control, and at night our villages were frequently bombed by aeroplanes.

#### Arnim's tribute to British

The German general then goes on to deal with the general defects of his own organisation. He says that the German method of making trenches was wrong, and contends that the British system should be adopted.



The German trenches were too narrow, and needed to be widened to prevent the troops being buried by British shells. The German telephone system and signalling system proved totally inadequate, and required to be developed on the British model. German airmen were condemned for their lack of courage, and told to take a lesson from "British airmen who are often able to fire successfully on our troops with machine-guns by descending to a height of a few hundred yards." The British method of keeping rifles from being clogged with dirt was also recommended, and the heavy German machine-gun was condemned. But this is the most remarkable passage in General von Arnim's report :

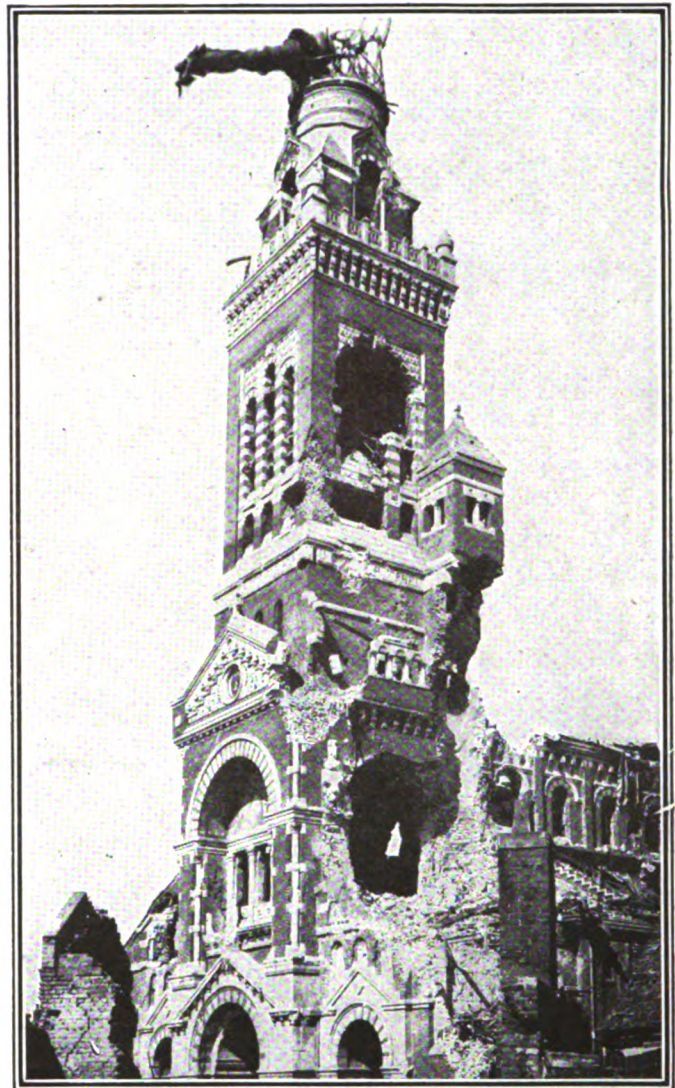
**Arnim on counter-attacks**

Insufficiently prepared attacks and counter-attacks nearly always fail from being too hurried. If counter-attacks which, on account of the situation, ought to be methodically prepared are hurried, they cost much blood, and cause the troops to lose their trust in their leaders if they fail, which nearly always happens in such a case.

His last complaint of importance forms a striking testimony to the strategic genius of Sir Douglas Haig :

The supply of artillery ammunition of all kinds during the first days of the battle did not equal the great expenditure. Reserve supplies were only available in very small quantities. From July 15th onwards the supply of ammunition was better, but the supply was never sufficiently ample to make good the expenditure in the event of the railway being blocked for one or two days. The lack of gun ammunition was always felt, and large reserves were never available.

General von Arnim then goes on to explain how, in the first days of the battle, ammunition had to be borrowed from the northern army group, and brought up at night under very difficult conditions. All this signifies that Sir Douglas Haig's great demonstrations on the Lille and Arras sectors were successful in attaining their aim. The Germans had millions of shells in reserve, but these



*[British official photograph.]*

**THE VIRGIN AT ALBERT.**

When the Germans shelled the Church Tower at Albert the statue of the Virgin on the summit was bent over at right angles, and there remained as if blessing the town.



**THE MADONNA OF MONTAUBAN.**

Montauban was the target for some of the most terrific shell fire ever rained on one spot. When we took the place this statue, and the German shell at its feet were the only things found whole.

reserves were dumped too far away from the Somme, and fifteen days elapsed before General von Below's army corps commanders obtained a considerable part of the ammunition they needed. All the preparatory organisation work, carried on for months by the British and French forces on the Somme, had passed unperceived by the enemy. For General von Arnim states he had no proper organisation for transporting large quantities of munitions and supplies from his ordinary railway-stations to the battle-front. His maps of his own ground were insufficient, not only in number but in execution. His gunners had not the proper ranges of the lost German positions, and could not work with precision from the new gun-sites to which they had to withdraw.

In fine, the German army at Bapaume was caught unawares by the British offensive that had been openly in preparation for months. Towards the close of his memorandum General von Arnim has a curious sentence. He tells his officers to arrange that all infantry preparing for an assault should use puttees like British troops. Why puttees and lace boots should add more power to an attacking force the general does not explain. It seems as if he wanted his troops to look as much as possible like Britons, to veil the fact that they had not "the training and physique" of the once-despised amateur soldiers of the island race.

**German confession of inferiority**





THRILLING INCIDENT OF THE GREAT SOMME ADVANCE: THE CAPTURE OF FALFEMONT FARM.

British troops, streaming up from the corner of Wedge Wood in the left middle distance and along the chalk trench in the foreground, are entering the left-hand corner of the rectangular bit of ground that formerly was Falfemont Farm. The farm buildings stood where the white heap is at the right-hand corner of this site. On the extreme right the Germans are fleeing towards Morval Church.





HEAVY SHELLS BURSTING

## CHAPTER CLII.

NEAR LA BOISSELLE.

# THE GREAT BRITISH BATTLES OF THE SOMME.

## III.—Battle of the Woods and the Bazentin Ridges.

By Edward Wright.

Battalion Reorganisation in the Fourth Army—General Jacob Reinforces the Somme Attack—Defeat of Prussian Guard at Contalmaison—Great Welsh Victory in Mametz Wood—Swaying Conflict in Trônes Wood—Heroic Stand by West Kents—Sussex Victory Relieves Kent—How Sir Douglas Haig Celebrated France's Day—Storming of Bazentin Wood—Adventurous Advance into High Wood—Battle of Bazentin-le-Grand—Unexpected Cavalry Charge into Enemy's Third Line—Highland Pipers at Longueval—Terrible Struggle Beneath the Village—South Africans Capture Delville Wood—German Commanders' Ghastly Method of Attrition—South Africans' and Highlanders' Marvellous Defence—Prussian Guardsmen in Ovillers Defeated by Thirst—Extraordinary Exploit of Lancashires—Anzacs and Territorials at Pozzières—Conquest of Main Ridge—Twenty-four Square Miles of Somme Fortifications Won in a Month.



THE Englishman learns slowly from books, but quickly from experience. When he is mixed in proper proportion with his kinsman the Lowland Scot and his fellow-islanders the Gael and the Welshman, the combination does not lack intellectual quickness. The lesson all the Britons had received in the Ancre sector from General von Marschall and General von Buchs had been a hard one, but it was rapidly turned to profit. Sir Douglas Haig and General Kiggell came down to the Somme, and with Sir Henry Rawlinson and his brilliant lieutenants improved the organisation of the armies. By the end of the first week of July, 1916, the German trick of hiding hundreds of men in underground caverns during the hostile charge and bringing them up to attack the rear of the advancing troops had been countered. Battalion organisation was conducted on the new French model. Charging troops had to travel light without their packs, and were divided into three orders. First came the fighting troops whose work it was to carry positions with bomb and bayonet, with a few machine-

gun teams and Lewis gun teams in support. Second came searching parties whose duty it was to take over each captured position, work through the underground cellars and tunnels, and thus prevent any surprise in the rear of the fighting troops. Third came the consolidating parties for sapper work and assistance to the first and second orders. All three orders travelled light, and relied upon following battalions to get through the enemy's fire curtains and bring them food and supplies.

The artillery, which was daily improving in marksmanship, needed little reorganisation. The German gunners were for the time thoroughly beaten in front of Bapaume, and the British artillerymen were able to work in the open air. Tens of thousands of Britons, pallid as miners through living in gun-pits, began to reddens and brown under the summer sun and wax in health and self-confidence. They could see that the enemy was at the time defeated in gun-power. The British guns stood close together on the fields, blazing at the hostile slopes and pitching into the hostile hollows without being strongly countered. For General von Arnim could



AFTER A WAR COUNCIL.

General Joffre, Sir Douglas Haig, and (right) General Foch leaving headquarters at the conclusion of a conference.





PREPARING PROPS FOR HEAVY-GUN EMBLACEMENTS.

[British official photograph.]

In the vast preparation for the Allies' advance on the Somme, General Fayolle said that a ton of wood came next in value to a ton of shells. Much of the wood, felled by battalions of lumbermen, was wanted for props for gun-positions, and some of these are here shown being cut.

scarcely get enough ammunition to maintain barrages over the ground where the British infantry was working. He could not spare shell for much counter-battery firing, and had, indeed, more than he could do to keep his gun-positions hidden. He was fighting desperately for time to procure more shell and more guns, and though in the end he won the time for which he fought, his period of weakness in turn enabled the British command to put the British troops fully through their period of apprenticeship and make them veterans in the art of war.

#### Arnim's valuable criticisms

The famous report by General von Arnim contained, in addition to the extracts given in the previous chapter, certain technical criticisms on the way in which the British troops had fought. These criticisms have not at present been published, but they were more valuable to the British Staff than the praise that Arnim bestowed upon his enemies.

Meanwhile, Sir Henry Rawlinson's army, after being checked by the heavy rain at the end of the first week in July, was reinforced by the Second Army Corps under Lieutenant-General C. W. Jacob, and continued to move forward all along the line towards the enemy's second zone of defences on the Bazentin ridges. There were four main obstacles to the British advance. On the left was Contalmaison, which the Prussian Guard had recovered. In front of this village was the great Quadrangle Work, which was connected by a German light railway with the large obscure fortress of Mametz Wood. Then about two and a quarter miles east of the great wood was the German bulwark of Trônes Wood stretching in front of Guillemont.

Contalmaison was the chief key position, as it was the support to the frontal downland village of Ovillers. In Ovillers the German garrison was still strongly holding out, and it could not be taken in the rear until a way of approach was secured from Contalmaison. But the first two drives into Contalmaison had failed, owing to the

enemy's strength in the Quadrangle and Mametz Wood. Therefore, instead of attempting any further single operations, Sir Henry Rawlinson arranged, on July 10th, a general attack against the Contalmaison-Quadrangle-Mametz line. The German garrisons had been served with an emergency ration of seven days' food, and given the order "To the last man." But though they were the finest troops in the German Empire, and included a large force of the Prussian Guard, they were not equal to the task assigned to them. The preliminary British bombardment was of unparalleled intensity and part of the garrison of Contalmaison lost heart under it, and, fleeing in the open, were caught by the British shrapnel barrage and also mowed down by the machine-guns of their enemy's supporting forces. Amid the partial confusion caused by this flight the north-eastern corner of Contalmaison was stormed by two companies of British troops. This was an extraordinary achievement. For the Prussian Guard in and around Contalmaison were ten times as numerous as the victors. The enemy was taken completely by surprise. He had expected an attack from the south, where there was an open space of twelve hundred yards, swept by his machine-guns and his artillery fire. But a small British force had worked the day before towards Horse-shoe Trench, on the flank of Contalmaison. The Horse-shoe position was carried by a British officer, accompanied by one man. He stormed across the intervening space with a load of bombs, killed the enemy gun crew and bombed out the other occupants of the trench. This fine feat opened the way to Bailiff Wood, and in the afternoon of July 10th, when the forces of Contalmaison were massed southward where the main British attack was preparing, the five hundred men from Bailiff Wood rushed the north of the village and began to bomb their way southward.

**Horse-shoe position stormed**

At the same time another and a larger British force of two thousand men advanced on Contalmaison in short,



swift rushes covered by artillery fire. Taken on two sides, the Prussians fought variously. About two hundred of them were as brave as men could be, and struggled until they died. But by far the greater part broke when the British bayonet lifted over their parapet. But, again as they fled, the British artillery caught them, and their bodies were afterwards found in masses of four hundreds beyond the village. The Germans furiously counter-attacked, but in vain. The guns of Great Britain had moved forward and covered all the approaches to the village.

An American observer, Mr. D. Thomas Curtin, saw the return of the Prussian Guard from Contalmaison when they arrived in hospital trains at Potsdam. The German public was excluded from the station, and the wreck of the Guard was secretly removed to hospital by innumerable furniture vans. The blow delivered by the new British soldier had been so heavy that the German authorities were afraid to let their people see what had happened.

Contalmaison, however, was only the left flank of the battle-line of July 10th. South of the village was the great Quadrangle Work, which was connected by a German light railway with Mametz Wood, Bazentin, and Martinpuich. We have seen in the previous chapter that the Quadrangle, with its line of plunging fire, wire entanglements, and redoubts, resisted the first frontal attack. But on succeeding days most of the work was gradually mastered by bomb fighting of a most ferocious kind. Quadrangle Trench, Quadrangle Alley, and Wood Trench, all held in great strength, were conquered by the evening of June 10th. There then remained only one formidable position

south of Contalmaison, consisting of Quadrangle Trench and Acid Drop Copse, which was a great machine-gun position leading to Pearl Alley.

The Quadrangle support was the western bulwark of Mametz Wood as well as the southern outwork of Contalmaison. But when most of the Quadrangle had been reduced by the afternoon of July 10th, Mametz Wood became exposed to attack on three sides. The wood was a masterpiece of defensive strength. In the autumn of 1914 it had consisted of two hundred and twenty acres of finely cultivated saplings, which were being gradually thinned to produce good timber. The enemy allowed the wood to run wild for two years, until it became a tangled jungle of young trees and brambles, through which a man



IN THE FIRST-LINE TRENCHES: FAR FROM THE PACIFIC SHORES.

*[British official photograph.]*

New Zealanders, having consolidated a switch trench, enjoy a short spell of rest, and incidentally some slices of bread and jam. The smaller photograph shows a group of the same regiment in a shell-hole on the Somme front.





[British official photograph.]

#### TRAVELLING WATER-BUTTS ON THE WEST FRONT.

Highlanders quenching their thirst at travelling water-butts. Above: Hauling an electric engine for condensing water to a Somme position.



[British official photograph.]

#### A POPULAR POINT IN THE ADVANCE.

Thirsty soldiers who took part in the Somme offensive drawing water from a well on one of the main roads leading up to the battle-line.

had to twist his body in order to get forward. In this impenetrable growth the enemy cut drives to facilitate the movement of his troops, built a light railway, concealed batteries of guns, most of which he afterwards removed, constructed machine-gun redoubts, and thickened the southern end of the wood with lines of barbed-wire.

Mametz Wood was so strong that the British general operating from Montauban decided at first to leave the great wood for siege operations, and work round on either side of it until it was enveloped. His patrols had begun to penetrate the southern edge on July 6th, and they caught the Germans asleep there, killed fifty of them, and found two field-guns put out of action by British shell fire. After this brilliant dash the attacking troops consolidated themselves in a small patch of trees known as Marlborough

Wood, lying between Montauban and Bazentin, and flanking the eastern skirts of Mametz Wood. From this eastern position the British general prepared his main attack upon the jungle forest. The enemy on the Bazentin ridge saw what was coming, and in the afternoon of the general British attack the German guns opened a terrific barrage fire over the bare valley between Marlborough Wood and Mametz Wood. But the British attack on this side never developed. All the preparations had been a ruse. For while the German guns were barricading the eastern valley a strong British force stormed into the southern side of the wood, and preceded by a moving zone of terrific artillery fire that overwhelmed the garrison and levelled the trees, the attackers went through the tangled growth like a forest fire.

#### Victory at Mametz Wood

There was three-quarters of a mile of broken woodland seamed with open drives, along which machine-guns played, and full of caverns, gun-pits, and unexpected entanglements. The fighting was of a wild, rough-and-ready kind, for the clumps of unbroken thicket round which the men worked prevented close co-operation. It was a true soldiers' battle, and revealed both the virtue and the defect of the new British levies. Their driving power, singly or in groups, was magnificent; to it the victory was due. But the leading men were at last carried away by the pure lust of battle. At the northern edge of the wood, when the entire position was practically conquered, the British artillery, working by the watch, were maintaining a heavy shell fire over the fugitive enemy. By this time the infantry had got well ahead of their time-table, and being more impatient than regular soldiers or veteran conscripts would have been in the same circumstances, the vehement young Britons advanced through their



own shell curtain, in order to deal a quick and vital blow at the enemy.

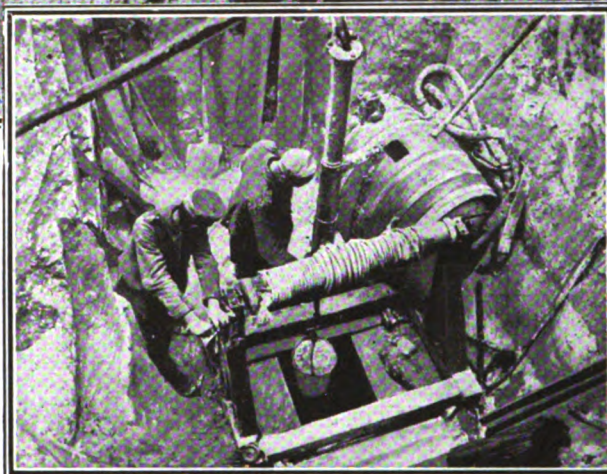
This was an example of courage in the wrong place. The head of the British force was badly battered by its own guns, and then counter-attacked by the German reserves and compelled to fall back to the middle of the wood. In the night the Germans lashed the trees with a heavy bombardment, and then launched a strong counter-attack from the north-eastern and northern sides of the woodland. This counter-attack completely failed, owing to the fine musketry, machine-guns, and bombing skill of the new British soldiers. In the morning of July 11th five Welsh battalions again advanced through the northern stretch of the broken tangle of trees. Most of the ground was won, but there was a strip of fifty yards on the northern edge which the Germans made impassable. In their line of works there they had trench-mortars as well as machine-guns and rifles, and they checked every Welsh charge by means of big bombs and streams of bullets.

The Cymric troops retired from the zone of death, and for half an hour their artillery pounded the edge of the wood.

**Brilliant work of the Welsh** Then another advance was attempted, but the bombardment had not put all the German machine-guns out of action, and the newly-fallen timber made bar-

acades against the attack. Nevertheless, the warring Britons once more resumed their heroic work, and in a final effort of indomitable pluck they carried the enemy's lines in the afternoon. Among the spoils were four light or heavy guns, several trench-mortars, many machine-guns, and some four thousand prisoners, all captured by one British army corps. The prisoners came from the 3rd Reserve Division of the Prussian Guard, the 16th Bavarian Regiment, and the 122nd Württemberg Regiment, with units from the 77th and 184th Regiments. These prisoners were exclusive of those taken at Contalmaison and beyond, and their numbers and diversity proved that the victorious army corps that captured Mametz Wood had at least beaten a German army corps and practically destroyed it. The British gunners engaged in the Mametz operations were also highly distinguished by their quickness and scientific precision. Prisoners by the thousand testified to the fury of their fire, and remarked that it was far worse than anything they had endured at Verdun, and Sir Henry Rawlinson especially congratulated the gunners for their work in Mametz Wood. Here, at nightfall on July 11th, the new British line was within three hundred yards of the second zone of German defences on the Bazentin ridges.

While the battle was going on, in Contalmaison and Mametz



*[British official photograph.]*  
MINING OPERATIONS IN AN ENEMY TRENCH.  
German soldiers engaged at a mine-shaft on the Somme front. Above:  
British water depot where bottles and dixie-tins could be filled.



*[British official photograph.]*  
THE PUMP IN PICARDY.  
At a pump alongside a light railway. Soldiers filling flasks and tins with water. A network of such railways laid down behind the first line greatly accelerated operations.





SAVAGE HAND-TO-HAND FIGHTING WITH BOMB AND BAYONET IN DELVILLE WOOD.

In Deville Wood, called "the Devil's Wood," the South Africans in particular had some savage fighting. "The ghastliness of the place has left its mark upon the minds of many men who are not troubled much by the sights of battle," wrote Mr. Philip Gibbs. "Those slashed trees, naked trenches, and smoking shell-holes build up a nightmare that men will dream again."



Wood the German commander tried to redress the losses on his left by a furious drive from his right into Trônes Wood. This wood was some two and a half miles from Mametz Wood, stretching across the top of the narrow valley along which a stream ran to Fricourt. It lay about a mile east of Montauban. The enemy had two railway lines running through it and connecting it with Guillemont and Combles. Trenches extended through the middle of the wood and along the northern and southern sides, while wire entanglements with machine-guns behind them protected the western edge from assault. The Lancashire troops that captured Montauban quickly extended their hold to the large intervening woodland of Bornafay Wood.

**Fighting in Trônes Wood**

Then, on July 8th, a lodgment was gained in Trônes Wood by fighting of a most violent character, in which the British infantry, assisted by French gunners with "75" quick-firers from the famous Twentieth Corps, rapidly developed their partial grip into an advance of a thousand yards through the dense green tract.

Trônes Wood then became a long, wide wedge, fourteen hundred yards from north to south and four hundred yards along its base, driven against the enemy's second line at Guillemont and Longueval. But there was a serious disadvantage in the new British salient. It was swept on three sides by heavy German gun fire, and also enveloped on these three sides by German infantry. General von Arnim, therefore, exerted all his available strength in men and shell to cut off this long wedge of hostile woodland. After a bombardment of guns of all calibres, the German infantry attacked in the evening of July 8th, and was shattered by French and British guns. Again, in the afternoon of July 9th, the Germans charged in great force, were broken by gun fire, re-formed, charged once more and were completely broken by the fire of the French and British guns.

Then, while the battle was raging at Contalmaison and Mametz Wood, General von Arnim spent his men's lives in tens of thousands in an effort to recover Trônes Wood. With 6 in., 8 in., and 12 in. howitzers he sought out the light French and British artillery that had broken his former charges. He hammered the wood from end to end with high explosive and shrapnel, and then, by enveloping assaults, he strove to recover the last bulwark of Guillemont and Longueval.

A strong attack from the east was completely repulsed, but as it ebbed away another grey mass stormed into the southern end of the wood, and as the leading battalions reached the last German trench there, their supports were caught by gun fire and they themselves were smashed by hand-bombs, bullets, and bayonets.

The position then resembled that at Montauban after the Manchesters had broken a grand counter-attack. But the German commander was being supplied with new troops, collected by the hundred thousand from all other fronts. Unperturbed by his tremendous losses, he flung out two more divisions at night to repeat the enveloping assault. For the fifth time his men completely failed under a hurricane of shell fire from British guns west of Trônes Wood and French guns near Hardecourt. But in the afternoon of July 10th a sixth desperate attack enabled the Germans to regain the greater part of the wood. Successful as the enemy's tactics seemed then to be, the British Fourth Army had by far the larger balance of human gains. The slaughter among the Germans was comparable with that which had occurred at Ypres in the autumn of 1914, and in spite of their ghastly sacrifice their hold upon the wood was not strong.

The guns of France dominated the wood from the region of Hardecourt, and the guns of Great Britain enfladed it entirely from the region of Montauban. The British infantry had two routes of approach, one from Bornafay Wood and the other from the entrenched high ground

southward. And at this critical period the general superiority of the allied artillery told widely upon the enemy. All German troops in the firing-line, in the supporting villages, and on the roads from the rail-head were exposed to unceasing gun fire. As it is reckoned there were then thirty German divisions congregated in front of Bapaume against the British front alone, their density exposed them to unusual punishment. For above the British guns were the keen-eyed, audacious British airmen, exercising for the time the supreme mastery of the air. Under these conditions a conflict of savage attrition amid the shattered holes, shell-craters, and wrecked trenches of Trônes Wood tended to the advantage of the British army.

In the morning of July 11th the wood was again swept by the allied artillery with shells ranging down from seven hundred pounds to eighteen pounds. After some hours of a general ploughing fire the guns massed in a single gigantic machine effect, and punctured the ground in regular holes as the British infantry again advanced. The men went on slowly from shell-hole to shell-hole behind the line of black-red wavering funnels that marked each explosion of high-explosive shell. As



*(British official photograph.)*

**A HELPING HAND FROM THE ENEMY.**

German prisoner, captured during the early days of the Somme advance, holding a motor-cycle steady while the despatch-rider starts the machine.

the funnels of smoke rose from the earth a streak of little clouds of smoke appeared in the sky. This was the shrapnel curtain that forced the enemy garrison to remain in its dug-outs. The German gunners in turn threw a hurricane of shrapnel over the approaches to the wood, and this operation was also answered on the British side by counter-battery firing directed by scouting aeroplanes. In the event the British artillery prevailed, enabling the British infantry once more to sweep the blasted wood as far as the northern trench connected with Longueval. On July 12th the enemy again counter-attacked and recovered a considerable part of the wood. The next day the famous West Kent Regiment entered the salient that the British soldiers had begun to call Hell Hole Wood, but after a fierce, swaying, hand-to-hand conflict, amid the thunder of British, French, and German artillery, the West Kents had to give ground.

By an enveloping operation the German commander cut off a hundred of the West Kents in the upper part of the

**Terrible see-saw conflict**





*[British official photograph.]*

**AFTER GALLIPOLI: AN ANZAC CORNER IN THE WESTERN BATTLE-LINE.**

At a field-kitchen within the Australian lines. Scene in a Colonial corner of Picardy where some of the Anzacs were enjoying afternoon tea. Beneath the ridge are seen the dug-outs, whose entrances were neatly consolidated with sandbags and corrugated iron.

wood and broke into the battalion headquarters of the regiment on the southern side. The temporary headquarters was badly battered by the enemy's heavy shell fire, and as officers and men were driven to seek cover, the gun fire lifted and the German infantry charged forward in the darkness. "Stand to arms!" cried an officer who saw them coming. With a dozen orderlies and signallers, hastily arming themselves with bombs and rifles, he beat off the counter-attack. Meanwhile, the hundred men

**Heroic stand by  
West Kents**

and their captain in the middle of the wood saw the Germans stream by them, but collected some Lewis guns and ammunition abandoned by other troops in an earlier struggle and constructed a ring position by one of the enemy's original roads through the woodland.

For twenty-four hours the Germans attacked the little band of heroes on all sides. They tried to rush the Lewis gun positions by bomb attacks, delivered under the covering fire of massed machine-guns. They attempted to creep in the darkness from shell-hole to shell-hole and wear the West Kents out by lobbing grenades at them. But the British captain had arranged such lines of fire with his Lewis guns and rifles that every attack was broken. Thirty-five Germans were made prisoners during the vain rush attacks, and as these men had been well provided with food and water, their capture helped the defence. But the situation was one of indescribable strain. For Sir Henry Rawlinson, thinking that the wood had been entirely lost, was subjecting all of it to a bombardment of unparalleled intensity. The British general was preparing to storm the enemy's Bazentin line. For this purpose he had massed on the narrow Somme sector all the guns, unneeded for local defence, that had been employed in the first ninety-mile bombardment. On the rest of the British line there was only artillery for protection and demonstration effect. Every available British gun, with many French guns, was trained on Trônes Wood and on the surrounding villages and ridges. On July 1st the gun fire had been too much dispersed, owing to the fact that the army still had not all the artillery and shell required for action on a wide front. On July 14th the guns and head of shell were concentrated with incomparable intensity on a very small segment of the hostile line. Part of this bombardment fell on the West

Kents. But they were a regiment with a reputation second to none—the regiment that never lost a trench and made generals out of its colonels. They grimly endured the British hurricane of shell, which had its helpful side, as it interfered with the movements of the enemy. Despairing of carrying by infantry attack the position held by the little English band, the Germans parleyed and asked the West Kents to surrender to avoid destruction by artillery. No surrender being offered, the enemy began to place field-guns in position. Meanwhile the tornado blasts from the massed British guns rose to an extreme intensity on the morning of July 14th, and behind the moving barrage of shell came the Sussex and other English county regiments. Trônes Wood was slowly but decisively conquered in a terrific infantry action conducted under a stupendous double crash of shell from British and German arcs of artillery. All the ground wrecked by British gunners to help their troops was again ploughed by German gunners to check the British advance. Amid these contending storms of thunderbolts the Sussex heard the cry, "Hallo, boys!" It came from the glorious party of West Kents who were thus rescued, after achieving one of the finest exploits in the war.

July 14th was the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, and the great festival day of the French Republic. In Paris and London remarkable preparations had been made for the civic celebration of the day on which the new spirit of Continental democracy in Europe was born, and France succeeded the United States as the torch-bearer of liberty. Sir Douglas Haig, being a practical-minded Scotsman, went his own way to celebrate the festival of France. He brought down men from the Ypress salient, hardened to every form of trench warfare, and five divisions that had won their first honours around Loos, and formed these into a new spear-head of attack. For a week the Staff officers worked day and night, snatching little sleep and little food at odd hours, while they linked the new forces with those that had won the first battle and arranged more guns and more shell against the strongly reinforced enemy batteries. On July 11th the new bombardment began in a manner that made the first great bombardment of July 1st seem an ordinary operation. The sky, ridges of ground,

**How July 14  
was celebrated**



earthworks, and woods about Bazentin blazed with bursting shell. A blinding light leaped about like an infernal will-o'-the-wisp. The sight and the sound were such as to make even the waiting troops of the attack sweat with fear, and always the nerve-racking tumult increased as more British batteries of monster guns steamed into action.

The night of war on July 13th was of volcanic grandeur. Great clusters of shell burst all along the German second line, tearing open the ground and making fountains of flame. In the British line the black undulations seemed everywhere reddened with the short stabs of fire coming from the assaulting guns. At three o'clock the moon wore below the sky-line, and the smoke of the explosions veiled the stars. Soon the first faint grey edge of early summer dawn glimmered over Bapaume, and, strangely amid the immense thunder of battle, a lark rose amid the whirl of the great shells and miraculously made her song heard.

For as though at a signal from the angel of the dawn, the guns suddenly hushed. But the silence was still more deadly than the tumult. It was the moment of the great infantry attack, and as the gunners ceased firing to change their range, tens of thousands of dim figures sprang from their assembly trenches and went out and up the pitted slopes where the ruins of the villages of Bazentin-le-Grand and Bazentin-le-Petit, Longueval, and Guillemont glimmered on the great ridge. Everything was exactly timed.

While the lark was still singing the dawn broadened, enabling the Britons, who had got safely out in the open in the darkness, to see their way, discern each other, and keep formation. Then the dawn song of the lark was overwhelmed. All the British guns crashed on their new targets. A rattle of machine-guns came from the enemy's line, and as white, red, and green rockets soared beyond Contalmaison above the large wood in front of Bazentin-le-Petit hundreds of German guns joined in the indescribable tumult.

Additional German gunners had come from Gommecourt and other northern sectors to inflict, by their terrific barrage, another decisive defeat upon the attacking British infantry. But conditions were different from those at Gommecourt. Five minutes after the German curtain of shrapnel and high explosive fell on and in front of Mametz Wood an aeroplane hummed over the thin lines of khaki figures. It was scarcely more than five hundred feet high, and the heroic pilot went right through the shrapnel curtain. Other machines swiftly followed him, until the entire scene of enemy activity was being studied by the new British aerial infantry. Some of them were spotters, who eyed the red tongues of the hostile barraging guns and at once brought down upon them salvo after salvo of heavy British shell. Others were veritable infantry of the air who swooped with machine-gun fire upon German troops

Night of volcanic  
grandeur

British airmen  
intervene



[British official photograph.]

LONGUEVAL AFTER THE BRITISH HAD RECOVERED IT FOR FRANCE. July 14th, 1916, saw the beginning of the second stage of the great Battle of the Somme, and on that day the British troops penetrated into the German second line, capturing Longueval, Bazentin-le-Grand, and Bazentin-le-Petit in their stride.

L





HOW AN AVALANCHE OF IRISHMEN OVERWHELMED A GERMAN TRENCH AT GUILLEMONT.  
Irish troops particularly distinguished themselves at Guillemont. At one spot the advance was held up by a machine-gun, but a company of Irish rushed the gun, bayoneted the gunners, and captured the trench after a fight in which bayonet, butt, and fists were freely used.

and even attacked field-artillery gunners and anti-aircraft gunners who were visible from above. At the same time as this direct aerial pressure was exerted against the enemy, the successes and difficulties of the leading British troops were observed by aerial guardian angels and signalled to the patrolling Staffs.

At four o'clock one of the enemy's main positions, Longueval, was set on fire by one of the monster British guns, and the ruins burned like a great torch high on the slope against the background of Delville Wood. Meanwhile, the attacking British divisions were carrying position after position with clockwork precision. On the left they had a long series of woods and copses through which to fight. Each clump or tract of trees was organised by the enemy in the manner of Mametz and Trônes Woods. There were barbed-wire between the stems, snipers in rows behind the barbed-wire, machine-guns behind the snipers, and trench-mortars and field and heavy artillery in the rear, with underground shelters for each garrison. Nearly everywhere steep slopes rose from the British departure trenches to the German works, so that the defending troops had a sweeping, plunging fire of bombs and bullets against the attacking troops.

But the wonderfully rapid artillery preparations of the British army robbed the German garrisons of their natural advantages of ground and of their scientific advantages of fortification. At a little distance in front of the soldiers of the New Army there was a cloud of bursting shell. Beneath this cloud the Germans could not stand and live; a hail of shrapnel beat upon them, mingled with the hammer-blows of high explosive that wrecked their parapets. They therefore retreated into their dug-outs, and then, at the moment nicely arranged by the synchronised watches of infantry and artillery officers, the guns suddenly lifted and the infantry went forward, catching the Germans before they could leave their shelters. Here and there an enemy machine-gunner arose in time to work his gun, and had to be desperately attacked by some heroic bomber or enveloped when the line had gone forward on either side of him. But, generally speaking, the speed of the infantry assault, combined with the precise march of the hammering line of British shell fire, defeated all the work of the German engineers.

Every Briton knew it was France's Day, and his cries of "La belle France!" and "Vivent les Français!" heartened him in his terrible and noble work. The troops that advanced against Bazentin-le-Petit, on the highest part of the ridge, were already veterans in the Somme battle. They had carried the angle in the German first line from Mametz to Fricourt, and stormed beyond to Danzig Alley and Bottom Wood. Many of them had been fighting since July 4th, and had done splendidly at Contalmaison. The new front they had to attack consisted of a zigzag line, with two sharp wedges south of Bazentin-le-Grand Wood. They had first to get through a wide zone of barbed-wire entanglements, then capture a long work, and afterwards break through another wire entanglement, storm a second fortified line, wage a bomb fight all through the wood, make a final charge over a slope, and bomb the village garrison out of their cellars.

There the British artillery was magnificent. Practically all the wire was cut, enabling the attacking troops to strike the trenches almost without a check, and get into the wood under favouring circumstances before the sky brightened. This saved them from the worst of the enemy's shell curtain, and, working forward with skilled dash, they won the wood in about an hour and a half. In addition to hidden machine-guns and concealed parties of bombers, the troops in the wood had to contend against an heroic type of German who sniped from the tree-tops. These snipers had had to endure the terrific and overwhelming bombardment, and the courage with which they stuck to their exposed position showed that the great British success was not obtained against a race of weaklings.

#### Storming of Bazentin-le-Petit

While the attack on the great wood was proceeding, other battalions on the left went in short rushes up the open incline to the village, and in less than half an hour blasted and stabbed their way into the ruins. This underground fortress was held almost entirely by machine-guns, but the British movement had been so quick that it was not clear day when the bomb-throwers began to work beneath the jumble of brickwork and splintered stone on the crowning ridge. One sergeant, wounded at the opening of the cellar fighting, got first-aid from an orderly, and helped to dress three injured men of another battalion.



Then the four wounded men and the orderly crawled on the prowl, and spied a party of twelve Germans working a machine-gun from a cellar and taking a British force on the flank. A couple of bombs put the machine-gun out of action, and then five more Germans ran from another spot into the underground retreat. "Hands up!" cried the sergeant. All except a German non-commissioned officer offered to yield. The wounded sergeant leaped upon the man who wanted to fight to the death, and all the party then surrendered. At half-past five both the

**Irish intrepidity at  
High Wood**

wood and the village were won. In every enemy trench or knot of caverns the cleaning-up troops were preventing the attacking troops from being assailed in the rear, and collecting prisoners by the hundred and preparing the way for the consolidating parties.

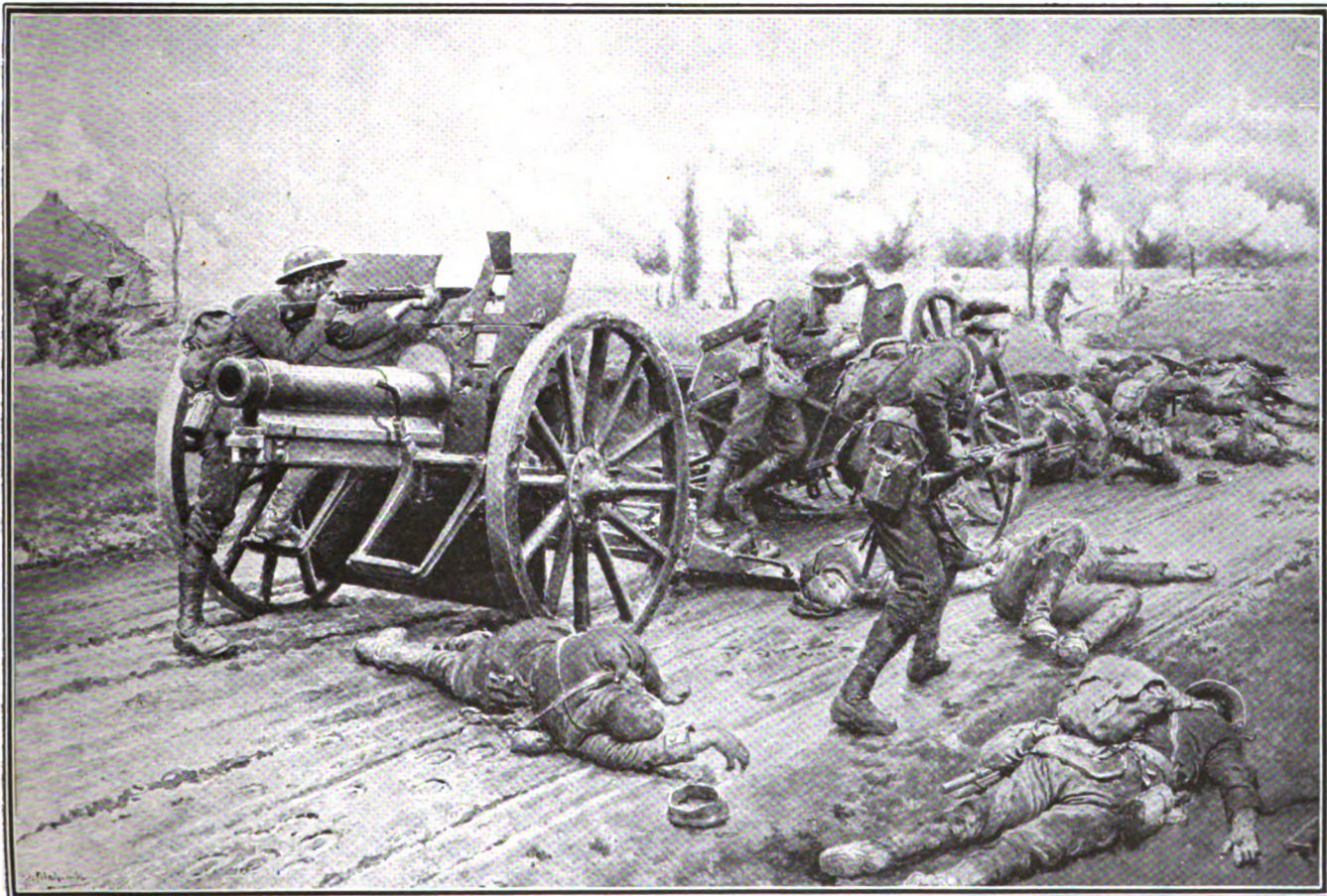
The enemy forces that had retired on Martinpuich made a hasty violent counter-attack in the morning, and threw back the men who had won the village. But a signal brought the heavy British guns down on their old mark, and behind the tornado of shells Irishman and Briton again advanced and retook all the ruins. A second counter-attack was attempted, but it did not trouble the victors. A signal was sufficient to put a storm of shell over Martinpuich and the intervening ground, and under this mechanical rain of death the large hostile force was shattered and dispersed.

It was bad tactics on the part of the local German commander to use up his available troops in this manner. For he still held a large patch of woodland, three-quarters of a mile from the village, from which he could dominate all his lost position. This dominating point of the Bazentin ridge was the famous Foureaux Wood, called High Wood by the British soldier. High Wood was strongly connected by a maze of trenches with Martinpuich and Flers, and

was further flanked eastward by an intricate series of works of which Cork Alley was the first. Southward and lower down the slope High Wood was protected by German guns around Delville Wood on the one side and Pozières on the other side. Thus from four sides the Germans could defend High Wood. But the brilliant British brigadier-general, who had won Bazentin-le-Petit and extended his gains into the ravine east of the village, looked at High Wood and thought it would be worth winning. When the second and larger German counter-attack staggered and broke under the fire of the British guns, the Irishmen and their comrades advanced up the open slope, and in spite of the German machine-guns firing down from the corners of the wood, the positions were stormed with superb intrepidity and telling skill. Then, in a fierce, sharp struggle, all the wood was carried as far as the concealed northern line of works, to which the enemy was able to hang by pouring forces in from either side at Martinpuich and Flers. The operation seemed to be hazardous and unsound. Indeed, the enemy must have thought that this amazing leap on to the crowning tangle of foliage overlooking all his undulating positions running down to Bapaume was an error that balanced his two hasty and vain counter-attacks.

**The strategy of  
sacrifice**

At the time of writing, Sir Douglas Haig's judgment on the affair had not been published, but on the information then available it would seem that the extraordinary first swoop into High Wood was a fine example of the strategy of sacrifice that enables victories to be completed. It was a disconcerting menace to the enemy's third zone of defences. For if the dominating observation-point could have been permanently secured, the superior fire of the British artillery could have been constantly directed with precision against nearly everything visible between



CAPTURE OF A GERMAN HEAVY GUN NEAR HIGH WOOD.

Near High Wood a battalion of the New Army came on a heavy gun which had been caught by a shell as the gunners were limbering up to get away before our barrage passed them. They captured the gun and accounted for the remaining gunners, who were hiding in dug-outs close by.





[British official photograph.]

## SEAFORTHS HOLDING A FRONT-LINE TRENCH FACING MARTINPUICH.

The Seaforths distinguished themselves nobly in the advance, and notably in the assault upon the Serre plateau. The German organisation and resource displayed hereabouts were marvellous, but the sheer pluck and gameness of the British were invincible.

High Wood and Bapaume. The German commander, therefore, had to concentrate his principal forces on the task of making High Wood uninhabitable by the spear-head of the British army. He turned hundreds of guns upon the southern part of the woodland, and upon the hollow between the wood and the Bazentin villages, and at the same time he fed troops through Martinpuich and Flers into the network of works around the wood.

And in spite of these great efforts of the enemy the comparatively small British force in High Wood maintained

**South Africans  
at Delville Wood**

its ground all the night of July 14th and the day and night of July 15th. Only in the morning of July 16th did the advanced troops quietly withdraw to the new British main line in the Bazentin villages. The enemy had suffered so heavily in the surrounding works that he allowed the British to retire down the ravine without molesting them. The general result was that while the enemy had vainly been endeavouring, from the evening of July 14th to the early morn of July 16th, to recover High Wood by storm, and exposing his troops by divisions to incessant bombardment by a superior mass of British guns, all the conquered second zone of German defences was firmly consolidated and linked to the first zone of German defences. No grand counter-attack disturbed the British engineer and his assistants.

Had High Wood been left unoccupied, a large part of the German army of a quarter of a million men would have been thrown against the improvised British positions in the Bazentin villages, the enemy would have had a central wood in which to mass, and his position in the wood would not have been known. He would also have had the ravine between the two Bazentins and High Wood as partial cover from the British guns. But, owing to the brilliant strategy of the British commanding officer at Bazentin-le-Petit, the principal weight of the German counter-attacks was misdirected against High Wood, and there worn down to temporary exhaustion, while the new British line was being built up impregably at the centre. It is scarcely too much to say that all the permanent successes on the new main line were secured, at comparatively small cost in the menacing circumstances, by the rapid and disconcerting thrust far forward into the

enemy's third zone of defences at High Wood.

There was another and somewhat similar leap forward at the most critical point of the right attacking line between Bazentin-le-Grand and Guillemont. Here Delville Wood was stormed and held with magnificent courage by the South African brigade, while the new main line behind them was consolidated. In the first assault along this part of the line there was a check at the hill village of Bazentin-le-Grand, defended by two parallel lines of trenches, rising a hundred and thirty feet above the river valley, from which the British troops advanced. Some of the barbed cables on the topmost slope had resisted all the shells poured upon them and were almost intact. Charging up the long slopes in the darkness before dawn the Britons on either side of the village crawled under the entanglements or blanketed them with greatcoats and climbed over and fought down the enemy machine-gunners with bombs.

Then, while some of the Yorkshiresmen in the centre were being held in shell-holes by uncut wire and machine-guns, near the sunken road running from Bazentin-le-Grand to High Wood, a Scottish battalion came up in support on the right, leaped into the trenches leading towards the village, and, bombing along, silencing all the hostile machine-guns, captured the remnant of the hostile garrison, thus enabling the British centre to go forward into the village.

Bazentin-le-Grand, an historic place in modern science, where Lamarck, the forerunner and rival of Darwin, was born in 1744, had been dubiously studied by Sir Douglas Haig's Staff. It was a natural hill fortress. By reason of its old-fashioned system of deep, vast cellars, and its sheltered position in a northern hollow behind the Bazentin-Longueval ridge, its underground works and machine-gun emplacements seemed secure against direct, frontal gun fire. A long, violent infantry conflict was, therefore, anticipated in the village. But the British chief gunnery officer had worked better even than he knew. Enfilading Bazentin across the long valley of the Fricourt stream and assailing it frontally by howitzer fire from the direction of Montauban, he had pulverised the picturesque old village. It is estimated that in the last twenty minutes of the preliminary bombardment more than two thousand heavy shells were pitched exactly on to Bazentin-le-Grand. A single 15 in. shell striking stone causes a violent shock over a wide area, and in that area will kill by concussion. And a 12 in. shell has a shock action of considerable extent.

**Fall of**

**Bazentin-le-Grand**

For two days shells of large calibre had been falling into the village, and when the final delivery of two thousand shells occurred, the remnant of the garrison, though saved from splinters in their great caverns, had little fight left in them. When, therefore, the Scottish battalion knocked out the six machine-guns in front of the village, and released for action the central Yorkshire forces, Bazentin fell practically without a serious struggle. Yet there was one huge cellar under a farm in the village capable of holding fifteen hundred soldiers. Only by a direct hit with a 15 in. shell could the vast underground retreat possibly have been penetrated, and no direct hit had been made.





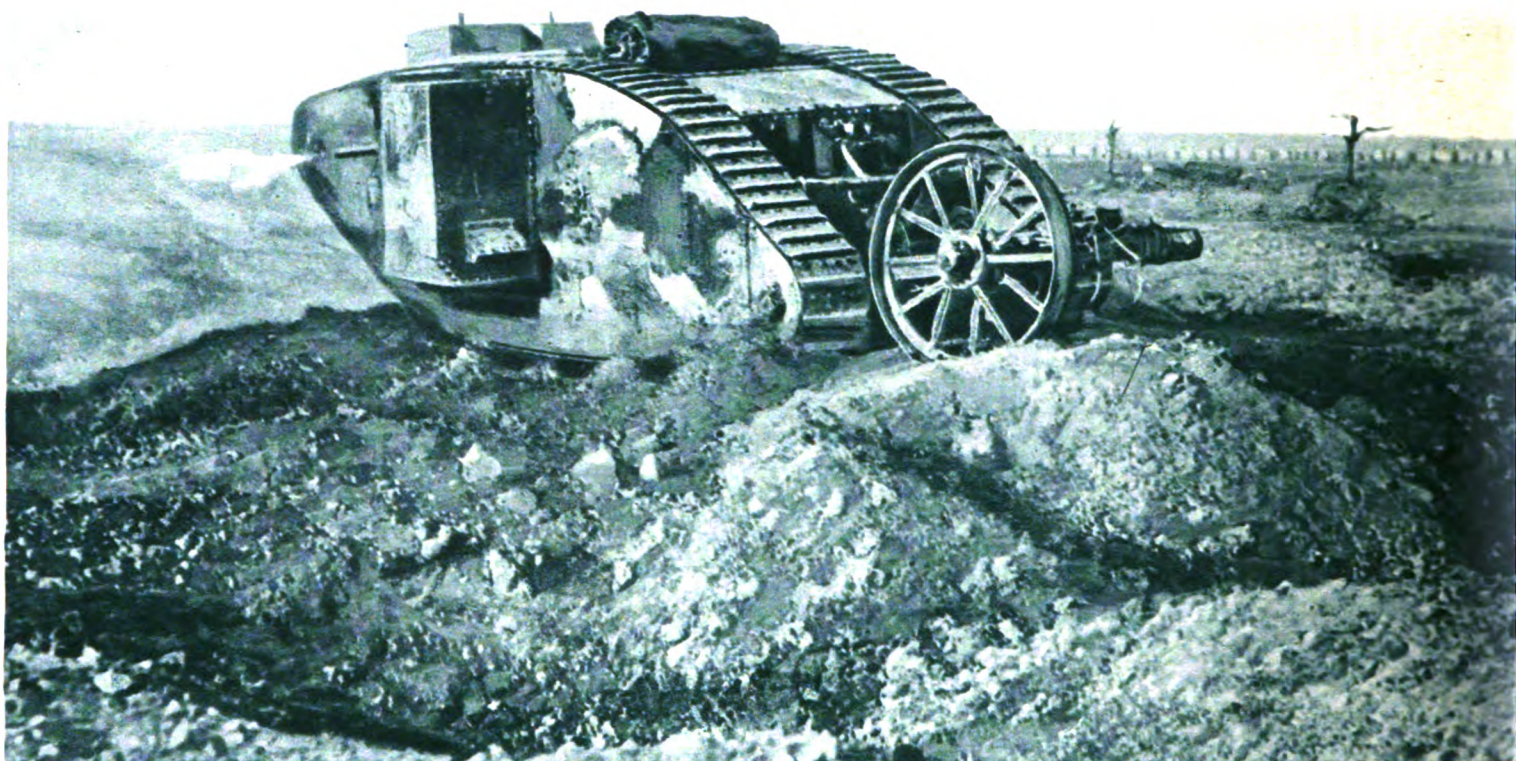
*On the Somme: Highland regiment moving up to the first line.*



*Steel casques and kilts: London Scottish swing forward to the trenches.*

[British official photographs.]





*Cruising over broken ground: British "tank" lumbering into action.*



*German prisoners coming into the British lines after a "tank" attack.*





*Land cruiser astride a large shell-hole on the Somme front.*



*Front view of a "tank" crossing the neutral zone between the lines.*

[Canadian War Records.]





*Australians ramming a shell into the breech of a heavy howitzer.*



[British official photograph.]

*London Riflemen in reserve awaiting the signal to go over the top.*



The Germans at the time were using it as a shelter for their wounded. These were brought in large numbers to the British lines, together with five hundred and fifty unwounded rank and file, and twenty-three officers and a commandant. Some heavy howitzers were also taken around the village, and the casualties of the British attacking force were only a fraction of the losses they inflicted on the enemy. In technique as well as in material results the victory at Bazentin-le-Grand was splendid evidence of the qualities of the new British soldier.

When Bazentin-le-Grand was taken, and connection made at the cross-roads northward with the force that had

**British cavalry  
in action**

taken Bazentin-le-Petit, three more entrenched works were carried in the valley between Longueval and High Wood. Then, while the advance on Longueval and Delville Wood was progressing in a fierce and stern fight, there occurred a most unusual and picturesque incident. For the first time since the autumn of 1914, British cavalry took part in a battle in France. Between High Wood and Longueval was a long slope of ripening corn, from which a German force of riflemen and machine-gunners were enfilading the advancing British wing. The enemy was concealed in the long green stalks, with a line of hidden sharpshooters protecting his machine-guns. No infantry rush attack was practicable in the circumstances; but, to the consternation of the Germans, a squadron of British horsemen and a squadron of dark, turbaned Indians abruptly appeared in the forefront of the British army. They were the Dragoon Guards and the Deccan Horse, and they went in a swift line through the cornfields, doing terrible work with lance and sabre, until the Germans flung themselves down and screamed for mercy. The fields were cleared as far as the machine-gun positions, and the cavalry then sent their horses back and dug trenches to hold the ground for the infantry. This extraordinary charge seems to have been carried out at little cost, owing to the fine manner in which the horsemen were directed



[British official photograph.]

**UNDER THE RED CROSS.**

Striking photograph of an advanced dressing-station right up against the battle-line on the western front. The Red Cross emblem was fixed on a shell-shattered tree.



[British official photograph.]

**NOVEL SIGNPOSTS ON THE SOMME.**

Obsolete rifles affixed to tree-trunks and manipulated by wires to point the direction of an advance. In the background are the ruins of a village in No Man's Land.

by an airman. Some horses were lost by machine-gun fire, but the unexpected speed of the attack saved the horsemen.

After the cavalry charge and the advance from the left into High Wood, the main stress of the battle fell upon the South African troops and their Scottish comrades who were fighting around Longueval and advancing into Delville Wood. The great knot of German fortresses around Longueval and Trônes Wood was to make one of the supreme furnaces of the Somme battles. The German positions composed of Longueval, Delville Wood, Ginchy, Guillemont, and Trônes Wood, formed a rough rectangle with a frontage of nearly two miles. Two high ridges, with a third neighbouring ridge northward, ran through the rectangle, affording dominating observation-points for enemy gunners, and providing two partly wooded hollows in which reserves could shelter from direct fire. About two miles east of Guillemont was the great hollow of Combles, where the enemy had immense stores of munitions with railway communication to Guillemont. Beyond Combles a northern valley ran to the high road from Bapaume, from which another light railway had been constructed by the Germans in the rear of the High Wood ridge. Owing to the situation, the enemy commander could quickly throw huge forces against two sides of the British salient, and even threaten the rear of the British from the railway line south of Combles. It was not until the French army worked forward and upward from Hardecourt that the British salient was partly relieved from pressure. There were from four to five blasting cross-fires from German batteries of all calibres playing for weeks on the British salient about Longueval. Yet Sir Douglas Haig maintained the conflict for reasons of strategy.

**Storming of  
Waterlot Farm**

In the first operations on July 14th a remarkable amount of success was obtained. Trônes Wood was, as we have seen, entirely recovered by the Sussex Regiment and their comrades. Above the Englishmen, and working



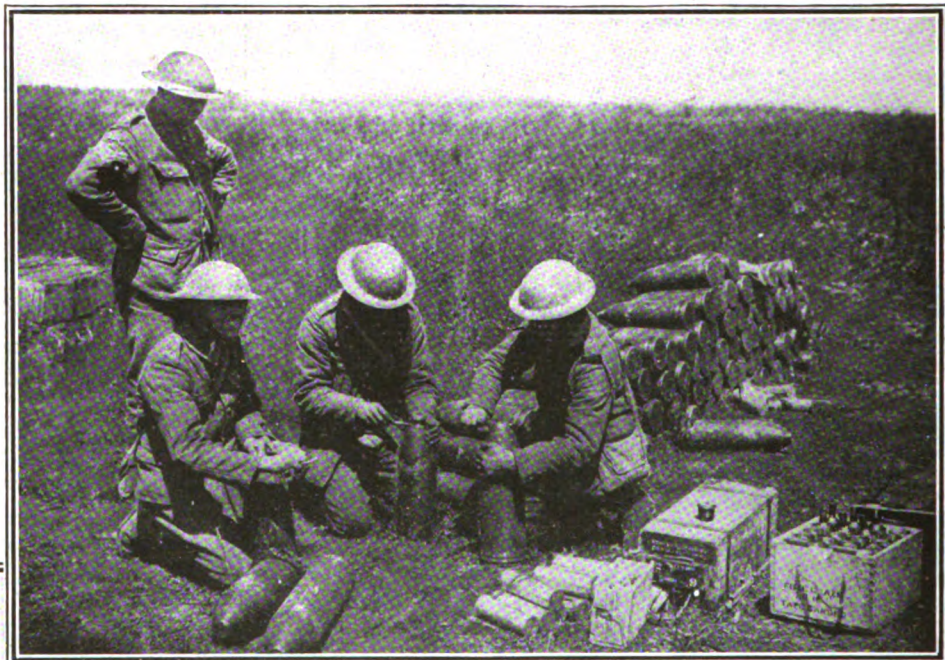
along the Guillemont trench and upward along the "Tortillard" railway towards Guillemont railway-station, a brilliant and adventurous body of Scotsmen broke through the wire entanglements and through the double row of works in front of Ginchy, stormed Waterlot Farm, and got a footing in Guillemont. And before this success was fully achieved another fine Scottish force, acting in front of the South Africans, ascended in the darkness the long hill rising in front of Bornafay Wood to Longueval. The

Kilties enter  
Longueval

Germans had a line of works on the high ridge, from which they swept the mile's breadth of gradual incline down to the railway and stream in the hollow and the low northern edge of Bornafay Wood. In the ordinary way the great bare slope to Longueval was impracticable for charging troops. No dense or wide formation could climb the long gradient against machine-guns and massed artillery. Death could be dealt quicker than men could move. But the great superiority of the British artillery rendered possible an operation that avoided nearly all the disadvantages of the slope. While the guns were still pounding all the German lines for a depth of seven miles, the Scottish force went out in the darkness and, in careful touch, gradually moved upward. Had all the German guns available then swept the slopes with shrapnel the Scotsmen would have been destroyed. But the enemy did not expect an advance until daylight, and the stealthy attackers, with reconnoitring patrols searching their path on either side of the sunken road leading to Longueval, neared the first hostile line of works when a huge British shell set the hill village on fire and lighted the figures climbing the jut of downland. As soon as the British movement was seen the German guns threw out a shrapnel curtain, and also ploughed the incline with high explosive, and veiled the field

with smoke-bombs. Men began to fall in large numbers. But with their pipers playing them on, the Highlanders swept up the ridge, and finding a gap in the wire, went in waves into and over the first hostile fire-trench. Every attacker carried a supply of bombs, most murderous weapons in close combat, for one of them can kill a group of men sooner than a bayonet can kill a single man. The Germans fought well, but were rapidly overpowered by the grim Scotsmen, who knocked out all the machine-gunners, and, leaving their cleaning-up parties behind, rushed the second line of trenches.

Here the dug-outs had been badly made, being probably a hasty improvisation after the battle of July 1st. Many were hardly bomb-proof, and had suffered badly in the bombardment. From one dug-out came a German officer carrying a large axe, who said in English: "I surrender!" "Drop that axe first!" said a Highland sergeant. In reply the axe was flung at the sergeant's head, but he dodged and used his bayonet. Still onward went the kilties into the charred ruins of Longueval, where the great fire had died into a smoulder. In spite of the fire the Germans were still holding the broken walls and gaping



DELICATE OPERATIONS.  
Men of the R.G.A. setting fuses to shells.  
A pile of completed projectiles is seen on the right.



A TROPHY FROM THE FIELD OF VICTORY.

Type of heavy cannon used by the Germans against the Allies on the Somme. The weapon was abandoned by the enemy and was hauled to the British rear.

and roofless buildings. German courage and German discipline certainly bred some great examples of heroism. The bombardment had been as heavy and as prolonged as that of Bazentin-le-Grand, but some officers at Longueval were of the tiger kind that fights to the edge of doom.

In one important redoubt six machine-guns swept the ground and the tumble of earth that had been a road. But if the German was a man of iron, the Scotsman was a man of steel. In spite of the half dozen machine-guns the redoubt was rushed and bombed. Then followed a ghastly struggle in the numerous cellars, where a desperate remnant of the German garrison waited like



wolves in the darkness, and flung bombs at the sound of an approaching footstep. It was cave warfare, with all its primitive horrors intensified by high explosive weapons. Men crept about with cat-like stealthiness, saw of each other at times only the glint of the eyes, and closed in the gloom in a death-struggle. But the Highland battalions had lost many men that day; and when the Highlander has comrades to avenge, and is fighting man-to-man in dark caverns, the extreme of German desperation will not daunt him, but only sharpens the edge of his mind. Longueval was quickly conquered underground as well as above ground.

The surface fighting was also peculiar. For Longueval was not a village so much as an inhabited wood. It was part of Delville Wood, and the forest trees, thinned and stripped by tens of thousands of British shells, still partly concealed the roofs of farmsteads and cottages with their branching foliage. And, as in other wooded places on this day of main conflict between two great empires, the Germans were perched in the trees with machine-guns and magazine rifles. Some fifty hours of incessant bombardment with shells of all calibre had not broken the nerve of the picked Teutonic sharpshooters. Men in fire-control stations in the Jutland Battle had not to stand such a shelling as the German snipers endured in their forest eyries in the second week of July, 1916. Many of them drew blood from the Scotsmen whom they took by surprise, but each of them was in turn revealed by the sound of his weapon and shot.

As the Scotsmen settled savagely to their work of clearing the woodland village the South African brigade advanced beyond into the inferno of Delville Wood. The South Africans were good men and famous, for many of them had already made the strangest Odyssey of the war. Some had fought in the farmlands and wastes of South Africa against the rebel commandos of Beyers and De Wet. After the closing drives upon their misdirected fellow-countrymen they had followed General Botha into German South-West Africa, where by arduous desert-fighting and terrible rides they had enveloped the enemy. Next they appeared in Egypt as troopers training into infantry, and under General Lukin they swept westward into the Libyan wastes, and there conquered the fanatic Senussiyyeh. And now, after many journeyings and many battles, they had achieved their heart's desire and were fighting in the main theatre of war alongside the national armies of England, Scotland, and Wales and the generous volunteer forces of Ireland. They would have gathered in much greater force in France had not their aid been



BRINGING IN THE WOUNDED ACROSS NO MAN'S LAND.

Dramatic impression of wounded being brought in across the neutral zone. Four German prisoners are carrying a wounded soldier on a stretcher, while behind them R.A.M.C. workers are tending another victim under a cloud of mine-smoke which hangs ominously in the air.

required also for the campaign in German East Africa. If ever men were strung up to the highest pitch of human endeavour the South Africans were. Veterans of fame in desert warfare, they had met for the first time the awful weight of modern Continental artillery in Bornafay Wood, where the first large number of their graves was dug. On the morning of July 14th they advanced from the wood and up the opposite long slope under very heavy fire from the German guns, and then began to extend the new British Bazentin-Longueval line by fierce and most wearing forest fighting in Delville Wood.

There were open glades in the park-like pleasure where the German machine-gunners had a sweeping line of fire. But, heralded by a terrific hail of British shells, with their scouts pushed out near the zone of shrapnel and high-explosive, the South Africans stormed through the wood. Caught on their left by machine-gunners and sharpshooters hidden in a thick undergrowth fringing the

#### The inferno of Delville Wood



glades, and enfiladed on their right by a field-gun at close range, the South Africans not only stuck to their task, but carried it out quickly in an exultant rage. Their losses were heavy, including two commanding officers, who fell in Longueval. But Colonel Tanner, who controlled the forces in the wood, prepared to hold it at any cost. The enemy forces at Flers and Ginchy had a great network of trenches surrounding the wood on three sides, with more than a dozen parallels of assault leading

Five days' awful towards the wood.

ordeal

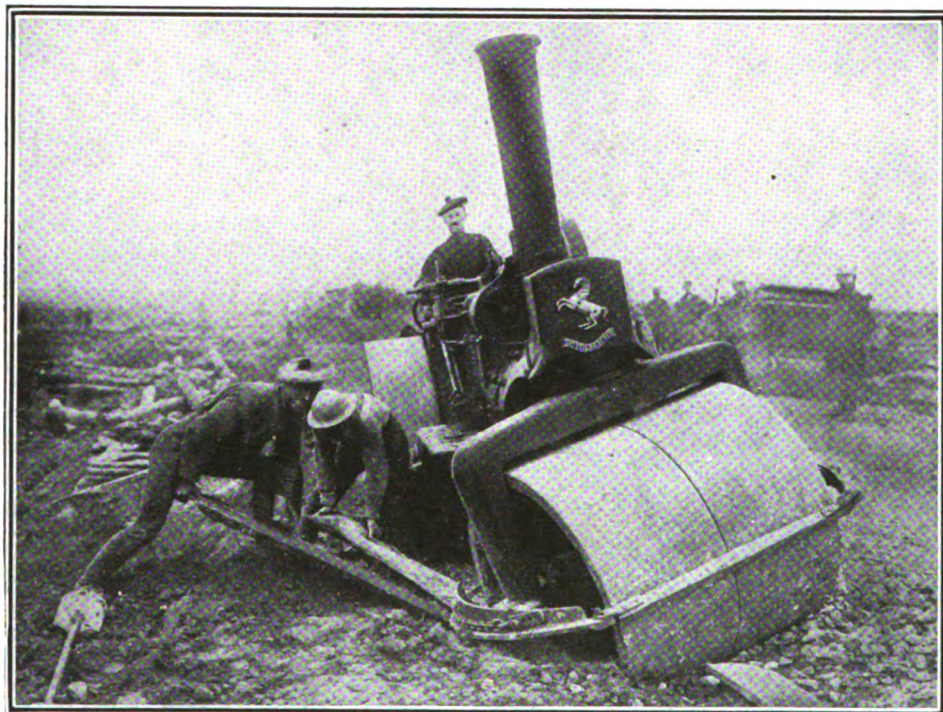
The situation was desperate. But, as in the similar case of High Wood, this thrust towards the enemy's third zone of defences had to be maintained to enable the work of consolidation to go on in Bazentin-le-Grand, Longueval, and Trônes Wood. These places were completely wrecked by British and German shell fire, and days were needed for the sappers to build new works and shelters, and make secure communications with the Montauban line. The South Africans in Delville Wood and the Scotsmen in

high-explosive, poison gas, and blinding gas liquid flame shells, lifted from the South Africans' front and deepened on their rear. Then under cover of machine-gun fire from the northern ridges the German infantry advanced.

In the afternoon of July 18th came the enemy's first violent reaction against the British offensive on the Somme. For eighteen days the hostile counter-blows had been merely of a defensive kind. The German had struck back simply to win time for strengthening himself on the ground to which he had retreated. But on July 18th the German army commander on the Somme front considered that he had the entire situation well in hand, and made a well-considered and long-prepared attempt to wrest the initiative from Sir Douglas Haig. As the British line had been withdrawn from High Wood he did not assail the Bazentin front. This had become a strongly-entrenched line, open only to direct frontal attack. The German commander showed his common-sense in selecting the right corner of the new British ground, from Delville Wood to Trônes Wood, and the point at which the British and French

lines met. This opened the critical ordeal, foreseen by the allied commanders at the time when the Iron Division came across the Somme. The unusual slowness with which the German had prepared only indicated the might in which he had gathered for the grand trial of strength.

It is about two and a half miles from the northern part of Delville Wood to the southern slope of Trônes Wood. On this front, according to the German official report, merely two Prussian regiments, numbering six thousand men, were deployed for attack. But, according to French military experts, six German divisions were at first arrayed in écheloned columns and poured continuously against two and a half miles of British trenches. The assault opened, after a long, intense, and terribly heavy artillery fire, at half-past five in the evening and went on all night. As the leading German battalions fell, supports came forward. Sometimes there was a pause for more artillery work at points where the British line was impenetrable, but the principal



[British official photograph.]

#### OFF THE BEATEN TRACK.

Familiar steam-roller in difficulties on one of the uncertain roads leading to the Somme front. Two Scottish soldiers are lending a hand to right the cumbersome Invicta.

Longueval and the Waterlot Farm line had to draw the strongest part of the enemy's gun fire and attract the main force of his counter-attacking infantry in order to enable the British army to consolidate its great central gains.

So for five days the wasting but indomitable brigade of South Africans held the wood they called Hell's Wood against all the mechanical and human forces the German commander could bring against them. The disadvantage of Delville Wood was that the larger part of it sloped down into the Bazentin valley, and was directly and closely dominated by a maze of German trenches on two high downs near Flers. The Germans had a pitch of sixty-five feet to the left and the right and the rear of the South Africans in Delville Wood. The wood was within range of a plunging machine-gun fire as well as direct gun fire. The South Africans had attacked through the concentrated curtain fire of hundreds of German guns, and all the while they held the wood these guns not only maintained their fire but, reinforced by numerous batteries, constantly intensified the bombardment. At intervals the smoke and the poisoned fumes and the blaze of German shrapnel,

design was to keep the British troops extended in violent defence, and feed forward fresh attacks until the South Africans, Scotsmen, and Sussex men were physically exhausted.

On the Trônes Wood front, where the enemy had generally to make a direct frontal attack, all his efforts were broken. Above the wood, in the angle of Waterlot Farm, three assaults were shattered by artillery barrages and Vickers and Lewis gun fire. But in the extreme salient of Delville Wood, which the Germans attacked from three sides, the South Africans had to give ground and fall back to a trench midway in the park. At the same time the Scotsmen in Longueval had to retire from the low-lying northern edge of the village. All night the fight went on, and all the next day and the next night. On a front of two thousand yards at Delville Wood, on July 18th, the enemy deployed four out of his six divisions, and of the four divisions thirteen battalions could be traced from prisoners left in our hands. By July 21st, when the Delville Wood battle was still raging, many more German

A grand trial of strength





Some of the prisoners taken by the British during the Somme advance on July 1st, 1916.



*[Britain's official photographs.]*

British troops watching German prisoners passing down to the "cages" after the taking of Guillemont. Above: Prisoners coming into La Boisselle. When they began to recover from the nerve-shattering effect of our bombardment and assault most of the men showed genuine relief at being safely out of a terrible business.

VIEWS OF THE GERMAN EXODUS FROM GUILLEMONT AND LA BOISSELLE.





AT THE SIGN OF THE RED TRIANGLE.

[British official photograph]

The work of the Y.M.C.A. during the war was beyond praise, its organisation perfect and its personnel devoted. The trench shop shown here was stationed right forward in the firing-zone.

troops had been pushed forward into the furnace. Yet on this day there were South Africans yet to be found fighting in the woodland. For seven days and nights they had scarcely slept at all, except while standing. Even when falling asleep as they stood, they awakened quickly enough to eject the masses of grey figures charging over the stumps of the vanished trees. When the brigade was relieved, after a hundred and twenty hours' fighting, some of the men who had borne the brunt of the conflict asked to be allowed to continue the battle.

**Gallant gunner  
saves the line**

A drawn, wild-eyed set they at last looked —men with fagged brains and outworn bodies. Yet they fought on, when they might have been relieved. In the darkness and confusion of one mass German attack a hundred of the South Africans suffered a fate similar to that of the West Kents. The trench they were holding ran north and south through the wood. In the retirement of the main body, touch was lost, and the small advanced force enveloped. The enemy could be heard approaching from east and west, for as the Germans advanced they pitched bombs before them at a venture, hoping to provoke the fire of any chance opponents in their path.

The South Africans made no movement until the figures of the Germans were close and distinct. Then with bomb and rifle fire they brought the first enveloping force down, and turned about in their trench and held off the Germans on the other side. When the Germans re-formed and made a simultaneous attack eastward and westward, half the South Africans in the trench faced one way and half the other way. At last, breaking the ring, a little victorious remnant came forth, joined hands with other troops, and with them renewed the attack. There was another gallant incident in connection with a Lewis gun team, which saved the line at a most perilous moment by playing on the enemy while exposed itself to an overwhelming counter-fire. Soon only one gunner was left to turn the drum of the remarkable Lewis gun, invented by an American, much to the benefit of the British soldier and British airman. The single Lewis gunner continued to fire, with

a hail of shot falling about him from enemy snipers and machine-gunners. But nothing hit him; and after stopping every German attack on his section, and getting his weapon jammed and coolly adjusting it, he carried on until his ammunition was exhausted, and then fell back to cover bearing his gun. Colonel Tanner was wounded, and Colonel Thackeray took command of the forces in the wood, while General Lukin continually moved from the wood to the village, studying the situation and directing his officers.

When the South Africans were broken by the enemy's terrific, searching gun fire and his incessant waves of infantry attack, the fragments of battalions, scraps of companies, and shreds of platoons rallied beside the Scotsmen in a reserve trench in the rear. Then, a mere handful, the South Africans and Highlanders counter-attacked, and by a miracle of fighting drove back the hostile grey masses and saved the situation. The reserve trench, on which they rallied, was an improvised affair already wrecked by shell fire. It could have stood no assault; every man

in it would have been killed or taken, and the corner-stone of the Franco-British front lost. The desperate counter-charge staggered the enemy, and by its miraculous success made him apprehensive of the presence of a strong British reserve. He drew back cautiously to avoid a trap that did not exist, and gave the heroic remnant time to improve their position. The Highlanders had a series of four strong points, hastily but well made, and with the help of some South Africans with Lewis guns they broke the enemy. The South Africans inside the edge of the woodland had in an open drive, named Buchanan Street, a shallow trench that still held, and there in the close of the Germans' first operation they held out against all assaults and won. Ten battalions of Germans failed completely to penetrate the weak and scantily manned British line.

When, on July 20th, the remnant of South Africans was relieved, leaving the flower of their force in the terrible wood, and the splendid Highland Division on the Longueval-Trônes Wood line went into rest quarters, the enemy attacks continued with unintermittent violence. In effect, the German commander formed an army of nearly a hundred thousand men into an illimitable column, less than a mile and a quarter wide, and fed the edge of this column against the British human emery-wheel in the lower part of Delville Wood and Longueval. It was attrition on a colossal scale and yet of narrow intensity—a gigantic knife formation driven against the most delicate point in the allied front.

**German method of  
attrition**

The design of it seemed to have been due directly to the German High Command, who selected General von Stein to control the operation. Stein was a man of the Falkenhayn class—a combination of military politician and Great Staff strategist. Above him on the Somme were two of Hindenburg's best men, Gallwitz and Below, who had shown themselves in Russia to be masters of swarm attacks when they possessed a high superiority in gun-power. This superiority they did not possess on the Somme. For some weeks they did not even attain an





A Somme ridge alive with soldiers. How our men were protected against the enemy fire when away from the front line.



Two veterans contemplating the effect of British artillery fire on the German trenches at Ovillers, which had been originally constructed with all the skill and thoroughness of the Teuton mind.

BRITISH SHELTERS AND SOME SHATTERED GERMAN DUG-OUTS.





[British official photograph.]

**FIRST-AID ON THE BATTLE-FIELD: A CAMERA IMPRESSION ON THE SOMME FRONT.**

Wounded soldiers undergoing quick but expert treatment at an advanced dressing-station. As soon as their immediate needs were satisfied the motor-ambulance conveyed them to the base hospital. On the horizon the smoke of a bursting shell can be distinctly seen.

equality with the Allies in heavy-fire power. So they sacrificed men by the ten thousand in attempts to achieve a practical decision by forcing back the British line. Their larger underlying intention was to shake the nerve of the British people, and prepare the way for a negotiated peace, by proving at what a fearful common loss Germany was ready to achieve a great defensive victory.

Much of the heaviest fighting occurred in the long, narrow valley running from Flers to the Bazentin villages, and passing through the lower and northern parts of Delville Wood and Longueval. The outskirts of Longueval became the Hougomont Farm of the main new British front on the Bazentin height. By attracting and distracting much of the enemy's chief force the village facilitated the defence of the ridge. The Germans had to come down the northern slope of the valley, cross the ravine, and climb up the southern slope. All the ground they covered in order to get within bomb-throw of the British works was heavily curtailed by the British artillery. Trees or undergrowth no longer gave any screening shelter, for the ground was bared and broken by incessant shell fire alternating from either side, according to the swaying of the infantry lines. The shell-holes were

**Another Hougomont Farm** likewise of little use, as machine-gunners and snipers on the ridges could fire down into the craters.

All this told against the Germans, who were the attacking force. They worked forward by means of strong lines of machine-guns under cover of storms of 6 in. shell. The British troops appear to have relied mainly upon the light and handy Lewis gun, with its spurts of fire from a revolving drum. The weight and cumbersomeness of the German weapon formed a serious disadvantage when the teams had to speed up behind a line of bomb-throwers. The Briton used his guns up in considerable quantities, and

abandoned them when they had paid for themselves and a rapid retirement was inevitable. This was really a tribute to the productiveness of the British munition factories, enabling lives to be saved at a little expense in machinery. And though the German communiqués at times boasted about the scores of Lewis guns captured, practically every gun had done terrible work before it was left in the wood.

After the main body of South Africans were relieved, the brunt of the fighting fell upon the splendid Scottish regiments who had made a great fight around Waterlot Farm and Guillemont, and upon the English battalions who moved up in support. The Prussians, who made considerable gains on July 18th, were pressed back into the valley on July 19th and July 20th. A fresh Brandenburg division advanced up the village street and up the gradient of the wood, only to be countered by the Highlanders. Then, on July 20th, Sir Douglas Haig threw a new and unexpected weight into the main battle-front, and enabled Sir Henry Rawlinson to make a sudden spring from the Bazentin ridge to High Wood.

**Scots encounter  
Brandenburgers**

This general resumption of the offensive was based upon an important success on the left flank of the British line. Here the downland fortress of Ovillers, which had been stormed and lost on July 1st, had barred for more than a fortnight the use of the wide slopes rising by Contalmaison Wood to the high dominant point of Pozières. A force of Prussian Guards held the deep caverns in the chalk height and manned the concrete emplacements in which there were slits for working machine-guns. The Prussians were men of an indomitable character. Although all the buildings above them were obliterated by unceasing heavy gun fire, they continued to fight for every yard of ground. Early in the struggle a force of fresh British troops rushed the underground fortress from the western side and, linking up with the original attackers, cut the ruined village in



half and emptied the southern part of prisoners, leaving the enemy isolated on the higher ground northward.

All that then remained to do was to clear out the Guardsmen. But the underground city of Ovillers was not easily cleared out, being held by an heroic band, led by officers who clearly understood the large, strategical value of every day's resistance. The system of caverns afforded lodging for more than two thousand men, and the roof of earth was so thick that a tornado of exploding 8 in. shells sounded beneath like the buzzing of bees in the thatch of a cottage. Electric dynamos and engines lighted the whole of the subterranean city, from which shafts like chimneys ran to concrete emplacements. In the shafts were pulleys for hoisting machine-guns and ladders by which the teams ascended. More than twenty of these chimneys were concealed in the upper earthworks, enabling the garrison to make surprise escapes and surprise appearances. Bombs thrown down the staircases of the upper dug-outs did no injury to the men listening in the lower caverns and peering through long periscopes in the vicinity. For some time the enemy was fed with supplies

**Underground city  
of Ovillers**

coming from the north and east, and when he was entirely enveloped he had a large store of food, enabling him to stand a siege.

For seventeen days handfuls of English and Irish soldiers fought the Germans above ground and underground, in broken traverses, shell-craters, ditches, corridors, and caves. The Irishmen tried to carry a redoubt by storm, but were caught in streams of machine-gun fire. The Cheshires went forward in small parties with hand-grenades, and sapped down to the underground city and mined the roof of it. Neither side bombarded the upper ruins, where not a fragment of wall remained two feet high.

The gunners were afraid of hitting their own men, and

merely maintained a terrific barrage over the hostile communications. But eventually it was the British shell curtain that completed the conquest of the place. The original large force of Prussians was reduced to a hundred and forty men, and many of the cellars were foul with the bodies of the dead. For days no water reached them, and their stock of mineral drinks was exhausted. Worn out by seventeen days' fighting, and with their blood poisoned for want of water, the remnant of the Guard surrendered—two officers and a hundred and twenty-four men—and were received with the honours of war by the British. Gallant Sir Douglas Haig went out of his way in his daily report to speak of the bravery of the remnant of Guardsmen who had so seriously checked the development of the British offensive.

**Honour to a  
brave foe**

But while the siege of Ovillers was still proceeding, some of the Lancashire men engaged in cave warfare on the right of the underground fortress prepared the way for an important movement that was to follow the fall of the frontal down. Some young officers were asked to send out a patrol northward. A detachment went forward in the darkness, led by a young machine-gun officer, who took sixteen machine-guns with him. With his little but well-armed company he struck up an old bit of communication-trench leading to Pozières. Thousands of Germans were entrenched on the mile-and-a-half slope leading to the main ridge, but for some reason the vital communication-trench was neither garrisoned nor watched. The Lancashire detachment worked upwards for a mile to a strong redoubt containing four machine-guns, their teams, and a bombing detachment. Certain measures were taken in regard to the redoubt which need not be detailed, but which resulted in the redoubt being made harmless, and the adventurers then went nearer to Pozières and, by another



TENDING THE WOUNDED UNDER FIRE AT AN ADVANCED DRESSING-STATION IN THE SOMME SECTOR. [Canadian official photograph.]  
The peril of the wounded as well as the R.A.M.C. is demonstrated by this illustration, showing an enormous shell bursting near an advanced dressing-station. The camera has caught the anxious movements on the part of the doctor and one of the wounded men in the foreground.





HIGHLAND BRIGADE MARCHING BACK AFTER TAKING MARTINPUICH.

Martinpuich was strongly fortified and held. The ruins of the village bristled with machine-guns, and our men fought forward until the whole place was in their hands, and they dug themselves in on the farther side

successful trick of war, captured four machine-guns. When day broke, the Lancashires had consolidated themselves in an impossible little British fortress in the heart of the German lines, and close to Pozières. They saw many things which they afterwards reported to Headquarters, and which the Staff found extremely useful in supplementing the results of aerial reconnaissance. Having seen all that could be seen, the Lancashires did not retire or hide themselves, but opened fire down the great slope on all bodies of German infantry moving beneath them against the British trenches. At first the enemy thought that some well-placed shrapnel was doing the damage, but the noise of twenty strange machine-guns in action near Pozières became too startling a thing to pass unnoticed.

An infantry attack was made from the hill village, and broken up by the machine-guns. The enemy then trained his artillery on the British position, and started a wide enveloping movement with his infantry. While the ground was being ploughed up with high explosive, the Lancashires retired, carrying all their own machine-guns and the four captured German guns, and leaving an officer and six men as a rearguard. Those who came back unwounded numbered at first only one officer and one man. But thirty-six hours afterwards a sergeant came in carrying a wounded Irishman. The two were friends, and the sergeant had remained by Pozières, with heavy shells falling on all sides of him, and the wounded man in a delirium and shouting threats to the Germans. After bringing back his comrade and getting a drink of water, the sergeant again went out to search for another wounded man.

This remarkable piece of reconnaissance was of great service during the enemy's incessant attack on the Delville Wood salient. It cleared the way for a great balancing movement against the opposite enemy salient of Pozières, which had become fully exposed to assault after the fall of Ovillers. In the battle of the Bazentin ridges no attempt had been made to extend the action towards Pozières. The farthest point gained by the British about Bazentin-le-Petit was a little over a mile east of Pozières. A considerable part of the intervening space was conquered in the early morn of July 16th, when a fine body of English county troops, with whom were some Irish, broke into the trench system around Pozières to a considerable

depth. At the same time other attacking troops worked towards Martinpuich, thus exposing more of the eastern flank of Pozières to attack, and increasing the length of the enemy salient.

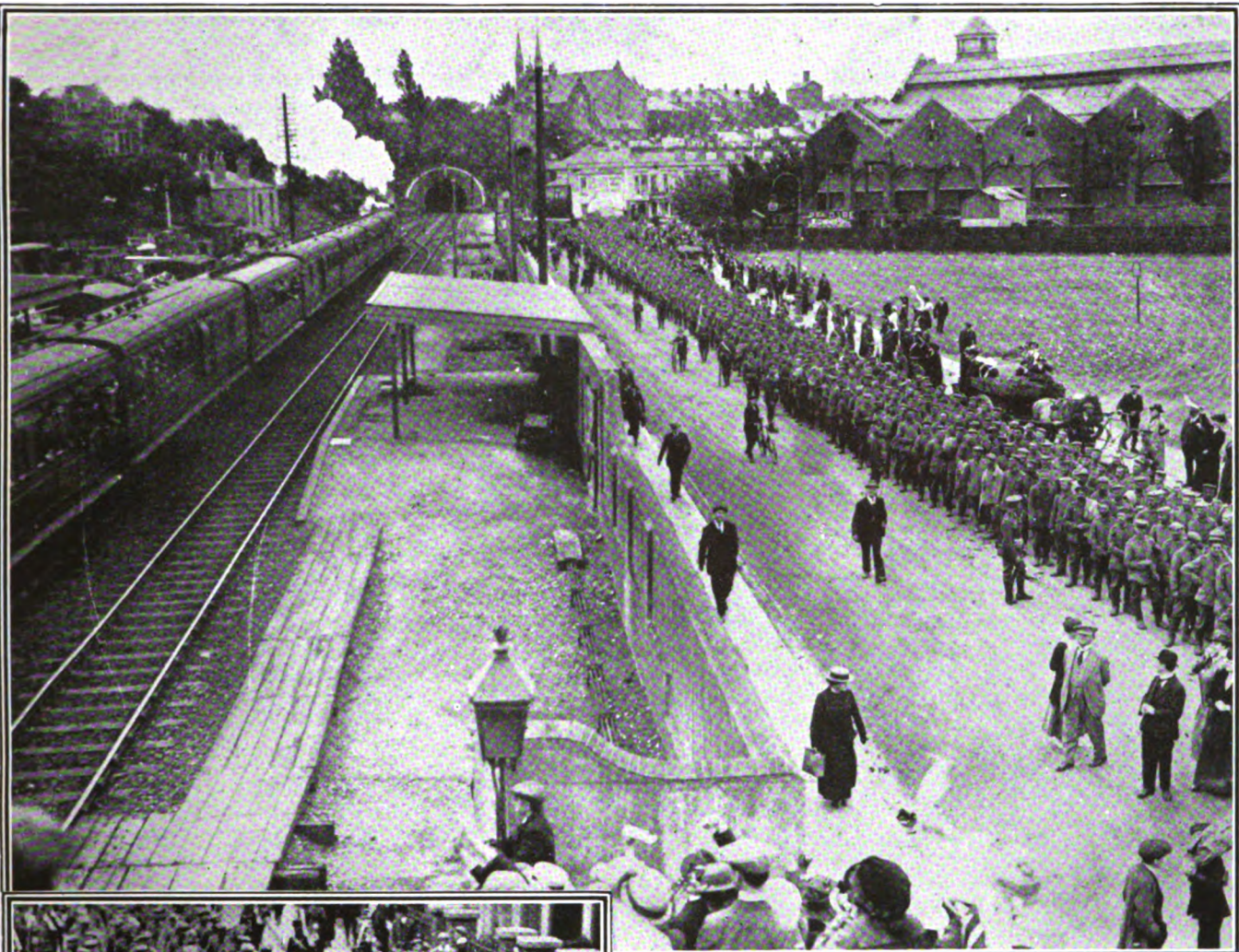
This operation was covered by a general advance of the Bazentin line, during which the ravine running to Longueval was crossed and a considerable part of High Wood snatched once more from the enemy. The drive into High Wood, which the troops again entirely stormed in their first rush, deeply disconcerted the German commander. He slackened his operation in Delville Wood and Longueval, according to the wish of the British commander, and turned his main forces to the task of recovering the supreme observation-point that overlooked all his centre to Bapaume. In a series of smashing and costly attacks he recovered the northern trench in High Wood, and then in a long, set fight of exceeding bitterness he strove to recover High Wood.

Every enemy attack was countered with mighty gun-power and violent infantry action by the British commander, who had brought Devons, Suffolks, Cornish men, and Edinburgh men forward from the Bazentin ridge against the High Wood ridge, while the men in Longueval swept back towards the northern end of Delville Wood. On July 23rd all Longueval was won and part of the northern slope beyond carried. This savage thrust once more provoked the enemy commander, who launched more of his men in masses around the Delville ridge salient, which was at last forced by the Brandenburg division, whose prowess Kaiser William had proclaimed to the world in the first capture of Douaumont Fort at Verdun. But a considerable part of this terrific movement of the British centre appears to have been only in the nature of a demonstration by Sir Douglas Haig. High Wood was still but a pawn in the game he was playing, and though he needed it to safeguard the western flank of his Delville Wood salient, in view of a combined Franco-British movement towards Combles, this allied movement on the grand scale was not yet ripe for execution. Sir Douglas Haig was threatening his opponent in the direction of Combles, but he was making this threat in order to obtain more elbow-room around Thiepval.

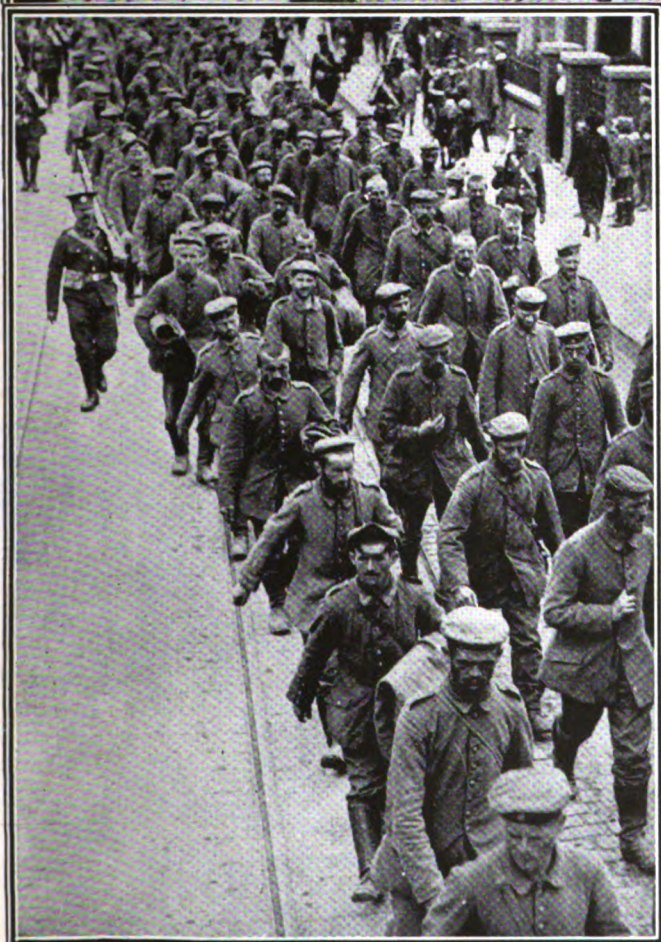
#### Brandenburgers at Delville

He needed a longer front of attack in the direction of Bapaume, because behind this extended main front he would have more room for deploying troops and siting guns. Beyond Pozières there was a windmill on the highest part of the downland, quite as valuable for observation purposes as High Wood in regard to the Bapaume front, with the additional attraction of a large outlook across the Ancre sector. It was against Pozières that Sir Douglas Haig was preparing his main attack while he provoked the enemy commander at High Wood. Before the fall of Ovillers the Royal Fusiliers and other London troops began a strong advance along the highway from La Boisselle to Bapaume. Men recruited from the Stock Exchange, Lloyd's, the Baltic, and Corn Exchanges had a leading part in the uphill fighting from La Boisselle. The enemy on the Pozières slopes swept the Londoners with machine-gun fire and hammered them with shell. But in ten days of continuous fighting the Royal Fusiliers and their comrades made ground steadily, and skilfully





Column of German prisoners, captured during the first battles of the Somme, about to travel from Southampton Station to internment.



Types of German prisoners of varying ages, some wounded and many of them without their caps, passing through Southampton under guard.



Men of the Prussian Guard marching through the streets of Southampton, whence they experienced the pleasure of travelling first-class to the North

PRISONERS FROM THE SOMME ON THEIR

Way to internment in Great Britain. More types of German man-power in the third year of the war. It was noted that these prisoners were shorter in stature and less developed.



consolidated their gains until these formed another direct way of approach for the critical attack on Pozières. Then, after the fall of Ovillers, a London Territorial division profited by the great reconnoitring achievement of the Lancashires and ascended the slope north of the Bapaume Road towards the enemy's intricate system of works west of Pozières.

There were then three British spear-heads moving against the three sides of the Pozières salient. But Sir Douglas Haig was not content with these preparations of attack. From two to four zones of barbed-wire surrounded the supreme hill village, which also had a network of trenches running entirely round it, a gridiron of trenches crossing it, and a subterranean fortress beneath it. German batteries covered Pozières and its long bare slopes from the Ancre sector on the right flank, from the Bapaume sector in front, and from Martinpuich, Eaucourt l'Abbaye, and Flers on the left flank. In view of all these difficulties, the most famous thrusts of the British Empire—the Anzacs—were brought from Armentières to Contalmaison Villa for the closing drive against the height. The Australians and New Zealanders had not been long in France, but during the Somme operations some of them had finely distinguished themselves near Armentières, on July 19th. by making a great raid on a three-thousand-

**Anzacs raid  
Bavarians**

They there carried the whole of the first zone of defences against machine-gun fire and a shell curtain, and though the Germans flooded their lost works, the Australians remained all night waist-high in water, and, after digging communication-trenches back to their own lines, returned with two hundred prisoners. The enemy's extraordinary trick in inundating his lost trenches and then bombarding all night the shelterless, swimming victors was a severe test of the mettle and resource of the Australians, many of whom were new recruits to Anzac.

Under the direction of their leader of genius, General

Birdwood, the First Australian and New Zealand Army Corps prepared to advance from the tongue of land on which Contalmaison Villa once stood. The direction of the attack ran below the ridge line where the English county regiments had worked towards Martinpuich. In conjunction with the main Anzac attack against the south-eastern side of the enemy salient, another main attack was planned against the south-western side of Pozières by a fine English Territorial force. On Saturday, July 22nd, the British guns broke in a storm of fire upon the eight-mile arc of German positions from Thiepval to Guillemont. As the day wore on the gun fire increased, until every battery and its aerial observer and forward observation officer were working at the utmost pressure.

**Move on Thiepval  
and Guillemont**

The German commander divined what was about to happen on his centre and Delville Wood flank, and his gunners tried in turn to disable the waiting British infantry by means of tear-shells and gas-shells. The mutual bombardment went on at nightfall, when counter-battery firing was facilitated by the darkness. The British artillery being the more powerful, then overcame the hostile batteries, and the sweating, deafened, toiling, victorious gunners worked in a fierce burst of energy until midnight, and then lifted all their fire beyond the Pozières-High Wood ridge.

Thereupon, the British infantry line went forward over the old battlegrounds of Guillemont, Longueval, Delville Wood, High Wood, and the rearward works of Pozières. The men crept out in the darkness, as in the battle of the Bazentin ridge, and by reason of their long practice in nocturnal raiding kept formation in the gloom with the skill of veterans. The enemy system was broken beyond Waterlot Farm by a magnificent rush, and Guillemont was entered and the German forces there engaged, while the conquered works were being consolidated. The Bantams were in this great holding action, and, tough and wiry, proved themselves fighting men of the first order.



BRITISH HEAVY HOWITZER IN ACTION ON THE SOMME FRONT.

*[British official photograph.]*





TROOPS MARCHING OVER A SAND-BAG BRIDGE ACROSS A TRENCH IN FRANCE.

[British official photograph.]

Where roads intersected the line of trenches they were carried across it over bridges constructed of sand-bags, the appearance of which recalled the walls built of unmortared slabs of stone that are characteristic of English moors and fells.

The first batch of the Derby groups was also remarkable for some good work. The British line was carefully pushed forward from Waterlot Farm, partly through Delville Wood and High Wood, with some extension towards Martinpuich. But on this section the men were deployed as economically as possible, with a view rather to provoking a great counter-attack in circumstances adverse to the enemy than to winning any considerable ground.

Meanwhile, the Australians and the Territorials leaped upon Pozzières. The Anzacs had to cross a wide, grassy flat under a hail of German shrapnel, and they covered this ground swiftly and with few casualties, as the German trench beyond was entirely destroyed by the British guns. Not one hostile machine-gunner remained active in the first line, and the few German troops who survived were cowed and caught. But the enemy's second trench, running just beyond the old tramway to Bapaume, under the fringe of the village, was tongued with fire from machine-guns that played on the slope up which the Australians advanced. With shrapnel falling about them like rain, and cascades of bullets making gaps in their line, the Australians tenaciously held on and reached the second trench.

In many parts the Germans were numerous and full of fight, but in a very sharp action they were mostly bayoneted or captured. This second trench was deep and well-built, and though so smashed in some places by heavy shell that some Australians passed it without knowing it was a trench at all, it afforded abundant good cover for the conquerors. The Anzacs knew how to dig, and what digging meant in a modern battle. Rapidly they repaired the damage done by British guns, and after this short interval of consolidating work their supports arrived. Then, with an obscure multitude of sappers behind them labouring furiously to link the slope and the flat to the British system at Contalmaison Villa, the charging forces

of the division stormed forward again into the small woods at the back of the village street. There, against the glare of the shells, they saw two large mounds defended by riflemen. They knew what the mounds were, and with their blood quickening at the sight of their first great prize, they bayoneted the Germans and captured the two guns. Then sweeping past the gun-pits they stabbed and bombed their way into the heart of the village. At the same time the British troops on the Bazentin front carried part of the enemy's new switch-line that had been improvised to connect the south-eastern corner of Pozzières with Martinpuich and Flers. But the Martinpuich forces strongly counter-attacked, recovered the switch-line, and with bombs tried to harry the Australians. A small party of the Anzacs vigorously maintained the struggle in the switch, while their leading battalions closed with the village garrison, and spent a wild night driving through shrapnel, shell, and machine-gun fire, fighting round difficult angles, over ruined walls, and in underground ways.

The Anzacs had no ground of complaint against the German High Command, for they were opposed by the best regiments of the Prussian Guard, in addition to some sturdy Bavarians. The Guardsmen it is said by men in a position to judge, were not such fine bayonet fighters as the Turks in Gallipoli, but in hand-bomb and machine-gun warfare, and disappearing and reappearing subterranean movements, they maintained the great standard of resistance their comrades had reached at Ovillers. But the tall, lithe Australian, with his touch of an Italianate temperament laid upon his hard Northern qualities, was a match for the finest of the Guardsmen. In particular, his capacity for discipline and being controlled amid the confusion of nocturnal warfare in a chaos of ruins and a maze of subterranean retreats made him the peer of the finest trained private in Germany. When morning broke, the High Street of the village had been cleared and the ruins of

#### Anzac valour at Pozzières

#### Peers of the Prussian Guard



the western side were firmly held by the conquerors. On the opposite side of the village the London Territorials worked forward towards the cemetery, lying in a hollow north of Pozières. The design was to get the British machine-guns trained on the enemy's rear, so that when he broke under the Australian attack he would be brought under a terrific enfilading fire during his flight. On the night of July 22nd the Territorials charged up the slopes from Ovillers against the gridiron system of trenches which the Lancashire reconnoitring party had explored. Strongly fortified machine-gun posts dotted the large system of German trenches, and the funnel of valley ground running up to the cemetery was commanded by enemy fire from both sides—from the high ground above Thiepval on the left and the high ground around Pozières on the right. Admirably handled, the Territorials fought up the valley with discreet skill combined with vehement valour.

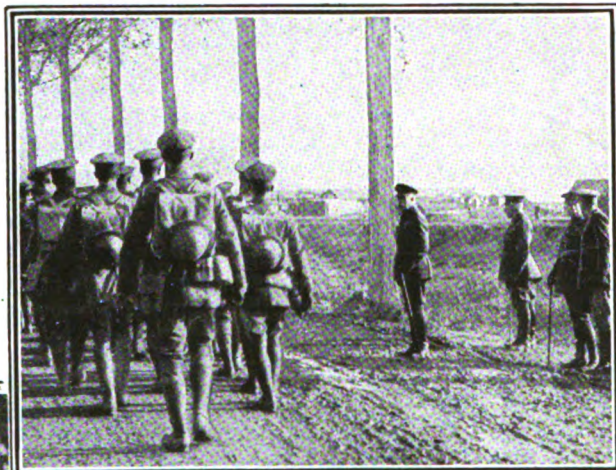
On the first night, when they had the advantage of surprise, they captured a great deal of ground without serious loss to themselves. Every hour the next day they stubbornly pushed forward, now working around a redoubt and capturing it, and now rushing a bit of trench

and bombing along it. For three days and nights the Territorials pressed the enemy back, and at nightfall on July 25th they achieved their task. The main German line, just below the cemetery of Pozières, was penetrated, and junction made with the Australians at the top of the village. Spreading at once to the left and the right along the German main line, the Territorials worked down on one side to the Bapaume road, and on the other side fought upward with the Australians towards the Windmill position, which was the crown of all the Somme ridges.

In the meantime, the Australian forces in Pozières, after being subjected to a racking bombardment, in which the enemy used a new flame-shell that emitted a jet of liquid fire as it fell, waged a terrific kind of in-fighting with the Pozières garrison, whom they at last drove northward from the top of the village towards the Windmill. Then the machine-guns of the enveloping Territorial troops swept the fugitives and the conquest of Pozières was completed, bringing to a close the second phase of the Battle of the Somme. Delville Wood was also finally conquered on July 27th.

#### Enemy's new flame-shell

Since July 1st the British forces had gained an area of twenty-four square miles of the most strongly fortified hill country in history. In addition to the enormous amount of engineering work with which the enemy had laboured to make the downland impregnable, all his best army corps had been employed in constant defence and counter-attack. Artillery was accumulated by him in rapid, regular effort, and in the Pozières battle 9 in. German shells were fired at comparatively short range. Nevertheless, the new British machinery of war continued to overpower all that the enemy could bring to bear after a generation of preparatory work and two years of war experience. The mill on the Somme was grinding slowly, but grinding small. Germany had two hundred divisions in the field, and at least three-quarters of this gigantic force had to pass through the mill.



THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT AMONG THE IRISH TROOPS IN FRANCE.

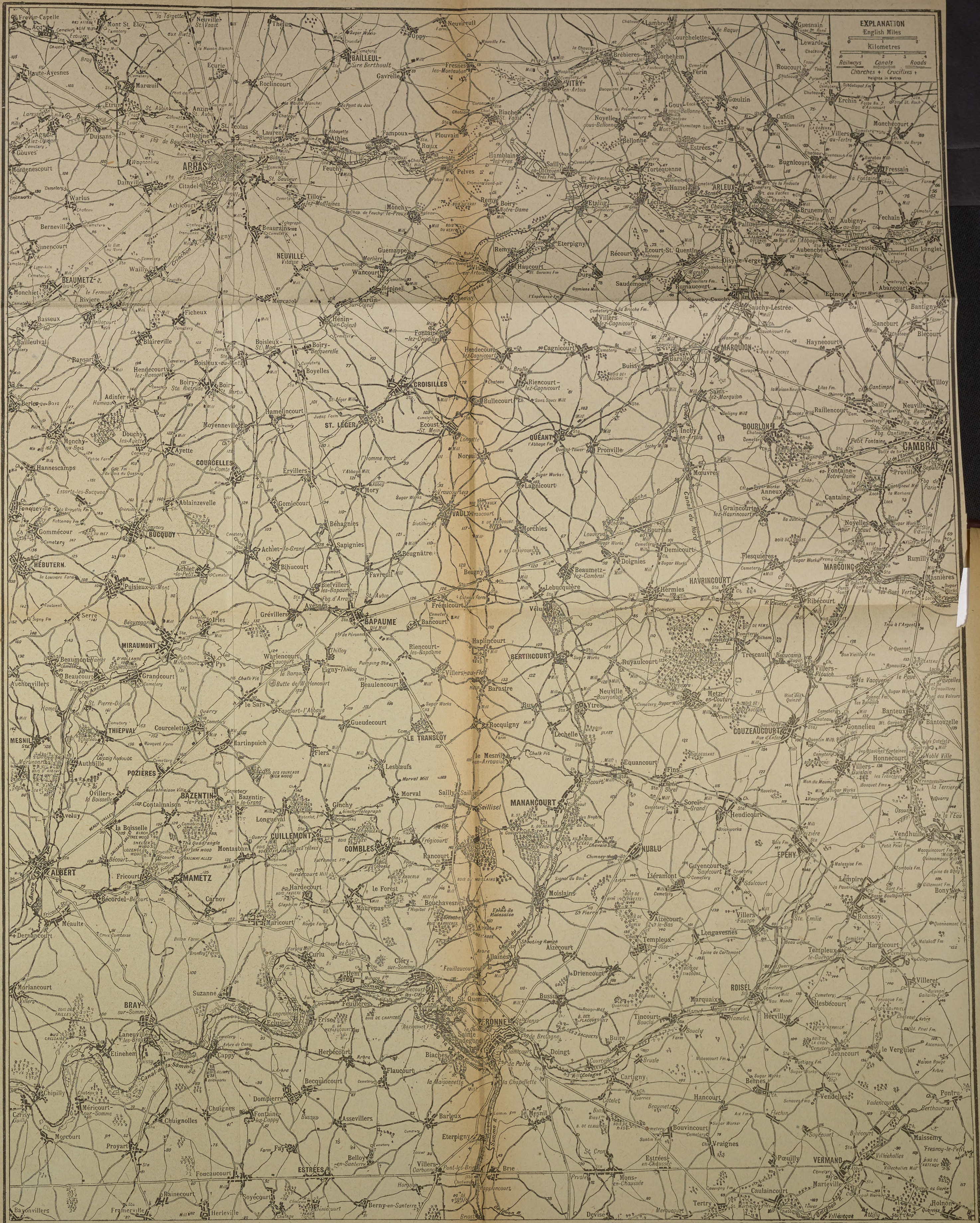
[British official photographs.]

One of the first things the Duke of Connaught did when he returned from Canada in the autumn of 1916 was to visit the western front. He is shown here inspecting some of the Irish troops, and (above) watching an Irish battalion march past.





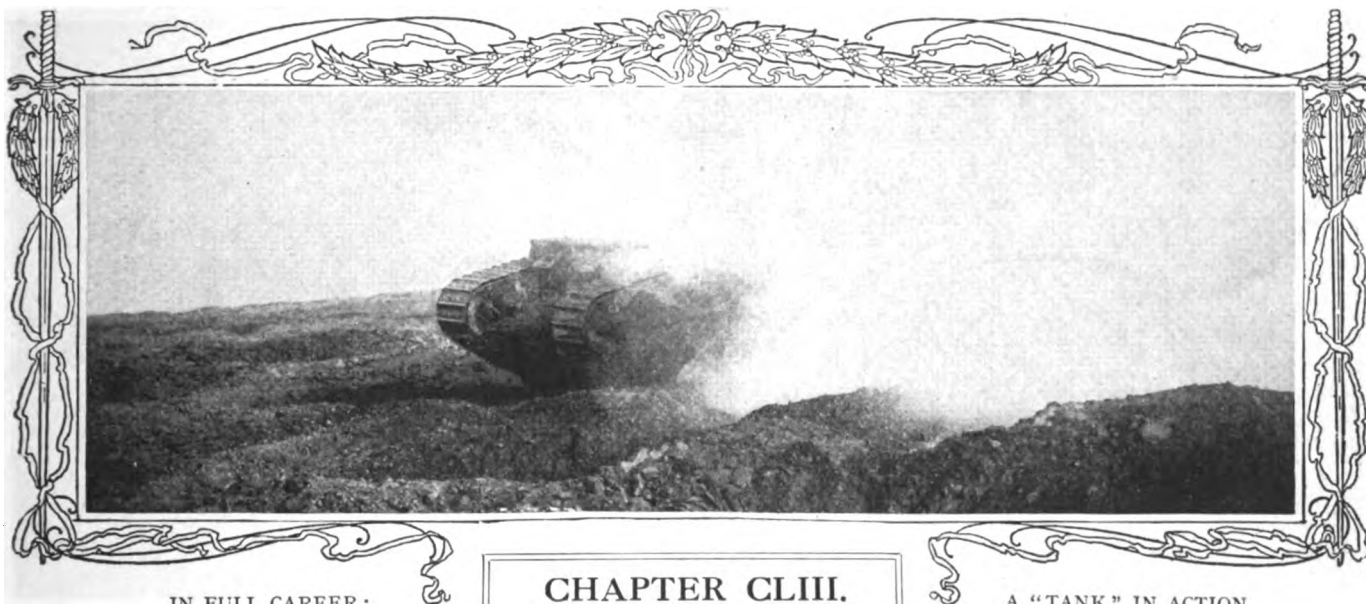




LARGE SCALE MAP OF THE GREAT SOMME OFFENSIVE

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## THE GREAT BRITISH BATTLES OF THE SOMME.

### IV.—Struggle on the Wings and the Thrust towards Bapaume.

By Edward Wright.

The Summer Lull on the Somme—Was Sir Douglas Haig Short of Men?—The Problem of the Reverse Slope—Kent, Sussex, and Surrey at Mouquet Farm—Checks at Guillemont—Whirlwind Assault on Wonder-Work—Second Check at Beaumont-Hamel—Anzacs on Mouquet Ridge—Irishmen and Englishmen in Combination—Magnificent Victory at Guillemont—Irish Forward and English Half-Backs in the Sunken Road Battle—Epic of Ginchy—Leuze Wood Skirmishes—West Countrymen on the Falfemont Ridge—Mass Attacks by Prussian Guard—The Falfemont Pawn and the Leuze Wood Winning Piece—Subtle British Strategy—Success in Farm and Wood Advances—Arrival of Hindenburg and Preparations for Great Allied Movement—Wiltshires' and Gloucesters' Successful Attack on the Wonder-Work—First Appearance of the "Tanks" in Action—Wonderful Gunnery of the Royal Garrison Artillery—Intervention of the "Tanks" in the Fight for the Sugar Factory—Canadians Capture Courcellette—Rout of the Bavarians and Capture of Martinpuich—Londoners and Territorials Annihilate the German Garrison in High Wood—New Zealanders Capture Flers—Glorious Charge of the Guards—Lieut.-Colonel J. V. Campbell Wins the Victoria Cross—The Fight for the Quadrilateral—Practical and Moral Effect of the "Tanks"—Far-reaching Importance of the British Victory.



**A**FTER the capture of Pozières village and the final conquest of the Longueval-Delville Wood salient in the last week of July, 1916, there was an apparent lull on the British front for the extraordinary period of five weeks. It was the height of favourable summer weather, with dry ground and clear air, yet no forward movement of importance occurred. Only small gains of ground were made at heavy cost, and it seemed at times as though the enemy had accomplished his main design and fought the new British armies to a practical standstill. Statements were published in the English newspapers revealing the fact that new recruits of the Derby group class from Kent, Surrey, and Sussex were thrown into battle alongside the Australians at Pozières. Most of the men who came under the Derby scheme could not handle a rifle or throw a bomb at the beginning of the year. Experience of trench warfare they had none, and though they fought with such vehemence that they were nicknamed "The Derby Devils," their appearance in the forefront

of the fiercest part of the battle-line seemed to indicate that Mr. Asquith's Coalition Cabinet had not properly provided in advance the number of men which Sir William Robertson and the Army Council needed to maintain Sir Douglas Haig's forces in full and persistently offensive strength.

But though the delay in establishing a system of national service may have partly conduced to the apparent great lull in the British operations through the month of August, 1916, there is another factor in the situation that may have been of supreme importance. We have already touched on it in the opening chapter of the British operations on the Somme, in connection with General Marchand's view of the geography of the battle. On arriving at Pozières and the middle of High Wood and the northern edge of Delville Wood on July 27th, 1916, the British army had almost topped the highest ridge in the Bapaume sector. Had all the ridge been then at once carried in a rush, and a new line of works built on the reverse slope, the troops in these new works would have been caught at a very heavy disadvantage. Many of the



[Elliott & Fry.]  
LIEUT.-GENERAL CLAUD WILLIAM JACOB, C.B.  
Commander of the Second Army Corps in Sir Henry Rawlinson's army on the Somme in the great advance in 1916.



hostile batteries would have had a direct fire against the faces of the reverse northern slopes, while British cannon would have been almost useless, and only British howitzers, which could pitch their shells over any ridge, would have been serviceable.

The great event in the eastern theatre of war did not tell upon conditions on the Somme front. The German High Command was undisturbed by the entrance of Rumania on the side of the Allies. This had been foreseen for quite a year and, indeed, in August, 1915, General von Falkenhayn had been on the point of invading Rumania, and was only turned from his purpose by the Hungarians' and Austrians' savage desire first to overthrow Serbia. Rumania, with her Krupp guns and Krupp ammunition of very limited quantity, was regarded as a rich and easy prey that could be taken with small forces by an artillery

struggle. The artillery and shell had long been provided for the capture of the Rumanian corn-fields and oil-fields, and in view of the possible intervention of Rumania Germany had reduced the infantry in her divisions from twelve thousand to nine thousand bayonets, maintaining the number of guns, with a consequent expansion in the proportion of artillery to bayonets by one-third.

Both Hindenburg and Falkenhayn were content with the situation on the Somme in the first week of August, 1916. They had placed there an immense force, with a million men in and about the lines, and large reserves available at a few days' notice from the quieter sectors of the western front. The German

#### Rumania and the Somme

artillery and the German shell supply began greatly to increase after the period of intense strain on the front passed in the middle of July. In the battle of the Bazentin ridges the British army had almost achieved a break-through, owing to General von Arnim's lack of shell. But this lack of shell had been due merely to lack of transport, which in turn was due to want of light railways and general preparation for a grand offensive. The fundamental lack of preparation was remedied by frenzied labour on the sectors fed by the Cambrai and St.



CANADIANS GOING "OVER THE TOP" DURING THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME.

[Canadian War Records.]

These two dramatic photographs, taken at the critical moment of the order to go "over the top," show the last man scrambling up the steep and slippery parapet of a trench, and (above) some of his comrades getting well away on their terrible rush across the open ground.



Quentin railway centres. Then with the vast munition factories of Germany fully linked to the battle-front, and with guns moved from Verdun to the Somme, the enemy High Command looked with confidence to a great defensive victory that should balance the Verdun defeat.

Had Sir Douglas Haig been as bent on winning all the crowning heights of the Somme as the German commander at Verdun was bent on winning the Mort Homme and the Froide Terre ridge, the expectation of the enemy High Command might have been fulfilled. But the British commander knew all there was to be known about the geographical factors of modern war. At Mons he had fought on the Wellington tradition and left the ridge to the enemy, and shot him down when he stood against



[Canadian War Records.]  
CANADIAN BRIGADIER AND HIS STAFF.

Brig.-General A. H. Macdonell, C.M.G., D.S.O., is the fourth figure from the left.



[Canadian War Records.]  
CHEERING CANADIANS COMING BACK AFTER CAPTURING COURCELETTE.

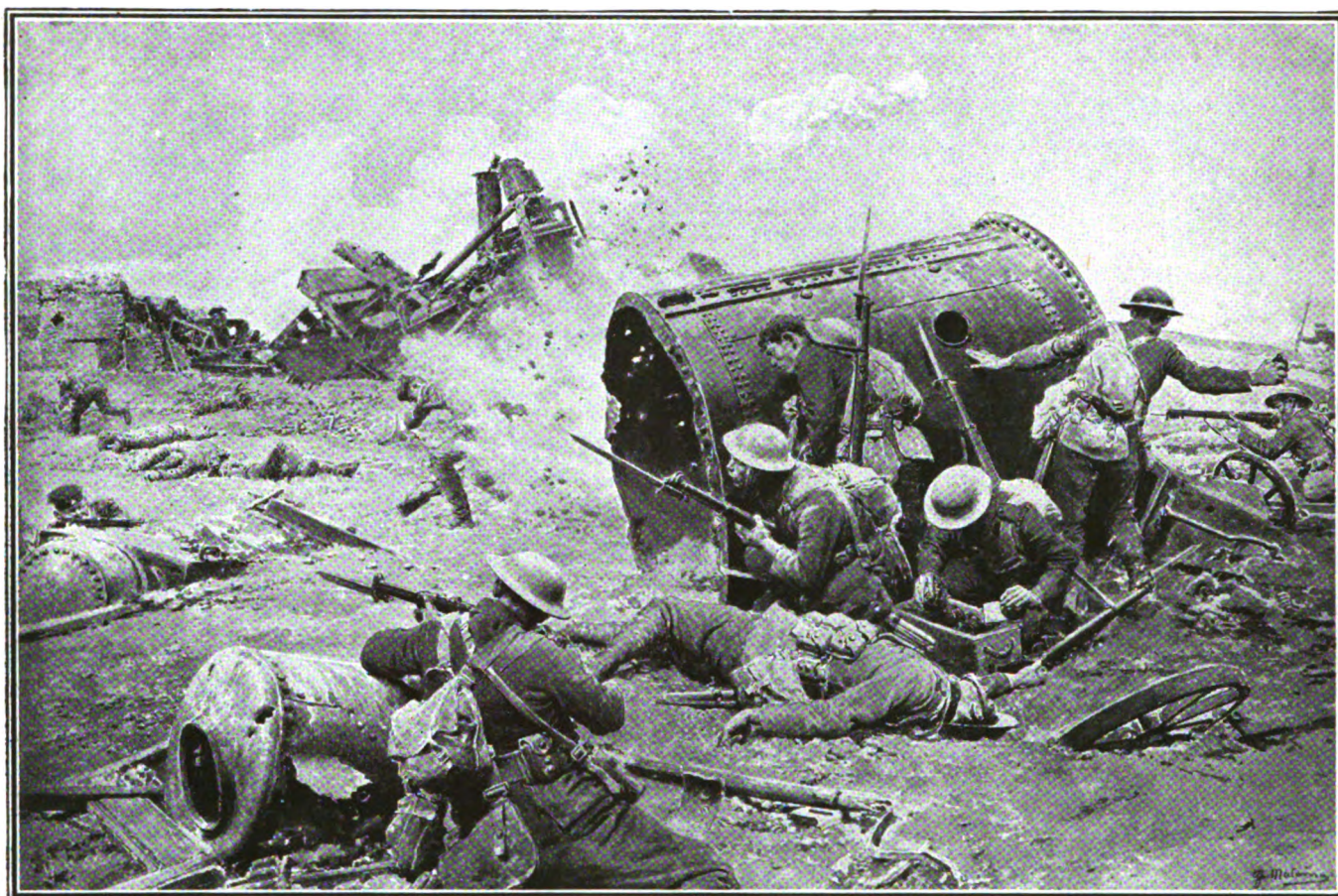
September 15th, 1916, was the Canadians' day of glory. The capture of Courcellette had not been planned for that day, but "having eaten up everything that was set before them, the Canadians were hungry for more," and in two hours they rushed and secured the very formidable German positions at that place.

the skyline. Then, as artillery developed and high observation posts were needed for heavy-howitzer fire tactics, Sir Douglas Haig held the low hills around Ypres because of their great value in trench warfare. But, as we have seen, he came down to the Somme with a new idea in regard to hill positions with long slopes. And when he had entrenched around Pozieres, High Wood, and Delville Wood against practically half the entire forces of Germany, exasperated by a succession of heavy defeats and ardent to recover the ground they had lost, the wary and subtle Scotsman no longer offered battle, but rather accepted it. He had everything he wanted in view of a pitched battle. His men were sheltered from direct fire behind a great slope, and close behind them were the Bazentin ravine and the Montauban ravine, that afforded considerable shelter from howitzer fire. The organisation of the transport to the

French and British Staffs estimated that the enemy had used in the Battle of the Somme in two months as many German divisions as had been employed in fighting at Verdun in five months. This, of course, included the troops used against both the British and the French; but it was probable that, owing to the superiority of the Allies in guns, and the constant shock of their artillery attacks, the German troops rapidly became shaken, and had to be withdrawn with a smaller proportion of actual casualties than they had suffered, without losing their moral, in offensive operations such as that at Verdun. On the other hand, the use of large drafts of Derby recruits in various British regiments was some indication of losses in the attacking army. And it might be argued that a decision would have been obtained on the Somme line by the winter

#### Heavy German losses





CANADA'S DAY AT COURCELETTE: FURIOUS HAND-TO-HAND FIGHTING IN A SUGAR-REFINERY.

Among the brilliant feats of the Somme battles Canada's prowess and heroism shone at Courcellette, where men from the Dominion drove the enemy out of the sugar-refinery, the adjacent trenches, and finally from the whole village. This spirited illustration shows the furious hand-to-hand conflict for possession of the ruins of the sugar factory.

if universal compulsion had been established in Great Britain after the Battle of Loos, thus enabling the harvest sown by the constant British artillery pressure on the Somme in August and September, 1916, to have been fully reaped by intense and constant infantry action.

As it was, Sir Douglas Haig had to maintain for some weeks a kind of offensive-defensive on the Pozières-Guillémont line, and wear down the enemy there by a little war, while slowly preparing for another movement on the grand scale. On August 4th the wedge of down-land between Thiepval and Pozières was attacked. It was a position of immense strength, defended by four lines of works and more than seven communication-trenches, with a great stronghold northward at Mouquet Farm, which was linked by a tunnel-way to Thiepval and to the village of Courcellette, lying in a hollow and showing only its tall chimneys above the main ridge.

#### Attack on Mouquet Farm

A force of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey men, brought up to strength by Derby drafts, made the attack on a front of a mile and a quarter. The battle opened just as the summer twilight was falling, at nine o'clock in the evening, and this unusual time seems to have found the enemy unprepared. German sappers had come out to repair their wire entanglements when the Kents surged against the works defending Mouquet Farm. Helped by the gathering twilight, the Kents avoided most of the enemy's machine-gun fire. Then, to the cry of a young lieutenant: "Now boys, give them Kentish fire!" they leaped into the enemy's works and bombed their way towards the farm. Here, however, they were checked by concentrated machine-gun fire and by the enemy's local reserve arriving, no doubt, through the tunnel. The enemy's main trench was taken, together with a number of support-trenches, and in addition to a large body of enemy wounded, more than a hundred men of the favourite soldiers of the Kaiser—the Eleventh Prussian Corps—were taken prisoners.

At the same time the Sussex Regiment, with the Australians on their right and the Surreys on their left, "went over the top," and took another large section of the enemy's main work and two hundred prisoners. There were several acts of gallantry on the part of the men of Sussex. One lance-corporal, in the midst of a furious hand-to-hand fight, leaped on a parapet with a Lewis gun and, firing over the heads of his own bombers, smashed the enemy's rear and shattered a counter-attack. In another case a corporal, who was a very small man, climbed the parapet during a bomb fight, jumped on the head of the big leading German, took him and eight more Germans captive, and brought the nine prisoners into the British lines. A good many of the Derby men had their first experience of a modern battle in the Sussex Regiment, and their officers, who had been somewhat apprehensive of the quality of these half-trained new men, became loud in their praise. "Their discipline was fine, and they are dashed fine chaps," said one of their officers.

As for the Australians, having fought until they fell asleep as they stood, and borne for a fortnight the burden of the battle, the men born under the Southern Cross did not know when they had enough fighting. Some of them in the trenches alongside the Sussex had not been informed about the attack, as it was intended they should rest for a time while the Englishmen cleared the down on their left and prepared for the assault on Mouquet Farm, which was one of the key positions to Thiepval. But when the Sussex swarmed over the parapet the Australians shouted: "Say, boys! Where the h—l are you going?" "Over there," said the men from one of the fairest of English counties, pointing to the German trenches on the great down. "By God, we come with you!" said the Anzacs. "We're going to get our own back."

#### Onset of Anzacs and Sussex

So the slouch hats went over with the flat-cap brigade, though little difference between them could be seen at the



time, as all wore pudding-dish shrapnel helmets, with monstrous gas-masks that make a charging line of modern infantry look like figures in a nightmare. The onrush of Anzac and Sussex demoralised most of the Germans in the trenches, and they fled into shell-craters and dug-outs from which they were ferreted like rabbits.

In the centre of the line between Mouquet Farm and Pozières Windmill the Surreys were as successful as their comrades, and, when day broke, the line around Pozières had been extended for more than a mile to a depth of from four hundred to six hundred yards. This provoked a strong German counter-attack, which was arranged for August 5th, but countermanded and finally delivered on August 6th and 7th. The delay was due to the anxiety of the German commander to make certain that his force was strong enough to regain the lost ground. He collected some four thousand troops belonging to the two divisions of the Ninth Reserve Corps, but used them at first in a wild manner. On August 6th a single German battalion attacked the trenches won by the Sussex and, using flame-projectors, took a part of the position but quickly lost it. The following day the main counter-attack was carried out by three thousand men, who advanced over eight hundred yards of open ground, wheeling to the right as they came on.

**Liquid flame in counter-attack** The manœuvre under fire showed fine discipline. For as the attackers wheeled they were caught by a terrific artillery fire, and then raked with Lewis guns and rifles. The men with the flame-projectors again cleared small pieces of trench in a few places with their jets of fire. But when the German bombers entered the trench they were taken on both sides by the infuriated men of Sussex, Kent, and Surrey, who smashed them with high explosive. About four-fifths of the attacking German force were killed or taken without effecting anything. The use of liquid flame seems to have been designed to frighten the men of the Derby class; but it had the opposite effect.

The flame looked like a big gas-jet as it came towards one, and the natural instinct was to jump back and get out of the way, for even a man who was getting used to shell and bullet did not like the prospect of being roasted alive. But the devilish weapon was not effective. Its range was very limited, and the men who manipulated it were usually shot or bombed. Around Pozières the actual cases of burning were very few, while the fury of battle that the use of liquid fire aroused was largely responsible for the amazing punishment that the three Kent, Sussex, and Surrey battalions inflicted upon a fresh and superior force.

**Enemy use of phosphorus shells**

It was about this time that the enemy began largely to employ another form of frightfulness. For some time he had been using liquid-fire shells as well as liquid-flame projectors in the battle of the ridge, and when he lost most of the down fronting Courcellette he added phosphorus shells to his armoury of scientific barbarism. Months before, he had tried shrapnel bullets buried in phosphorus powder, with the intention of causing horrible poisonous wounds. Now he employed phosphorus as a direct weapon in itself, throwing phosphorus shells mingled with a large number of gas shells around the Bapaume road. Amid this strange hail of bullets, shell fragments, stinking gases, blinding gases, phosphorus balls, liquid flames, and high explosive, all blended with clouds of smoke and dust, the troops of the British Empire struggled onward through the greatest fortress system man had ever made.

The conditions of the advance were terrifying, especially around the bare plateau above Pozières, where the enemy maintained an equilibrium of forces. Troops at times had to stand a week's shelling and counter-attacking, merely as a preparation for the advance they were designed to make. Some of the Sussex men are said to have fallen asleep in No Man's Land while engaged in rushing an enemy trench. They fell down as if they had been shot, and could not be roused because they had had no sleep



GLORIOUS CHARGE OF THE COLDSTREAM, GRENADIER, AND IRISH GUARDS.

September 15th, 1916, when the British took Martinpuich and Courcellette, was marked by a superb charge of the Guards. Three battalions of the Coldstream Guards charged in line, followed by Grenadiers and Irish Guards. They all advanced into the enemy's positions until they were two thousand yards ahead of their starting-point.



for a week. A commanding officer is reported to have remained alert and in victorious control of his men after getting one and a half hour's sleep in a hundred and sixty-eight hours of gas attacks, heavy bombardments, and bomb attacks. Until the Anzacs, Londoners, and South-Eastern county regiments broke into the zone of German defences in front of Courcellette, the enemy had sixty batteries of light guns in and about this part of his line. The Anzacs saw the gunners limbering up and retreating over the plateau in one of the early British movements ;

Checks at  
Guillemont

another mass of German field-guns about Thiépval swept the Pozzières plateau at close range, and as the distance from Pozzières to Thiépval was only about three thousand yards, much of the slightly tilted face of the plateau was under fire from the enemy's machine-guns. The British and Australian troops had to work forward from saps. From these they rushed out and bombed some German strong point, or broke into a trench and then



[British official photograph.]

TOWARDS THE GOAL: THE EAGER OUTLOOK OF BRITAIN'S ARDENT INFANTRYMEN.

Awaiting the signal to attack, two British soldiers are looking towards the enemy lines on the Somme. The attitude of the man nearest to the parapet is characteristic. His figure suggests strength and confidence, while his gaze is that of a man accustomed to look on death without fear.

fought desperately along it, while the Germans dodged in and out of dug-outs that had each two or more underground exits. No shred of honour, no remnant of humane feeling stayed the German from winning a temporary advantage. One of his most common tricks was to peer from the depths of a dug-out and appeal to the British bomber not to throw a bomb down as the cavern was being used for wounded men. If the bomber foolishly descended to look at the wounded and arrange for them to be taken to the hospital, he was attacked by a gang of German scoundrels as he stood outlined against the light of the entrance. If the bomber did not descend, the Germans, none of whom was wounded, had time to escape by their underground ways to another subterranean retreat.

Around Pozzières the enemy forces became more numerous than the British, and though this circumstance

hindered the advance it enabled the British artillery to do murderous work upon the plateau. At Guillemont, on the other flank of the enemy's arc of hills, the density of his troops was still more remarkable. According to the calculations of the British Staff, he had eleven thousand men garrisoning two thousand yards of trench around the village. This amazing concentration of effort against the British advance was evidence of the Teuton's military industry, but it failed to give his troops the spirit of attack, and allowed the British guns to inflict casualties which were on occasion fifty per cent. heavier than the enemy's losses in previous bombardments.

On the other hand, the enemy by massing troops around Guillemont, close to the point of union between the French and British armies, succeeded in checking the Allies' advance at this point. Since July 15th, when the Highlanders took Waterlot Farm, the ruins of Guillemont had been partly entered during the swaying of the battle-line between Delville Wood and Trônes Wood. On July 30th both the French and British attempted an advance on Guillemont, but found the position too strong to be carried. The German system of works stretched southward for a mile to Falfemont Farm, on a down above Maurepas, and extended eastward for another mile to Leuze Wood and northward for another mile to Ginchy.

The enemy thus had three high bases for the defence of Guillemont, which was a mass of ruins lying right at the head of the Fricourt valley, with high ground sheltering it southward from direct fire. On August 8th another attempt was made by Sir Douglas Haig to capture Guillemont. After the usual long and furious bombardment, the British troops advanced in the darkness before dawn and broke into the village. But in the confusion and varying successes of a large nocturnal operation some of the attacking forces lost touch. On the extreme right the troops did very well, and in a rapid movement conquered the high ridge south of Guillemont and gained an important stretch of ground at small cost.

The forces on the left, however, were checked in the gloom by machine-gun fire in front of the village. This was the ordinary hazard of every trench battle, where some redoubts in the hostile line have always to be enveloped. Immediately alongside the checked force another fine body of troops enjoyed better fortune and, meeting with little resistance in the enemy's battered lines of works, drove right into the village, inflicting heavy losses on the Germans. Then occurred a stroke of bad luck. The victorious troops, who were still fighting amid the ruins in darkness, lost touch with the battalions held up on their left. Instead of holding on to the important part of Guillemont they had won, some of the men venturously worked through the whole chaos of brick and tumbled earth until they reached the extreme south-eastern corner of the village. They were but a mere island in a hostile sea, with the depth of the village between them and their friends and the enemy all about them.

When the sun came up and lighted the scene it was too late to rectify the lines of the operation. The German gunners swept the ground with an incessant curtain fire, and German bombing-parties continually attacked the little island of khaki. In reply the British gunners drew their curtain of fire round the village and, after a long wait to give the enveloped men a chance of fighting their way out, swept all the ruins with heavy fire. In the evening some of the adventurers returned through two zones of death ; the following day more came back, and in the second night and the third day others returned. Small were the numbers that fell into the hands of the enemy, though he claimed a large capture in his official report.

After the failure of this operation the French and British troops again combined in an attack around Guillemont in the middle of August. But again, though ground was

Caught in a sea  
of fire





Reinforcements moving towards Flers to consolidate this part of the German first line, captured on September 15th, 1916. The men are carrying picks and shovels, all-important implements in siege warfare.



British cavalry keeping in form, ready for any emergency on the Somme front. Horsemen frequently took part as infantrymen, but opportunity was afforded for cavalry manoeuvres behind the lines.



Wave of infantry advancing in open order under heavy fire. A large German shell is seen exploding a few yards to the rear of this gallant handful of our citizen soldiers making history.

FORWARD SABRES, RIFLES, AND PICKS: BRITISH MOVEMENTS IN THE SOMME SECTOR.





[British official photograph.]

#### AFTER GUILLEMONT: PILGRIMS OF PATRIOTISM.

Covered with a blanket each casualty was laid carefully by the roadside to await the motor-ambulance. On the occasion above illustrated a passing armoured car had apparently volunteered to assist in the work.



[British official photograph.]

#### FIRST-AID IN THE FIRST LINE.

Tending the wounded in the trenches. One soldier had just had his leg bandaged, while another, wounded in the arm, was being given some nourishment.

gained about the western outskirts of the village and in the direction of Ginchy, the main position at Guillemont remained unconquered.

The rest of the month of August was spent in local fighting around Thiepval, Mouquet Farm, High Wood, and Guillemont, which provoked the enemy to make great counter-attacks. For example, on August 17th, six lines of enemy infantry advanced against the Anzac and British troops on the Pozieres front, but were caught by howitzer fire on the northern slope, swept by field-guns when they topped the ridge, and then completely broken by machine-guns, rifles and bombs when they neared the trenches. On August 20th the enemy turned the point of his counter-attacking forces against High Wood, but failed. Then on August 24th he made an assault on the grand scale on the new British line between the quarry

at Guillemont and the wreck of the railway-station there. The attack was opened in the twilight and pressed with extraordinary resoluteness. The only result was that the great determination of the Germans was measured by their great losses. All the British line stood firm, and with shrapnel showers and streams of bullets reaped a terrible harvest of death. Two days afterwards a strong force of the Prussian Guard endeavoured to recover the ground about the Leipzig salient at Thiepval which the Wiltshires and the Gloucesters had won. But again the British line was unbroken, and a remnant of Prussian Guardsmen fled from the trenches held by the English county regiments. We shall never know how much the old glories of each county regiment told in the war. Every recruit knew what standard he was expected to attain, and in many cases he astonished the most confident of his officers by a superhuman capacity for endurance of the most gallant kind.

German Wonder-Work at Thiepval

In the intervals between the great German counter-attacks the British army slowly worked forward against all the main points of the German defences, by means of whirlwind bombardments followed by rushing bomb attacks. Thiepval was approached within a thousand yards, close to the elaborate maze of trenches, dug-outs, and machine-gun works which the Germans had gloriously named their Wonder-Work. From the Wonder-Work the Prussian Guardsmen who garrisoned it swept all the ground to Skyline Trench and Mouquet Farm. Around Mouquet Farm the Anzacs pressed just outside the defences and along the road leading to Miraumont. East of the deadly and mysterious farm the British troops gradually sapped and bombed their way, a hundred yards at a time, towards Martinpuich. But in all this local British action there was little more than an equilibrium of forces, in which the balance usually inclined to the side that was standing on the defensive. The main advantage of the British was that they still left the enemy on part of the



slope of the great ridge, and there hammered him by means of an unparalleled mass of artillery that ranged to his rail-head and over all his communications.

But after the extraordinary pause of five weeks, from the last week in July to the first week in September, Sir Douglas Haig managed to obtain more infantry, and brought to the Somme front some fine brigades of Irish soldiers, with West Countrymen and English Riflemen. In the meantime the vast machine of British artillery had been again strengthened, and the main ammunition dumps had increased in size, despite the daily lavish expenditure of shell. The army under General Fayolle north of the Somme had enlarged its line of action and augmented its effectives, with the result that more pressure could be exerted against the great

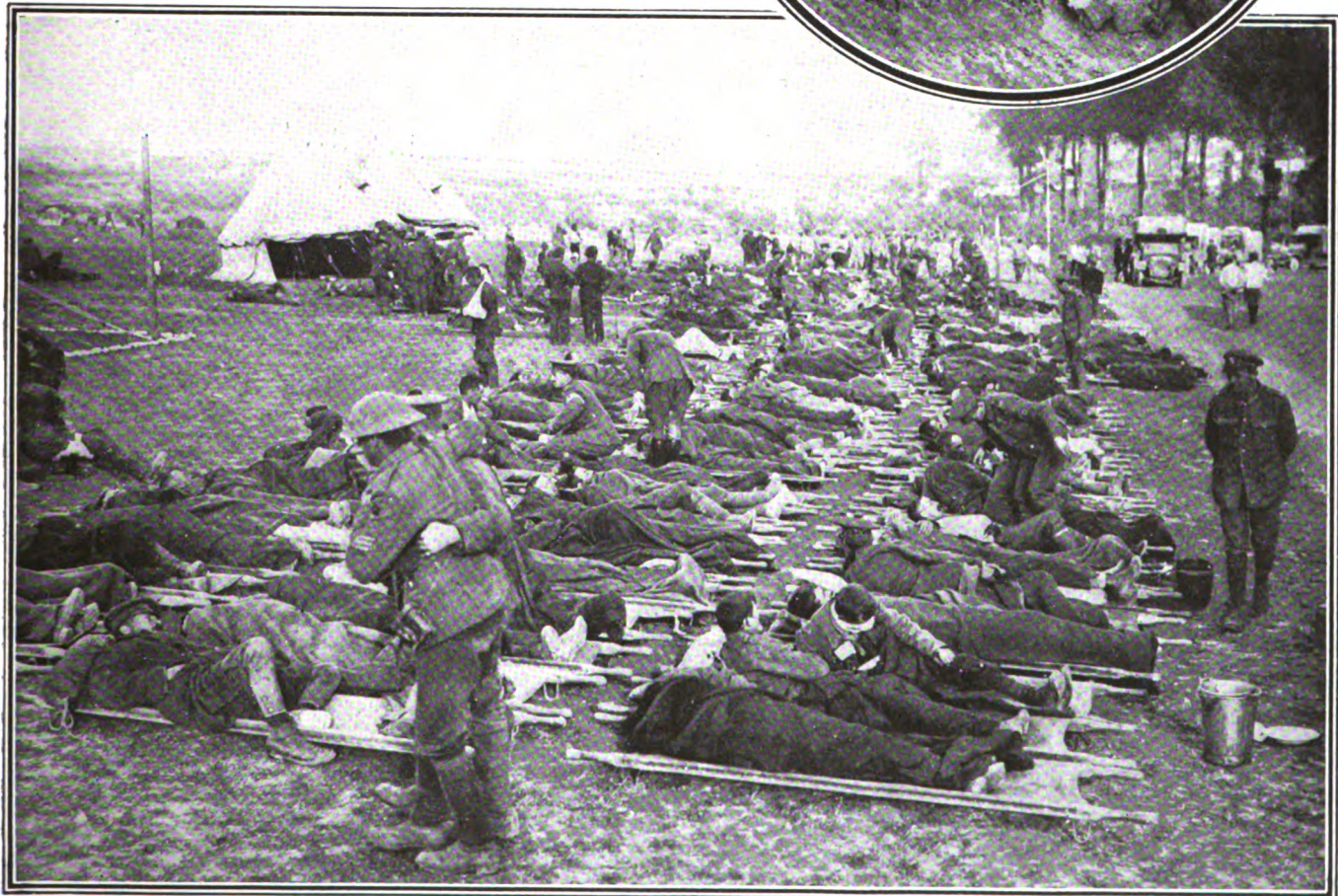
**Holding General  
Marschall's forces**

block of German works between Combles and Péronne. Everything was ready for a great new offensive movement by the

Allies on a front of some nineteen miles. The opposing enemy commanders, General Baron von Marschall, General von Stein, and General Kirchbach, anticipated the attack, and filled the shell-holes in No Man's Land with snipers and manned the machine-gun posts with picked and desperate teams who vowed to fight to the death. For eight hours the British guns bombarded all the German positions from Beaumont-Hamel and Guillemont. Then on the night of September 3rd, in the darkness before the rising of the moon, a large force of British and Australian troops approached the enemy, and just before dawn advanced into the open.

The German line on either side of the Ancre brook was penetrated with comparative ease below Beaumont and Thiepval, the hostile line of machine-gun fire being beaten down by a bombardment of great accuracy and intensity.

But after two systems of works had been stormed and the men were organising the ground they had won, the German guns opened on a great arc above the Ancre and prevented the lost trenches from being repaired. Amid this storm of shell the hostile infantry counter-attacked and, though they were checked and punished, the British troops were forced to withdraw to their own line. For the second time the Ancre positions had proved impregnable. This northern action, however, was designed from the beginning as a subsidiary affair to hold General von Marschall's forces and prevent them from swinging round to the assistance of General Kirchbach. Sir Douglas Haig did not want guns removed from the Beaumont-Hamel area



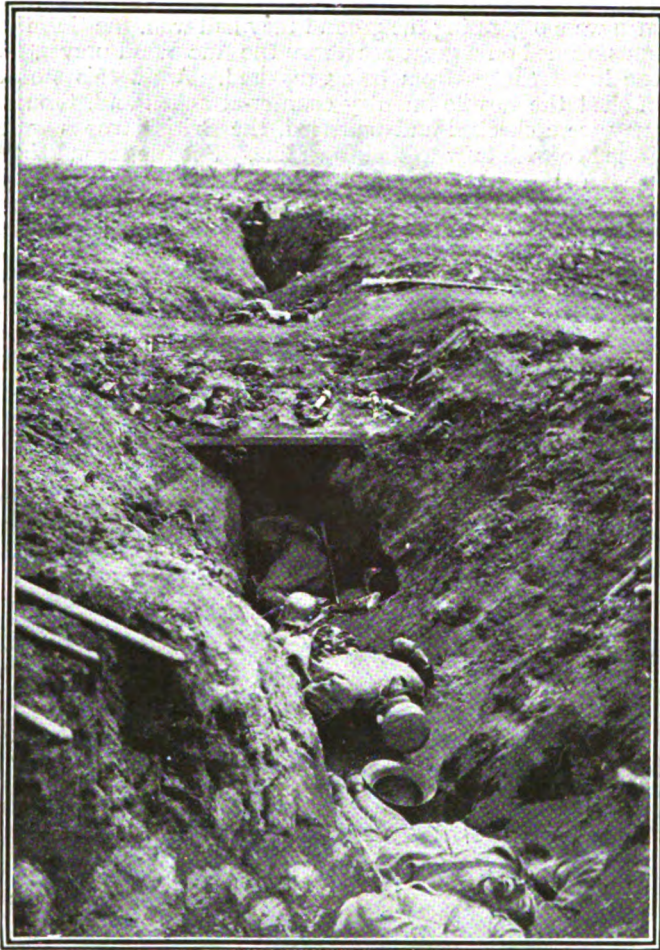
THE VIA DOLOROSA AFTER VICTORY: WOUNDED BY THE WAYSIDE IN FRANCE.

Wounded men collected from the field awaiting the ambulance to take them to the base. Doctors and orderlies are tending them. The helpless attitudes of men who, a few minutes previously, were the finest examples

of soldierly physique, provided one of the most moving spectacles behind the battle line. In circle: Assisting a soldier injured in the leg over a trench. Some ammunition-cases were improvised as stepping-stones.

*[British official photographs.]*





MEN WHO FOUGHT TO A FINISH.  
*(British official photograph)*

German dead in the enemy's first-line trenches amid the debris of a few hand-grenades, broken rifles, and steel helmets. The disposition of the grenades suggests a deadly hand-to-hand encounter.

to the Bapaume sector, because he had another and larger operation in view in the middle of September. He had, therefore, to make General von Marschall apprehensive, and partly to this end the fierce demonstration on the Ancre was arranged, while the Australians violently pressed the enemy at Thiepval by a drive into Mouquet Farm and the ridge beyond and above it.

While the northern point of the German line was thus being threatened, the main British attack was delivered with victorious skill against the southern point of the hostile arc of works at Ginchy and Guillemont. Again the enemy divined what was about to happen, and as the attacking troops were waiting in their assembly trenches they were hammered with some ten thousand poison-gas shells. But the bursts of gas did not seriously impair the vigour of the massed Irish and English troops. There were men of Connaught, Leinster, and Munster waiting in the rainy night in front of Guillemont, with English Riflemen alongside them. The Riflemen had already had a long and trying ordeal in the trenches, and the Irish regiments were brought up to the battered position to add fresh energy to the attack. The heavy German bombardment continued upon the new Irish divisions, and became so intense that it seemed impossible for men to live under it, much less advance. The Irishmen, who were mostly Roman Catholics, knelt down under the terrific gun fire and received absolution from a devoted chaplain. Then to a tune on the Irish pipes they went forward with headlong impetuosity, and with the English Riflemen on their right broke right through the ruins of Guillemont and reached the sunken road leading south-west from the village.

**Irish pipes  
at Guillemont**

Faced with shell fire and raked with machine-guns, the Irishmen swept so quickly on to their main objective, the sunken road, that they passed over some knots of Germans in the quarry north of the road. When the Germans emerged with machine-guns to take the Irishmen in the rear, according to their old tactics, some English Riflemen, led by a quick-eyed colonel, extended into the quarry and cleaned it out. Thereupon, a German officer, caught in the act of playing dead dog, tried to buy his life by offering the English officer his gold watch. When the watch was refused, he pressed it upon a corporal. There are some extraordinary qualities in the Germans—a mixture of the basest and the highest.

While the Riflemen surrounded the south-west of the village the Irishmen went onward like an avalanche of footballers. Their forwards cleared the village in a rush, went over the slope beyond into the valley, and apparently reached Leuze Wood. Machine-guns swept them on either flank and even caught them in the back. But the men followed their pipers and broke the spine of the German defence, and as the ground was methodically cleared behind them by the more cautious English Rifles, the charge was a fine combination of rush tactics and scientific consolidation.

**On the road  
to Ginchy—**

The important sunken road was transformed into the main British line, leaving Leuze Wood reconnoitred as the next objective. But besides driving thus far into the enemy's position immediately around Combles, the dashing Irishmen on the left, after breaking clean through the north of Guillemont, continued along the road to Ginchy. Here they were stopped by machine-gun fire from the cellars and underground works, but they hauled forward trench-mortars, levelled all the works with aerial torpedoes, and conquered in another fierce rush the High Street and most of the houses. Then, assailed by converging columns of fresh German troops, the Munsters, Dublins, and Irish Rifles drew back from the northern part of Ginchy, but clung to its southern outskirts. They were battered incessantly by cross-fires of German artillery of all calibres, lashed with machine-gun squalls, and cut off from supplies and supports by terrific barrages of shell. But they hung on with amazing courage while General von Kirchbach brought two fresh divisions forward.

For five days and nights the Irishmen lay in shell-craters south and east of Ginchy, scantily fed, heavily shelled, and with little sleep. On the third night they dug towards each other from their craters, and formed the shell-holes into a connected shallow trench. In spite of the strain and misery of lying in the open under a heavy fire, the men were so keen on conquering Ginchy that those who had been lightly wounded would not go to the field hospital, and pleaded to be allowed to stay. Irish orderlies vanished from Headquarters and were discovered in the firing-line. "I missed Guillemont," said one of them, "and I must be in at Ginchy. If I'm all right, I'll come back when it is over. I am very sorry."

On September 8th the German commander threw his new troops into the village, with a great store of food, and the fresh Prussians and Bavarians were ready for a fierce tussle. At least one German sniper tied himself to a tree-top to make sure his courage would not give way, and most of the Bavarian machine-gunners were resolute to fight to the death. But when the Irishmen made their closing charge, in the afternoon of September 9th, they covered six hundred yards in eight minutes of furious battle, reaching again the High Street in the heart of the village. As the yelling Dublins advanced, two hundred Germans surrendered from a trench running from the western line to the centre of Ginchy. On the other hand, some furious Bavarians left their cellars and fought madly in the open until they were bayoneted or bombed. Fighting then continued in the village around nests of machine-guns, which were silenced by trench-mortars, and along a road





*Lieut.-General Sir Thomas D'Oyly Snow, K.C.B., commanding the Seventh Army Corps.*

*Photo: Elliott & Fry.*

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*British troops who took part in the capture and occupation of Lesbœufs.*



*Moving a British heavy gun up to the front by man-power.*





*After Lesbœufs: Troops swing along to the strains of fife and drum.* [French official photograph]



*Tractor hauling a heavy howitzer to a new part of the front.*

[British official photograph.]





*Between our barrage (left) and German shells (right) British infantry storm the Schwaben Redoubt.*



where the enemy had another line of machine-guns that shattered a fine Irish battalion in a few minutes. But again the useful trench-mortar was brought forward and the enemy gunners were shelled out, while a sergeant, two corporals, and a private of the Munsters recaptured three hundred feet of trench from which their comrades had been driven, and then held the wide gap unaided for several hours.

As the first Irish regiment poured into the village on one side, fresh English troops poured into it from the other and cleaned up the ground. But when the Irishmen drove through the northern end of Ginchy it was found that a junction could not be made with the troops on the north-west, so that the left flank, composed of a detachment of Dublins and Royal Engineers, was left "in the air." But

the gallant party began trench-digging in a fierce and sustained spasm of labour, and when long afterwards reliefs came up, there were fourteen hundred yards of new, good trenchwork protecting the north-western part of the captured village. Meanwhile, the battalions that had led the charge delivered their thrust so rapidly that an hour after they left their shell-holes they had patrols working a quarter of a mile beyond the village up the slope leading to the Ginchy Telegraph.

When the Irish brigades marched back towards camp in the afternoon of September 10th, the worn, shrunk battalions, mechanically keeping step with a piper at their head, were a sight to stir anybody with Irish blood in them. For more than a week the men had been fighting, and little sleep had they had. Their eyes were bloodshot and ringed with shadows, their seamed faces were grey with dust. The mud was caked on them, and their bodies huddled forward in the weakness of utter fatigue. Yet a spirit of triumph shone from them. They had made Ginchy and Guillemont monuments to the valour of their race.

And Leuze Wood was largely theirs also. While the struggle had been raging east of Guillemont and around Ginchy, other British troops had advanced alongside the French above Maurepas towards the ridge crowned by a cluster of trees sheltering Falfemont Farm. From this farm a line of German works ran north-westward through Wedge Wood to Guillemont. Another series of works and connected shell-holes extended north-eastward from Falfemont Farm along a spur of downland leading into Leuze Wood. Leuze Wood was a great stronghold, containing three lines of fortifications backed by another five lines of works running down to Combles. English troops, including a splendid force of West Countrymen, under a famous general who had broken the Prussian Guard at Ypres two years before, met the Prussian Guard at Falfemont Farm, which soon became the Hougomont of the Guillemont battle-line. To strengthen the resemblance with the field of Waterloo there was, behind the enemy's line, the sunken road running from Wedge Wood to Guillemont. Part of it had been captured by the Irishmen in their first long lunge through Guillemont into Leuze Wood. And while the English Riflemen who followed the Irishmen were consolidating the northern end of the sunken road a surprise rush up the slopes to Falfemont Farm had been made. But this gallant attempt to snatch another important position at the close of a day's great conquests was defeated by a force of the Prussian Guard who charged with the bayonet from the trees about the farmstead and recovered all the ground to Wedge Wood.

The next day Falfemont became a gambit pawn in the terrible play of war. The West Country battalions approached the hill farm on the southern and western slopes with the intention of storming it. The design was that their attack should draw German reinforcements along the spur from Leuze Wood. Then the main British forces, gathering in the northern part of the sunken road from Guillemont, were to make a sustained rush into the



[Canadian War Records.]

STOIC COURAGE UNDER PAIN.

Tending Canadian wounded who took part in the victory of Courcellette. In the foreground a soldier of the Dominion was having a nasty hand wound dressed, and he bore his pain with stoic courage.

western side of Leuze Wood. Leuze Wood was half a mile in the rear of Falfemont Farm, so that if the main British attack succeeded, the garrison of the Prussian Guard on the southern spur would be enveloped.

About three o'clock in the afternoon of a ghastly Sabbath, in rolling, open, shell-shattered country, as desolate and as cratered as the mountains of the moon, thin lines of khaki figures poured from the sunken road on one side and up the southern slopes of the Falfemont spur on the other side. There was scarcely any artillery fire, as the lines of conflict were too close. The British guns were pounding the enemy's reserve positions and communications, while the German guns were shelling Guillemont. In the scene of the fighting there was only the rattle of machine-gun fire. The British troops were in very wide order, to escape the scything streams of bullets, and every time they crouched for cover in shell-holes their own machine-guns played on the enemy's hostile posts and thus screened the advance. On the north Wedge Wood was taken after a bombing scrimmage, and out of the middle of it came a group of grey figures—enemy prisoners. Meanwhile, the southern waves of attack on Falfemont Farm had a very long slope to climb, but they broke into the German triangle of trenches on the spur going down to Leuze Wood, and then encircled the farm westward and northward.

Thereupon, a curious thing occurred. All the Germans seemed to be in wild confusion. Some ran from Falfemont Farm towards Leuze Wood like panic-stricken fugitives, while larger masses came from Leuze Wood towards the farm, and after running a little way scuttled back. The

Wedge Wood and  
Falfemont Farm





TRUE TO ITS PLACARD: A "TANK" WINNING ITS WAY ALONG A SOMME VILLAGE STREET.

So well kept was the secret of the "tank" that its advent into the arena of the west front completely staggered the enemy. As the swaying leviathan rolled up the High Street of a Somme village the Germans in the vicinity threw up their hands and surrendered to the oncoming British infantry. The "tank" acted as a veritable guide to victory, forging its way through obstacles, defying bullets, bombs, and shells.



explanation was that the main British attack on Leuze Wood was developing furiously, and the German commander was hesitating whether to abandon the Falfemont position and concentrate around Combles or endeavour to hold the entire line. While he hesitated the West Countrymen topped the southern edge of the spur and worked forward through the thistles and among the bare poles that had once been trees.

This decided the line of action of General Kirchbach. He sent a battalion of the Prussian Guard forward from Leuze Wood along the spur. The Guards advanced shoulder to shoulder in a disastrously obsolete formation, intending no doubt to repeat the bayonet attack of the previous day. Scarcely a British shell touched them, but when they neared the British line they fell in a compact mass under machine-gun and rifle fire. Twenty minutes later another German counter-attack was organised in exactly the same way, and again nearly all the men taking part in it fell face forward. Somebody on the German side was badly blundering, and apparently he was removed, for a third counter-attack was launched from Leuze Wood, and on this occasion the Guardsmen, with scraps of other corps, worked forward in a scientific way in open order, taking cover in the shell-holes in the chalky ridge, and managed to hold the farm. But the West Countrymen clung to the northern spur, to the southern slope, and to the western

#### Capture of Leuze Wood

way of approach from Wedge Wood, and at night in a deluge of rain they worked forward in a wild soldiers' battle. By dawn the farm was almost surrounded, and in a final daylight rush from three sides all the garrison was slain or captured.

Meanwhile, the main attack on Leuze Wood succeeded, owing to the enemy's distracted efforts to hold on to the Falfemont spur. By Sunday night a footing was won in the western part of the wood, and afterwards, in the drenching rain and darkness, with the battle raging all along the line to Ginchy, High Wood, and Mouquet Farm, the thrust into Leuze Wood was stubbornly pressed against tremendous resistance. Leuze Wood was at the time the most vital point in the enemy's system of defences north of the Somme. What was taking place was the Battle of Combles, with the French forces thrusting on one side of the hill rampart at Le Forest and the British forces thrusting against the other side at Leuze Wood. The wood crowned a hill higher than all others round the large, long valley of Combles, and so was an all-important observation centre. When it was won, British artillery officers sitting at the end of a telephone wire could place shells by the thousand exactly upon every position in and around Combles. So long as Leuze Wood was not won, the enemy, who had large military stores in Combles, could maintain strong reserves of troops in the valley and feed them against the French and British armies on either side. The German commander, therefore, fought with extreme tenacity to retain the wood on the dominating hill. But such was the sustained fury of attack of the British and Irish troops that, in four days' and nights' persistent action against all available enemy divisions, the whole line was slowly advanced a mile east of Guillemont, and all Leuze Wood was conquered in the night of September 6th.



[British official photograph.]

WEAVING A SHELL CURTAIN ON THE WEST FRONT.  
Putting over a heavy barrage. Gunners at work during the early days of the allied offensive. A pile of empty shell-cases and a lack of tunics and shirts indicate the measure of their enthusiasm.

The enemy, however, still retained two lines of works on the slopes going down to Combles and two communication-trenches running up to his lost wood. All this system of hostile works on the reverse slope was covered by hundreds of German guns on the Rancourt down across the Combles valley. A British advance into Combles was, therefore, impracticable until the French forces had worked round to Rancourt; and, moreover, an immediate advance was not necessary, seeing that the British gunnery directors could look down from their newly-won position on all the enemy's positions as far as Morval, and shatter them with incessant howitzer fire. There was no reason in using infantry to slay the enemy when artillery could do the work with mathematical deadliness. The next move lay with General Kirchbach, and under cover of darkness before dawn on September 8th he made a terrific essay to recover Leuze Wood and save Combles, only to have his troops driven back after ferocious hand-to-hand fighting. Two days afterwards, as already related, the whole of Ginchy village was captured. At the same time a general British advance was made from High Wood to Leuze Wood, and ground won for another offensive movement on the grand scale, for which mighty preparations had been in progress during the Battle of Combles.

Hindenburg had come to the western front to converse with Gallwitz, Below, and Stein concerning the British Army. What he saw and what he learned in the middle of September directly led to the later colossal German effort to levy the entire Teutonic population for the purpose of producing more munitions and getting every possible fit man who could be spared from war work into the Army. On September 11th the enemy tried to storm back into Ginchy, but was repulsed with heavy loss. He returned to the attack on September 12th and was again severely defeated. He re-formed his battered troops and reinforced them, and made a third great counter-attack; but what men of his entered the British trenches alive became prisoners. The next day the German official report admitted for the first time the loss of Ginchy. The delay of four days in the acknowledgment of defeat served to indicate with what large forces of effectives the vain counter-attacks had been made. The

#### Hindenburg's visit of inspection





PART OF THE IRISH BRIGADE COMES BACK WITH LAURELS FROM GUILLEMONT.

The Irish Brigade added to their sheaf of laurels by their brilliant capture of Guillemont and Ginchy. Under a terribly destructive fire, men from Connaught, Munster, and Leinster went forward to the attack at Guillemont with a headlong impetuosity which carried them right through the village towards Leuze Wood.

design had been to recover the village at any cost, and then pretend it had never been wholly lost. For, as Hindenburg was officially stated to be on the western front in the second week of September, the loss of such key positions as Ginchy and Leuze Wood was calculated to shake the faith of the German public in their dictator. The loss of Leuze Wood was not admitted.

But this veil of pretence was rent and blown away while Hindenburg was still on the Somme. On September 14th the Wiltshires and the Gloucesters, who had been clinging to the southern slopes of Thiepval, made a night attack upon the famous Wonder-Work and stormed the maze of earth-works and caverns in a rush that completely demoralised the garrison, composed of detachments of the Reserve of the Prussian Guard. Here and there a sturdy Guardsman stood out and fought with bayonet and bomb, but along most of the line the crack troops of Prussia bolted across the open, and ran blindly into the British artillery barrage. One Guardsman excused his fugitive comrades by saying that our men "charged like the wind," and gave no time to the defenders to get their weapons between the preliminary bombardment and the artillery rush. The Wonder-Work was built on a spur that overlooked all the left of the British advance along the Pozieres ridge to Mouquet Farm and Courcellette.

And the next day, after two German attacks on the Wonder-Work had been beaten back, one of the greatest movements in the war abruptly opened. Hindenburg and his generals were hoping that, after two and a half months of continual fighting, the offensive energy of the British Army was permanently diminished. Thirty German divisions had been shattered and withdrawn from the British front. It did not seem possible to the enemy that the British army, which was being filled out with drafts of the Derby class in July, 1916, could persist in attacking at its pristine pace in the middle of September, 1916. The German High Command expected only some persistent but small movements, such as that proceeding against the remnant of their second zone of defences about Combles. But behind Combles and in front of Bapaume the Germans had a third zone of defences on the Flers line, which had

been enormously strengthened by constant digging since the opening of the Somme battles. Stein had largely extended the machine-gun organisation, and Below, in his search for artillery to overbalance the British guns, had seriously weakened the German lines around Verdun. The ruling German opinion was that the British would go on losing a hundred thousand men a month against the German machine-gun positions without making any further large gains of ground in the autumn, except that Combles might fall to them.

But after much delay, due largely to official lack of judgment, the genius of the British race had produced a new engine of war in the form of a land monitor. From the armoured motor-cars used by the Royal Naval Air Service in support of aeroplanes there had developed the plan of a modern war-chariot for attacking entrenchments and machine-gun redoubts. The increase in heavy artillery, leading to the employment of combined parks of two thousand guns shelling No Man's Land from either side, at first led some generals to think that a moving fort would be useless over ground holed with heavy shell and ramparted with earthworks, ruined houses, and stumps of forest trees. In spite of almost general discouragement the naval men continued to work at their idea, in which Mr. Winston Churchill became interested, and Mr. D'Eyncourt, the Director of Naval Construction, undertook the design of a landship capable of carrying out an attack against entrenched positions. Soldiers played a great part in developing the new instrument of war, and Colonel Swinton was particularly prominent in this work, though, according to a statement made by the Financial Secretary to the Admiralty, officers of the Royal Naval Air Service, with the Director of Naval Construction and the Assistant-Constructor, Mr. F. Skeens, were chiefly concerned in the preliminary work of design. The practical work of construction, which called for high and ingenious talent, was carried out by Mr. W. A. Tritton, managing director of Messrs. Wm. Foster & Co., who built the cars.

They were known as "tanks" while being transported and stored at the front, in order to avoid exciting general curiosity among the troops and the German spies in North

Entry of the  
"tank"



Western France and the nook of Flanders. But when the covering of the "tanks" was removed and the cars brought out to be tested, the British soldier completely exhausted his great gift of the language of imagination in trying to describe the huge steel monsters. They looked somewhat like giant toads of the nightmare age of the dragons of the slime. They were painted in brown, green, and yellow, to harmonise with the landscape of the Somme. As they moved forward with their big blunt snouts thrust in the air, and bodies wheelless and limbless, yet with a smooth, deliberate motion like that of a footless reptile, the British army broke into Homeric laughter—the monsters were such a mixture of horrible strength and fantastic appearance. They could climb a shell-crater or straddle over it; they could rise up against a wall and push it with the weight of many tons until it fell down; they could flatten out earthworks; bullets and hand-grenades made no impression upon them; and with an armament

of machine-guns firing in all directions and directed by periscopes they could annihilate battalions of infantry. Only artillery fire could penetrate their armour.

In one of his scientific fantasies Mr. H. G. Wells had described the landship, and it is possible that his brilliant piece of scientific fiction inspired the men who first worked out the design.

The humour and the strange strength of the "tanks" helped to increase the confidence of the British, Canadian, and Anzac forces that were arrayed for battle on the front

of six miles from the ridge of Pozières to the northern edge of Leuze Wood. At dawn the massed guns began firing steadily, but not with any remarkable volume of fire. As the sun lifted and drew the moisture out of the earth, a dense white mist rose from the valleys and blotted out the ridges, and through the mist brigade after brigade of infantry went over the parapet against the fortified villages of Courcellette, Martinpuich, and Flers, and the trench systems running down to Bouleaux Wood at Combles.

In front of Courcellette the enemy was fully prepared to make an ordinary grand attack himself. He had massed troops in his front and reserve lines, and thrown out advanced patrols and bombing-parties between the opposing parapets along the Pozières ridge. There can be little doubt that General von Below had arranged a main attack on the British line from Pozières to High Wood as an answer to the Guillemont-Ginchy and Leuze Wood operations. On the Guillemont and Leuze Wood front his forces were also massed in very considerable numbers, but apparently more for a subsidiary action than for a complete offensive against the entire British line. The principal German concentration was on the Bapaume sector, in front of Courcellette, Martinpuich, and Flers. The Second Bavarian Corps was very closely packed about Courcellette, so that in some stretches of trench one man per yard was killed solely by British gun fire. Clearly the enemy commander did not anticipate that his army would be caught before it could strike, and be compelled to stand

Advance on  
Courcellette

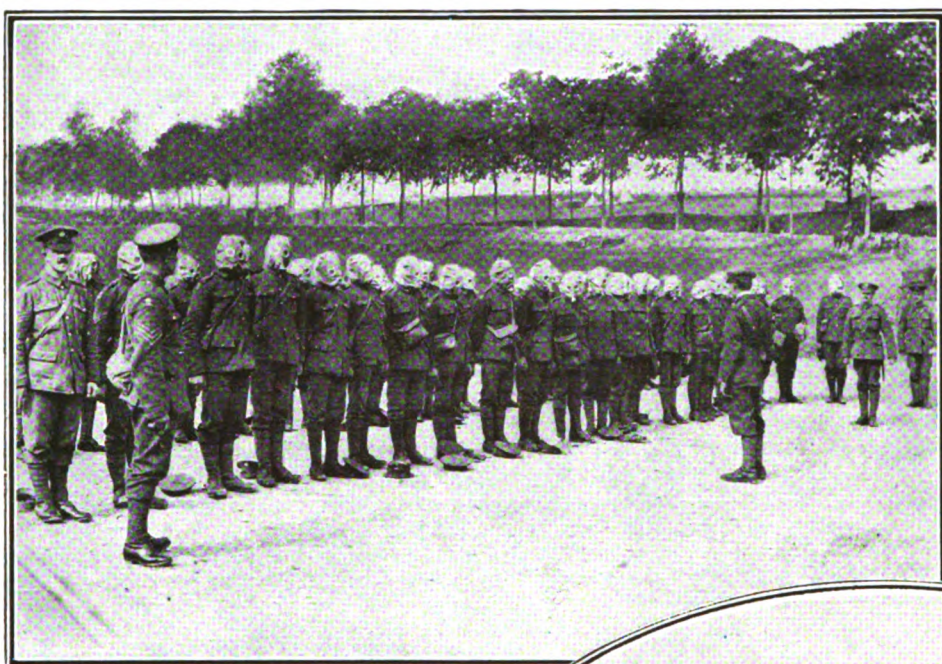


REINFORCEMENTS GOING FORWARD ON THE SOMME FRONT.

[Sir H. G. Wells's official photograph.]

Under the lee of a shell-marked wood. A column of men is seen marching up to the front, followed by an officer, whose beautiful charger is a feature of this illustration. In the background the remnants of a large country-house still dominated the French highway.





[British official photograph.]  
GUARDS AT RESPIRATOR DRILL.  
The hideous masks enhanced the formidable appearance of these fearless fighters.

on the defensive. For, in view of a defensive battle, the troops would have been more widely spaced to avoid shell fire, and would have been largely saved for counter-attacks after their own artillery had done all it could to shatter the hostile offensive. In all probability there was a race between Sir Douglas Haig and General von Below to open a strong offensive, and the race was won by the British commander because he still held the mastery of the air and, observing the hostile preparations, out-speeded them.

Very close was the struggle for the initiative. The British commander seems only to have won by some minutes. At night the Canadians were densely assembled on the Pozières ridge, from a point near Mouquet Farm to

#### Close struggle for initiative

a point above the village and windmill captured by the Australians. They were bombarded with blinding shell and gas shell, and then taken by surprise in a rush attack of the Bavarians. Elbow-room was needed in order to engage a charging mass of bomb-throwers with machine-gun supports, and the Canadians had no elbow-room. But they somehow managed to master the raiders and resume their own order of advance. Not a Bavarian escaped. A Lewis gunner killed those who came over the parapet, and an officer with a party of twelve bombers dealt with the other assailants. Then at twenty past six in the morning of September 15th, 1916, men from Toronto, London, and Kingston, and men from Winnipeg, Regina, Vancouver, and Eastern Canada, led the first assault, while behind them came clearing-up forces of French Canadians, Halifax and Montreal men, and a light infantry regiment that formed the van of attack in the second operation. On this occasion there was no long and intense preliminary bombardment of the enemy's lines to herald and advertise the infantry movement. In order to take the Germans

by surprise the troops advanced soon after their gun fire opened and walked behind a moving zone of shell and shrapnel. The new Royal Garrison Artillery had become in six weeks a corps of master-gunners. They were able to execute perfectly new ideas of their leading commanders, such as the long-practised artillerymen of Germany either never dreamed of or thought too intricate in execution to attempt.

The design of surprise underlay all the British tactics in artillery, infantry, and aerial work. And it was by staggering and dismaying the enemy by surprise upon surprise that the greatest of modern British victories was gained. The Germans were relatively as strong on the Bapaume



[British official photograph.]  
OUT TO SAVE LIFE, NOT TO TAKE IT.  
Regimental stretcher-bearers on their way out to bring in wounded. This photograph was taken near Ginchy, where the Irish regiments distinguished themselves so brilliantly.

front as they had been on July 1st on the Ancre front. They had more than a thousand guns in action against the British troops, and considerably more than ten thousand machine-guns, while their troops were massed in extraordinary density. The difference in the issue arose from the fact that the attacking forces were not only more practised and more alertly intelligent, but were remarkably inventive. They had done much more than learn from experience—they had discovered for themselves new ways and means of warfare.

Their artillery method was an expansion of the whirlwind bombardment, in which magnificence of scope was combined with minute intricacy of detail. Every battery commander and officer had a list of time-tabled targets corresponding with the prearranged steps of the infantry movement. This was apparently the usual thing; but there was much more in it than the ordinary covering fire of an advance. For as the hostile works had not been shattered beforehand, the moving line of thunderbolts had to effect all that days of bombardment might have done. A week's artillery work of destruction had to be crowded into

#### British artillery miracle



less than half an hour, and yet performed with extreme precision. And the heavy gunners and the field gunners firing in front of them accomplished the task set them. All the circumstances cannot yet be explained. We cannot state how long many of the new men and officers of the Royal Garrison Artillery marched and drilled and practised with the rifle before they had heavy ordnance to learn to handle. But it may be fairly said that their achievement was in the nature of a miracle—a miracle of intellectual quickness and capability. When the Briton does hustle, under masterful and brilliant direction, he sometimes accelerates with avalanche effect.

The German gunners, however, had a kite-balloon watching the Pozieres ridge, and when the Canadians came out behind their smoking, flaming line of pounding shells they were in turn assailed by a heavy and continuous artillery fire. The leading battalions had many men put out of action—killed, blown up, or buried. But the men went steadily onward, keeping exceedingly close to their artillery barrage, and thus came with disconcerting suddenness upon the Bavarians sheltering in dug-outs. German machine-guns and many snipers, nevertheless, assailed them. For the enemy had thrown advance parties forward into shell-holes beyond his own earthworks. Most of these were rushed and slain, and the waves of assault rapidly spread down the long slope, a mile in depth, to the hollow where Courcellette lifted her ruined chimneys. The ground was open and terribly exposed, and the enemy had a great trench running at an angle to the line of advance, so that as each company reached it they came under a flanking fire from the unassailed part of the works. Almost parallel with this long diagonal trench was a similar long work, covering the other side of the village, and between the two long protecting arms was a series of half a dozen small works, the most important of which connected with the sugar factory near the Bapaume road.

In a succession of splendid bursts the Canadians secured

their left flank by extending towards the Thiepval front, and in frenzied fighting broke rapidly through all the enemy positions as far as the sugar factory. Here they were desperately engaging a row of machine-guns when at a ponderous pace "Crème de Menthe," the leading land-ship, arrived. She and her fellow monster "Cordon Rouge" had been outpaced by the furious Canadians, but slowly and surely the new engines of war crawled into the forefront of the battle. "Crème de Menthe" sparkled with blue fire as the German machine-guns whipped her vainly with bullets. Rising in weird toad-like fashion, she prowled about the sand-bagged and concrete redoubt, with her guns sweeping every grey figure in sight. The garrison was beaten down in front and enfiladed sideways, and by the afternoon the factory fortress was won. At the same time the trenches known as Candy Trench and Sugar Trench, on either flank, were stormed by most heroic assaults, wave following wave until the enemy was rushed. Then

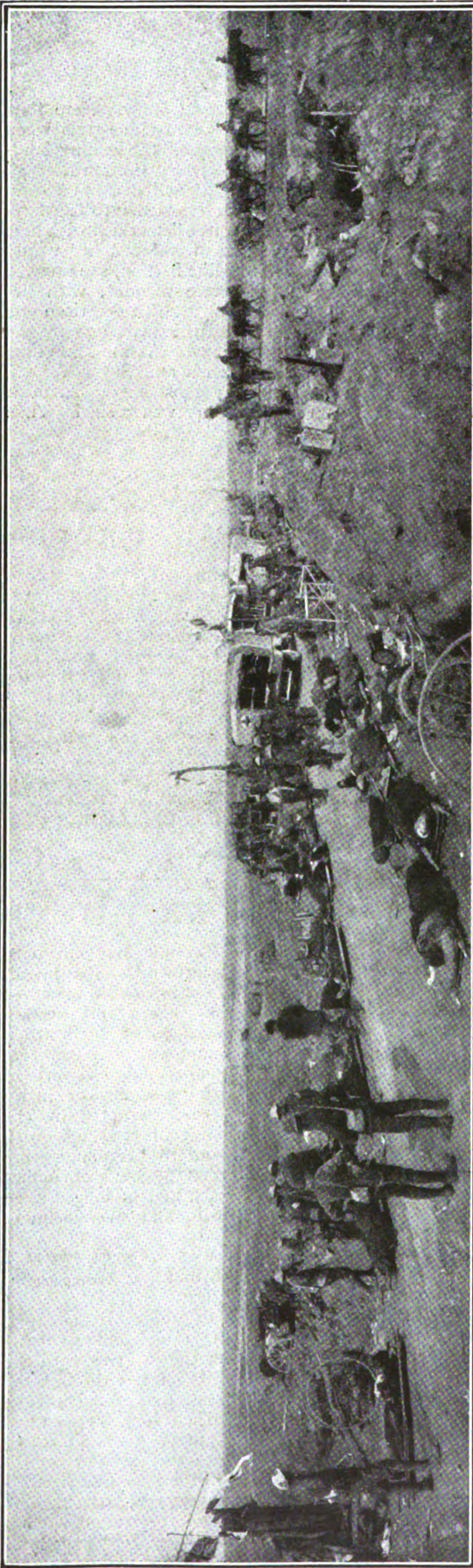


WASTE AND REPAIR OF MAN-POWER ON THE BATTLE-FRONT.

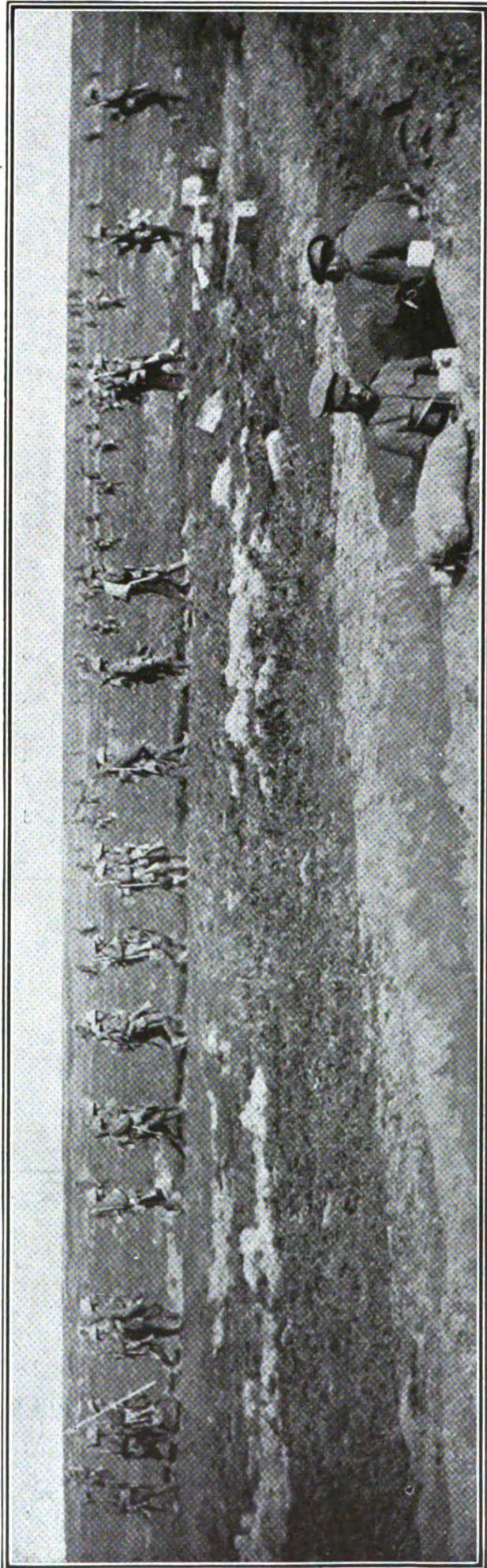
[British and French official photographs.]

British troops going aboard motor-lorries to be taken to the advanced front. Above: View of the battlefield near Courcellette, with Red Cross waggons waiting to take back wounded. Despite the waste of life, the Allies' man-power steadily waxed as that of the Germans waned.





Wounded brought to the roadside near Guillemont to be taken away in ambulances. An eye-witness said there was not one of the wounded whose eyes were not alight with the fire of triumph. Never was the British Army in better spirits, more elated and confident than on this memorable day when the most shattering blow was dealt to the enemy that he had yet received.



Infantry reinforcements moving up to the front during the battle. Authorities agreed that September 15th was, perhaps, the greatest day since the Battle of the Somme began. Three villages, Courcellette, Martinpuich, and Fliers, were occupied, and the British troops advanced over most of the front to a depth of nearly two miles, taking more than twenty miles of German trenches in that area.

*[British official photograph.]*

THINGS SEEN IN FRANCE, SEPTEMBER 15TH, 1916, ONE OF THE MOST MEMORABLE DAYS OF THE GREAT ADVANCE



Sir Julian Byng, the corps commander, was informed by one of the new aerial Staff messengers hovering over the conquered sugar-works that the entire objective of the Canadians had been secured and patrols pushed forward towards the village and the gun-pit to the south-east.

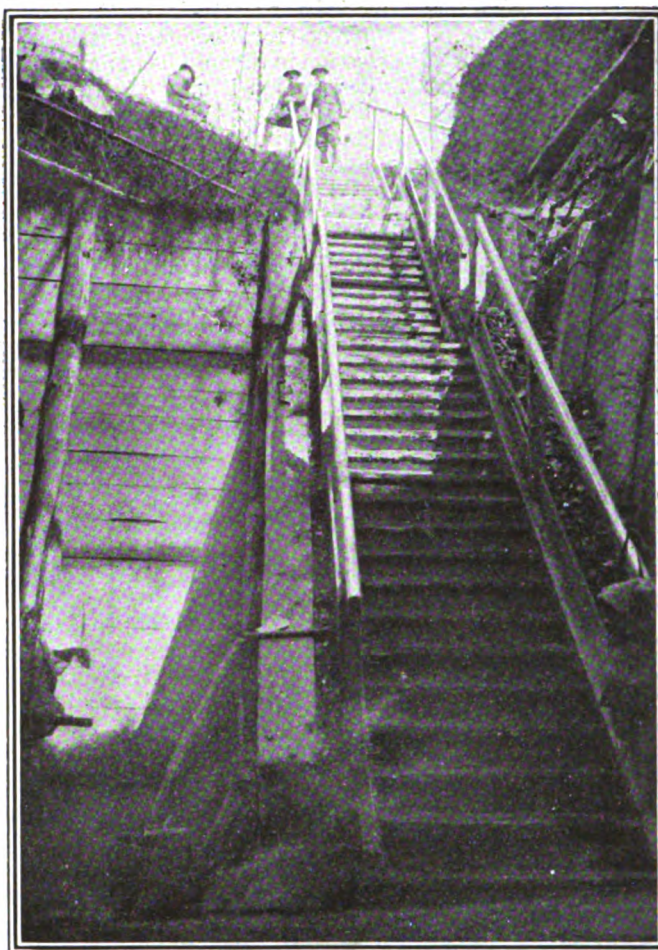
Like all good cavalymen, General Byng was a born thruster, and by his grasp of initiative had constantly risen during the war. Courcellette, an unexpected prize of the highest value, was offered to him by the eager Canadians, and he rapidly planned the great extra operation. The enemy's second long system of trenches, running from the north-western edge of the village towards Mouquet Farm and linking Courcellette directly with the Ancre positions, was designed for attack. It was carried in a

skilful and dashing manner by a veteran light infantry regiment of Canada and a Montreal battalion, who established a strong position covering Courcellette from counter-attack from the Ancre side. Simultaneously, the fine French-Canadian force who had been clearing up dug-outs under heavy fire in the early part of the day moved against the village, with a Halifax battalion co-operating on its left.

Just at the edge of the tangle of streets, trenches, and battered buildings the French-Canadians were held up until their own shell fire lifted. Then with wild cries they poured inundatingly into Courcellette, were caught on the right by machine-guns, rushed the guns, and bombed their way northward. The larger part of the garrison of 2,000 Germans had no zest for battle. Some knelt with raised hands in the streets imploring mercy; others crept out of dug-outs eager to surrender; and though it was not the task of the charging battalion to take prisoners—the captives properly falling to the clearing-up parties—the French-Canadians angrily saddled themselves with more than three hundred unwounded Germans by the time they reached the quarry and made a line northward and eastward of it. Then the Halifax men closed round while the remnant of the hostile garrison fled over the crest, throwing away rifles and equipment as they ran. Thus within a little more than twelve hours the Canadians took all enemy positions on a wide front to a depth in places of 2,000 yards.

The important victory at Courcellette was not won lightly, but it thrilled Canada. The fighting men of the Dominion had long stood on the defensive, and had endured many grievous things. Against them the enemy had employed his first clouds of poison gas, and they had saved Ypres. Against them he had made, still at Ypres, his last important offensive movement, killing two of the best-loved Canadian commanders and rousing the men to extreme fury. In these circumstances the Canadians came to the Somme in berserker mood. And when the day was won, their extraordinary gain of ground and tale of prisoners and war material did not greatly interest them. "Vaches!" screamed the French-Canadians when the Bavarians held up hands. They despised their prisoners, for they wanted to meet only Germans ready to fight to the death. And on the whole the Second Bavarian Corps in the early part of the day gave them what they wanted, as was seen from the thousands of grey forms in trench, dug-out, and shell-hole. And in the night of September 15th the Canadians consummated their revenge for all they had suffered in the northern salient. Seven times the enemy counter-attacked and was not only completely repulsed, but was pushed back farther by fresh assaults.

Alongside the Canadians a fine force of British troops broke the enemy's lines in front of Martinpuich in a swift assault of twenty minutes, but were held up before the main fortress by a Bavarian division that had distinguished itself in the defence of the Hohenzollern Redoubt in the Battle of Loos. The struggle amid the dug-outs and underground ways of the village might have been as severe as the Hohenzollern conflict. For the buildings had not



[British official photograph.]

#### ENTRANCE TO A CAPTURED GERMAN DUG-OUT.

German thoroughness brought subterranean architecture to an amazing point of elaboration which, incidentally, suggested some doubt on their part of speedy victory in the war.

been levelled as in the first Somme actions, but only rent, gutted, and unroofed by the sharp whirlwind bombardment. Numerous walls and large fragments of brickwork remained for machine-gun shelters, and the eastern and western outskirts of Martinpuich were labyrinths of fortification. Eastward, especially, with three communications connecting with High Wood, there was an astonishing lacework of redoubts, ditches, and caves, with cross-fires of many machine-guns. A frontal attack was attempted by the British troops, but was met by a counter-attack, with forces gathering from the sides, and the assailants were driven back. But the "tanks" turned the course of conflict from a combination of rush approach and prolonged siege operations like Ginchy into a swift and overwhelming victory like Courcellette. The Bavarian peasantry were frightened by the new war chariots when the monstrous things reared up against the works and spat death around, like the flaming dragons of fairy-tales. In one case a hundred Bavarians surrendered to a "tank," and two of the crew emerged and stood guard over the captives until the infantry arrived. Another car, on its journey through the village, came upon a dug-out and sat upon it. The cave was the regimental headquarters. The colonel stepped forward to see what was the matter, put up his hand at the nightmare spectacle, was taken into the car and carried about, an interned alien, during further operations.

#### Flaming dragons at Martinpuich

Owing to the nature of the easterly trenches at Martinpuich the action about this central downland village was linked with a terrible battle that raged for hours in High Wood. Stormed first in the middle of July and afterwards continuously hammered by heavy guns,



and continually swept by infantry attacks of the fiercest kind from both sides, High Wood remained to a considerable extent in the enemy's possession in the middle of September. As a theatre of ghastly destruction it surpassed in horror and chaotic aspect Delville Wood and all other scenes of human endurance and chemical annihilation. The amount of high explosive, splintered steel, and leaden rain that had been poured on what had been a wooded peak was incalculable.

A force of gallant London troops made a direct attack upon the German works in High Wood, which had been strengthened with iron girders and concrete blocks and an enormous amount of barbed-wire. The day and the night before the attack German guns played intensely on the Londoners' positions in the wood, and when they went over their parapets the number of the enemy machine-guns was so great that their noise drowned that of the artillery. The fighting was savage beyond description, and when the London battalions seemed to be absolutely at the end of their resources some "tanks" moved into the wood.

#### Londoners' ordeal in High Wood

But even their marvellous powers of breaking down obstacles and climbing up and down the tumult of earth did not enable them to make a path for the infantry. Naked human courage had to carry out that which the powerful engines of war could not accomplish, and at last, after three bounds towards the end of the wood, the valiant city men gave their artillery the signal for a closing whirlwind bombardment. This completely broke the nerve of the High Wood garrison. Three hundred ran out and surrendered, and a few minutes later another large body fled towards Martinpuich, but were caught by English Territorials working on the left of the Londoners, and annihilated with mortars, bombs, rifles, and machine-guns.

Not one German was seen to escape. Meanwhile, the hard core of the defending force still held their ground in positions where one desperate man with a

machine-gun was stronger than a hundred riflemen. But at one o'clock in the afternoon the last German gunner was put out of action, and the Londoners went forward beyond the wood to Prue Trench, and could not find an enemy. No counter-attack was made, and for some days no Germans were seen. After this terrific conflict Martinpuich was encircled in the evening, and carried with comparatively slight losses by a combination of "tanks" and infantry, which took more than a thousand prisoners.

#### Victory at Martinpuich

London again took an important part in the greatest tactical success of the day—the drive from the Delville Wood line into the enemy's third zone of defences at Flers. Labyrinth after labyrinth of works, entanglements, and underground ways was forced with wonderful speed by London and North-country recruits and the superb fighting men of New Zealand, with a squadron of "tanks" acting sometimes as supports and sometimes as an advance guard. Before the main operations started at dawn a detachment set out in the dark for the extreme eastern angle of Delville Wood, where the enemy retained a foothold in a spot known as Mystery Corner. The men got among the Germans before the latter could work their machine-guns, and in a short burst of fighting with bomb and bayonet the mystery was cleared up, and found to consist of a hairpin wedge of trenches, connecting with the hostile main line. Fifty prisoners were taken and several machine-guns, while two "tanks" loomed in the first glimmer of dawn against each side of Mystery Corner, and squatted upon the German trenches and found them to be already heaped with dead—



ONCE A RAILWAY STATION.  
Guillemont Railway Station as it was when the British finally recaptured it from the Germans.



STRETCHER-BEARERS AND DRESSING-STATION AT GUILLEMONT.

Guillemont was captured on September 2nd, 1916, after a stubborn resistance. Our casualties were naturally heavy, but they bore small proportion to the heaps of German dead over whose bodies the position was won. The desperate nature of the fighting may be gauged by the appearance of the ground in the above photograph.

slain in the first burst of British whirlwind gun fire.

Meanwhile, the New Zealand troops moved out. On their right they were supported by battalions largely recruited from London. Their left flank, however, was dangerously exposed, because the Londoners who had been launched upon High Wood were held up by the enemy there. But the New Zealanders did not trouble about danger from Martinpuich. Men from Auckland, Canterbury, Otago, and Wellington, tried in the mountain battles of Gallipoli, put their trust in the bayonet, and rushed with scarcely a check all the ground for five hundred yards to the enemy's Switch Trench in front of the Flers zone of defences. Splashed with shrapnel and raked with machine-guns, they reached





BRITISH 18-POUNDER GUN IN ACTION IN A GLADE.

[British official photograph.]

General consent awarded the palm to the French "75" for effectiveness in the war, but French artillerymen were enthusiastic in their praise of the British 18-pounder guns and of the high efficiency of the gunners who worked them.

the Switch Trench and there had a bitter fight to the death with a force of Germans of high courage. Only four Germans remained alive after the savage hand-to-hand clash, and the wave of New Zealanders was thinner when it came out on the other side, where the ground stretched for eight hundred yards towards the heavily-wired and deeply-dug Flers line.

Here the New Zealand Rifles went down a long slope in very wide order and quick rushes against a tempest of lead. Fine as was the work of the Royal Garrison Artillery, they had not been able, in rapid direct firing, to destroy either the wire entanglements or the earthworks of

**Bitter fight to  
the death**

the Flers zone of strong fortifications. An infantry assault would have been terribly costly and probably vain, as there was another deep system of German works close behind the first wired line. But two "tanks" that had fallen behind the New Zealanders, owing to the number of shell-craters and pits in their path, slowly crawled forward, sometimes with their tails above their heads and sometimes with their heads above their tails. They sidled along the barbed-wire and buried it in the earth; then poking their monstrous noses over the hostile parapets, they hauled themselves over, firing all the time from both sides of their painted bodies at the German machine-gun teams and bombers.

Having saved the New Zealanders' lives and time and trouble by facilitating the capture of the Flers line, one of the "tanks" lumbered after them across a sunken road,

with steep banks and very deep dug-outs, from which the Germans fled without a fight. The New Zealanders, flushed with victory, made another great leap. They covered seven hundred yards to a line running westward to the top of Flers, while a German battery fifteen hundred yards away shelled the Anzac "tank" but missed it repeatedly, and was put out of action by the British artillery.

But all this time the New Zealand left flank remained "in the air," as the Londoners held in High Wood could not connect. Nevertheless, the thin and unsupported wedge of New Zealanders swung out to the left, and made a fighting flank up the front of the valley running north-west of Flers, far beyond the village. This hazardous position they held until ordered to draw back to a line running straight westward from the top of Flers village, looking down upon Eaucourt l'Abbaye and the tumulus of Warlencourt, with the chimneys of Bapaume immediately behind.

**New Zealanders  
at Flers**

Far along the flank of the New Zealanders German troops held out in shell-craters, with the way open behind them so that supports might come down and drive a wedge between the New Zealanders and the London men north of High Wood. There followed a long and swaying battle between the Anzac wedge and the fresh troops that the German commander poured on their flank, from the afternoon of September 15th to the evening of September 21st.

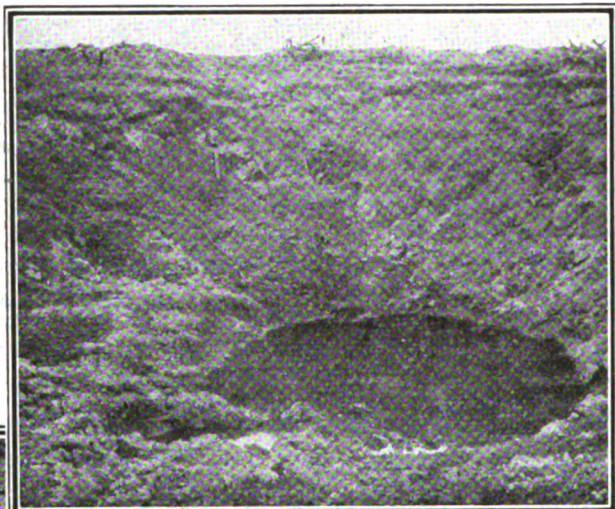


The New Zealanders reached their extreme point beyond Flers in six hours' fighting by noon. At four o'clock the first 4,000 Germans were thrown upon them. Not only was the attack beaten off, but the Wellingtons went forward and took the trench from which the counter-attack had been launched. Then followed five days and five nights of continuous attack and counter-attack, in rapid successions of the fiercest bomb and bayonet fighting. Canterbury, Otago, Wellington, and Auckland covered themselves with glory, and chief among them was a captain of the Canterburys, who led many of the most desperate

struggles and came through them all unhurt. In one general attack the London troops on the left were compelled to give ground. But as they retired, the New Zealanders went forward and cut across the German line half-way towards Eaucourt l'Abbaye. Then, in a magnificent resurgence of energy, the Londoners recovered the ground they had lost, and, breaking right through the German line on a front of a mile, filled out all the interspace between Flers and Martinpuich and formed an even, solid front between the two villages.

Amid the ruins of Flers on the right of the New Zealanders were the metropolitan troops, with other Englishmen, who had started operations in Mystery Corner of Delville Wood. As the first wave of their attack went out at dawn the small band of conquerors of Mystery Corner, who were resting on the line appointed them, rose and joined in the Flers attack, and, keeping abreast of the foremost wave, acted as a connecting link between the Flers attack and the force that advanced from Ginchy. From the Delville Wood side Flers was a double maze composed of four main lines of defence, with enfilading positions driven out at right angles like teeth on a rake, and innumerable minor posts and organised shell-holes. Apparently it was impossible ground for troops to take in a rush. But the new terrors that crawled by day, in advance of the infantry wave, towards all difficult places, made the operation miraculously rapid.

#### Episode of Mystery Corner



EARTH'S AGONY UNDER THE HORROR OF MODERN HIGH-EXPLOSIVES.

British official photograph of a yawning crater wrought by a mine explosion, as seen after the British troops had broken the last German resistance and captured the position. Above: Canadian official photograph of one of the enormous shell-holes in the line of the advance.





COMBLES: THE TOWN IN PICARDY WHERE THREE ARMIES MET.

[French official photograph.]

Combles was retaken on September 26th, 1916, by the French and British in co-operation, both entering the town simultaneously. The town was deemed of such importance by the Kaiser that when it was captured in

1914 he had a medal struck to commemorate the triumph as an incomparable feat of arms. The Germans had held it in force, and enormous accumulations of munitions were captured by the Allies.

Flers was captured in about three and a half hours. The men had not seen much fighting before going into the furnace of the Somme, but the general who had trained them was sure of them, as he had taught each man to carry out his task even if all the officers fell. They had a depth of 2,500 yards of highly-fortified ground to cover on the way to Flers, and they went forward, keen and alert, to the first German line which, like others on the enemy's front, was full of enemy dead, caught by the gun fire that mowed the way for the British troops.

The two first waves stayed in the trench to clean it up; a third and fourth wave swept onward over shell-craters, against machine-gun positions and continual squalls of shrapnel fire, until they came upon a hidden trench protected by unbroken wire. The "tank" rolled forward, sat on the wire and on the earthworks; the troops passed and resumed their fighting forward movement. Meanwhile, another "tank" went on ahead alone and,

like a huge pachyderm strayed from some extraordinary menagerie, sauntered up the High Street of Flers. From the ruins German machine-gunners and riflemen

played on it with scarcely more effect than boys with pea-shooters, while the cheering, laughing troops who saw the sight could scarcely go on fighting for the moment, being overcome with the wild humour of it all. There were sixteen guns about the village that might have put "tank" after "tank" out of action, but they were captured by the foster-children of the "tank," together with a thousand prisoners.

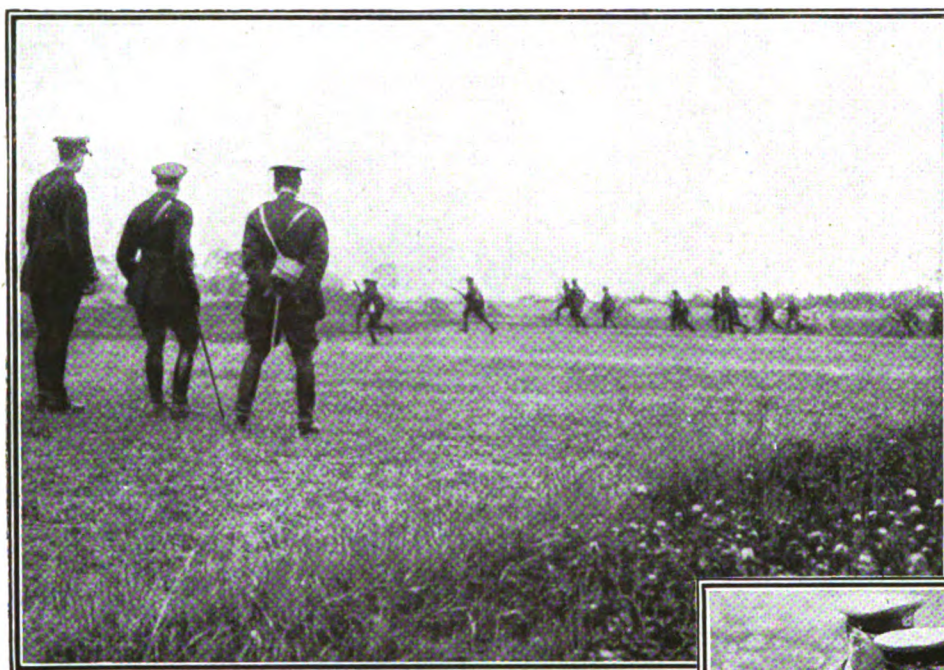
When all the village was won the victors went forward to the Lesbœufs Road and stormed it, and formed a strong

line well to the north of the main fortress in the Germans' last zone of defences. Then, after beating off an enemy counter-attack, the troops eastward, who had been holding little more than a series of shell-holes with a wavering connecting link, climbed out of their holes in the evening of September 16th, and, rushing through open country, where the air was thick with machine-gun bullets, stormed a well-made German trench, and there strongly consolidated on a good line of advance for a further break into the German line. Meanwhile, a solitary "tank" slithered on an exploring expedition from Flers to Gueudecourt, and reached the latter village, practically piercing the entire German front. But after some exciting adventures it was struck by a shell and crippled, and its skipper, after making it useless to the enemy, left it lying a landmark to the men on either side, and the crew returned to Flers and worked among the wounded. The wrecked "tank" seems afterwards to have been recovered.

Towards the  
Combles valley

From the Flers and Lesbœufs line northward to the Leuze Wood and Combles valley line southward there was a long, deep, rolling space to be conquered under conditions of extreme difficulty. Except in the northern sector, where the deep Flers zone of works began, there were but a few old and well-marked trenches seaming the bare slopes and open hollows. The enemy had merely constructed wavering lines of shell-holes, lightly strung together, strengthened by unexpected nests of machine-guns and garrisoned by the Prussian Guard and other troops of the first quality. In some places there was half a mile of untrenched ground between the Scottish, Irish, and English troops who worked east of Ginchy



*[British official photograph.]***DRILL BEHIND THE FIRING-LINE.**

The King (second figure from the left) watching men at drill immediately behind the firing-line on the occasion of the Royal visit to the west front shortly after the beginning of the Somme offensive.

towards the Combles valley. The distant Prussians maintained an incessant and sweeping rain of bullets from positions that could not be spotted and pounded by British gunners. Uncommon skill and high daring were required in working through the rain of lead, in order to close at last upon the Guardsmen. Even when the hand-to-hand tussle came the Prussians stood firm with bomb and bayonet and machine-gun, and only after a ferocious bout of in-fighting was the first line taken. The second fell more easily, and the third was quickly stormed.

The British Guards had a most arduous task, as befitted men of their reputation. They moved from the crest of the ridge, and could see nothing beyond and knew little of what was there. It was supposed they had some open ground before them ere they arrived at the first main trench they were told to take. But so soon as they topped the crest the right of their line found itself against trenches, with uncut wire, of which nothing had been known. Two

**Fine advance of  
the Guards**

short trenches they were, held by seven companies of a famous German regiment. Moreover, the troops on the right of the Guards were held up by a great work known as the Quadrilateral, which was a position humanly impossible to take at that stage of the operations. But the Guards never faltered, and they charged onward for nearly a mile with their right totally exposed and swept by machine-gun fire that caused most of the casualties they suffered.

Early in the fight the Guards learnt that the troops in front of them were old enemies, whom they had met before in the Second Battle of Ypres and held when all the odds were on the German side. Now that there was something like an equality in a long, raging hand-to-hand battle, the Guardsmen stormed out for a deadly return match. The seven companies behind barbed-wire in the surprise trenches were reached in a tearing struggle, and clubbed with rifle-butt or caught on the sharper end. Every man was either killed or captured. Meanwhile, the left of the Guards' line went over the first trench, and wheeled against a diagonal trench and beyond into the famous Switch Trench. But in this manoeuvre over hopeless ground, with no landmark to map it out, the right and left hand troops lost touch, and though they went abreast over the

Switch they left some Germans in a gap, who raked them flank and rear until some of the Guards turned back and dealt with them.

The next trench the Guards tried to bomb, but they found that bombing was slow work, and formed up again with the bayonet and went over the position like lightning. Then amid a chaos of earth like a frozen sea, where no man could see much more than the immediate bank or hole in front of him, the Guards worked forward for five hours, always with machine-gun fire pouring on their exposed right flank. At last some battalion commanders held a conference in a shell-hole, and endeavoured to find out at what spot on the map they had arrived.

*[British official photograph.]***THE KING ON THE BATTLEFIELD.**

Sir Henry Rawlinson, commanding the Fourth Army on the Somme, pointing out to the King positions marked on a map which General W. N. Congreve, V.C., commanding the Thirteenth Army Corps, is seen holding.

They were about a mile in the enemy's country, and as their flank was still exposed they dug between some shell-holes and rested after one of the finest movements in the annals of the Guards. All four races shared fully in the glory—Scots and Irish, Welsh, Coldstreams and Grenadiers—and none wanted more credit than the other.

A quaint and picturesque incident made the Coldstreams remarkable, and won the Victoria Cross for their leader. Two waves of the 3rd Battalion had broken against the German machine-guns, and Lieutenant-Colonel John Vaughan Campbell took command of the third line, which was also broken and scattered in shell-holes by the enemy's streams of fire. The colonel went into battle with his revolver in one hand and his huntsman's horn in the other. He sounded the horn, which had been given to him by his non-commissioned officers and men, and as the clear ringing notes pierced the rattle of the enemy's guns the Guards came running up from their cover and, forming in line under their colonel, took the trench with the bayonet, while the Irish Guards came up in support, and the Grenadiers also swung forward. Two "tanks"



seem also to have worked with the Guards and eased the situation in another place where they were held up by unbroken wire in a trench lined with machine-guns.

The shallow ravine running out before the hamlet of Morval was one check to the advance through the wilderness beyond Ginchy. But the most serious obstacle on the glorious fifteenth of September was a quadrangle of trenches between Ginchy and Leuze Wood. The redoubt was on the Ginchy-Morval road at the point where the road bent under a sheltering clump of trees. A large four-sided work extended about the redoubt, from which all forces advancing eastward from Ginchy were enfiladed. At the same time their right flank was swept from a strong point north of Bouleaux Wood and from other places beyond.

In spite of the heroic sacrifices made by the British troops they could not get within rushing distance of the Quadrilateral. All day they were scattered in shell-holes before this formidable work, or driven back in their lines. An advance on the front being impossible, some men pushed up on the left on an exploring expedition, and finding their right flank "in the air," turned and attacked one of the auxiliary trenches, and bombed down it, fighting along both sides south-eastward towards the redoubt. When night fell

south which surprised the distracted garrison, who lost a hundred and seventy unwounded prisoners and nine machine-guns. Still the Quadrilateral was not entirely conquered. A resisting force remained in a sunken road, lined with numerous dug-outs, and here hard fighting went on for a long time. Most of the Germans refused to surrender, coming out into the open and fighting and falling to the bayonet or being bombed in their caverns. They were Bavarians of the 7th and 21st Regiments, and when their superb resistance was broken on September 18th the line was extended a thousand yards behind the Quadrilateral.

During the first check at the Quadrilateral an advance was made from Leuze Wood to Bouleaux Wood, where a "tank" went across the Combes valley to Morval, expecting the infantry to follow. But the infantry had been held up by a German work, and the mothering monster toddled back to search for her lost flock, and, bucking over the hostile trench, crushed the garrison. This gymnastic feat led to a downfall. Unexpectedly the "tank" encountered a deep crater, and before her machinery could be adjusted for a slide down and a crawl up she toppled over and became an armoured barricade between British and German bombers. The skipper and crew safely emerged, and under heavy fire tried to hoist their monster out of the pit, but finally the "tank" had to be abandoned until the line was pushed forward to Morval.

The regiments that distinguished themselves in this mighty battle were so many and heroism so common that no authority has yet attempted to gather material for regimental histories. But by universal consent—hostile, neutral, and allied—his Majesty's Land Navy on making its first appearance won the supreme honours of the day.

Major Shrapnel was second only to the Duke of Wellington on the field of Waterloo by reason of the new shell he gave to British gunners, and we may say that the inventors of the "tank" were second only to Sir Douglas Haig in the victory of the main Bapaume ridge by reason of the new weapon in trench attack they gave to the British infantry. The "tank" seriously disturbed Germany, not merely by what it accomplished, but by the power of high invention it revealed in the men behind the new British armies. All that Count Zeppelin had accomplished in many years of experiment with a new weapon of war was surpassed in utility by Britons in months.



HONOUR FOR THE BRAVE.  
King George decorating heroes of the Royal Naval Air Service somewhere in Flanders.

the troops thought that they had won the Quadrilateral, but they had gained only an unsuspected trench protecting its southern and western face. The ground between them and the machine-gun fort was covered with wire entanglements, and they had to fall back once more to allow a field of play for the heavy artillery.

All the next day the guns crashed on the position, and in the evening the men who had made the first attack from the north and west resumed the struggle with extreme energy. For they were determined the position should fall to them. While the defenders were fighting stubbornly with both bomb and bayonet another attack was delivered from the



ROYAL OBSERVATION-POST ON THE SOMME.  
Observers and signallers at work on a sand-bag embankment whence the King watched the progress of a battle on the occasion of his Majesty's visit to the Somme front during the summer of 1916.

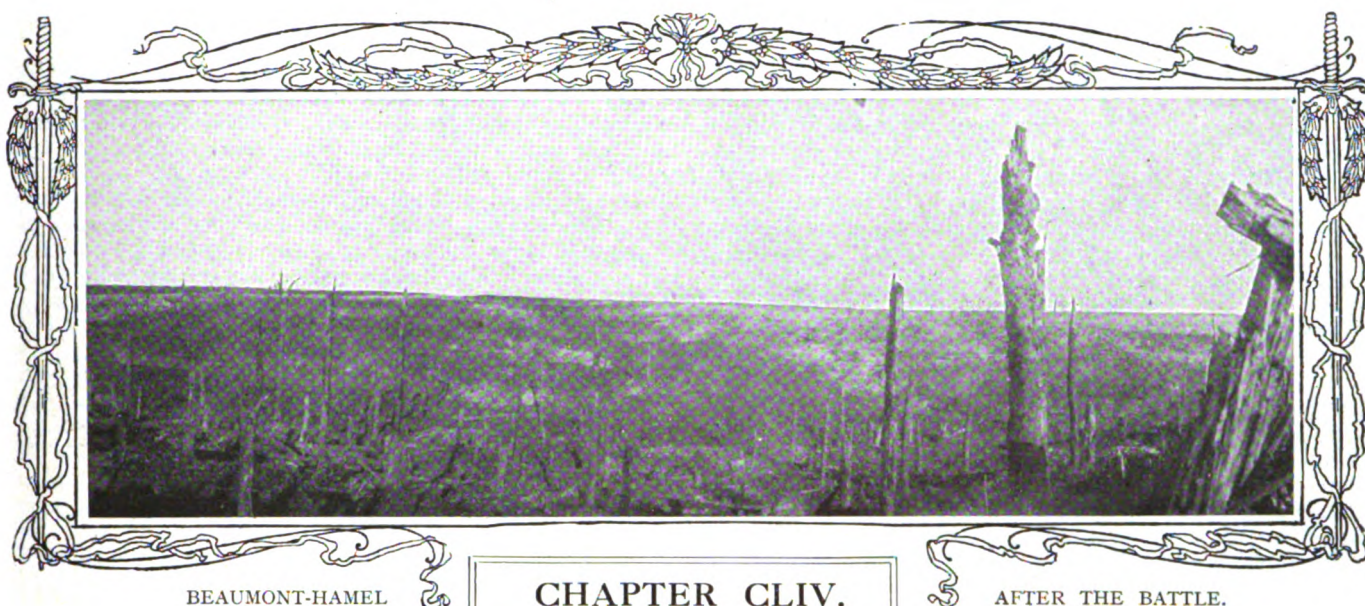




LIFTING THE BRITISH BARRAGE TO LET THE INFANTRY LOOSE IN THE ALLIED ATTACK UPON COMBLES.

At the pre-arranged moment an officer leaped on to a battery earthwork, megaphone in hand, and blew a shrill whistle, the signal for the barrage fire to lift. At once the heavy guns massed behind and the field-guns forward lifted, and the infantry went "over the top" in extended order, or threaded their way along the trenches with rifles, bombs, and Lewis guns, against the enemy's position at Combles.





BEAUMONT-HAMEL

## CHAPTER CLIV.

AFTER THE BATTLE.

# THE GREAT BRITISH BATTLES OF THE SOMME.

## V.—Check near Bapaume and Victory on the Ancre.

By Edward Wright.

Problems of the Great Ridge—Four Phases of the Mighty Battle of Bapaume—The Mystery of Mouquet Farm—Genius of German Engineers—Final Conquest of Thiepval—The "Tank" at the Chateau—Epic of Schwaben, Stuff, and Regina Works—Germany's Desperate Fight for Time—Great British Movement on Bapaume—Bouleaux Wood Device and the Discomfiture of the Enemy—Battles of Morval and Lesbœufs—Glorious Adventures of Private Jones—Conflict Between a "Tank" and Five Hundred Germans—Nocturnal Franco-British Advance into Combles—Ludendorff's Apology for Defeat—New Enemy Tactics to Avoid Infantry Fighting—Remarkable Battle of Eaucourt l'Abbaye—German Line Broken at Le Sars—Shell-hole Warfare and Autumnal Rains—Germans Left to Drown on Bapaume Line—Magnificent Scottish Victory in Beaumont-Hamel—Terrible Contest in Y Ravine—Naval Division Storms the Ancre Valley—Extraordinary Achievement of Colonel Freyberg—English and Irish Troops Capture St. Pierre Divion—The Great Tunnel and the Resurrection of the "Tank."



THE great British thrust in the middle of September, 1916, almost completed the operations on the Somme. The enemy's front there was heavily dented. On the fortified line of his own choosing the German commander was severely defeated and thrown back. Not only were all his original zones of defences taken, but the new works he began to construct on July 2nd, 1916, after the loss of Mametz and Montauban were penetrated between Flers and Le Sars. Only by a miracle of skill and heroism on the part of his thinned line of machine-gunners and sharpshooters, between Gueudecourt, Lesbœufs, and Morval, did he save one of his main masses of artillery from capture between September 16th and September 21st, 1916. As it was, that artillery was severely hammered and damaged by the British siege ordnance, which was being reinforced by new large pieces.

By the evening of September 15th all the

summit ridge between Bapaume and Albert was won by Sir Douglas Haig, with the exception of the Thiepval peak and the Morval spur at either end. British forward observation officers around Mouquet Farm, Pozières Windmill, High Wood, and Ginchy overlooked the enemy's movements for miles beyond Bapaume, and brought their parks of howitzers crashing down upon the hostile forces they spied through

their glasses. All that our northern army had suffered for two years around the Lille ridges, where the enemy had observation over them to direct his heavy artillery, was at last balanced by the advantages gained by our southern army. The ground won was the main watershed of the entire jumble of downland stretching from the Somme valley to the flats of Douay. Except for the footholds he was soon to lose about Thiepval and Lesbœufs, the enemy had on the Bapaume sector no outlook more than five hundred feet above the sea. His highest positions were a hundred feet lower, and beyond Bapaume the



IN THE ENEMY'S CAPTURED LINE.

Six hours before this photograph was taken—on the glorious September 15th, 1916—the shattered, half-filled trench from which an officer is seen making observations was the German front line.



undulations gradually sank to two hundred and fifty feet above sea-level.

On the other hand, there were some grave disadvantages attaching to the winning of the dominating summit ridge by the British. Direct cannon fire against the Germans became difficult. There was at first little room between Courcellette, Martinpuich, and Flers and the great backing ridge, and the advancing infantry forces, with their machine-guns, trench-mortar parties and "tanks," occupied the

#### Bapaume's four phases

strips of favourable ground. Then came, just after the victory, a great downpour of rain that seriously retarded the forward movement of artillery, as the slopes were transformed into slides of mud. Even when the British army extended its conquest of the lower ground facing Bapaume the action of its cannon remained restricted. The enemy sheltered in all the folds of land, and his cannon had a direct fire upon the reverse faces of the main watershed, while his howitzers pitched shells everywhere.

In short, between July and September, the geographical conditions of the British and German armies were reversed. By hard fighting the British continually approached within

this sector, he opened the fourth phase of the struggle by a very brilliant movement of surprise across the Ancre, in which Beaumont-Hamel, St. Pierre Divion, and Beaucourt were stormed. This brought the British army up to the Serre plateau, with larger elbow-room for operations against Bapaume, and effected an improvement of promising importance in the general operations of the Western Allies.

The first three phases often occurred in couples or all at the same time. For the Ancre line, the Bapaume line, and the Combles line were continually assailed simultaneously. But for the sake of clarity of idea we must separately relate the story of each phase.

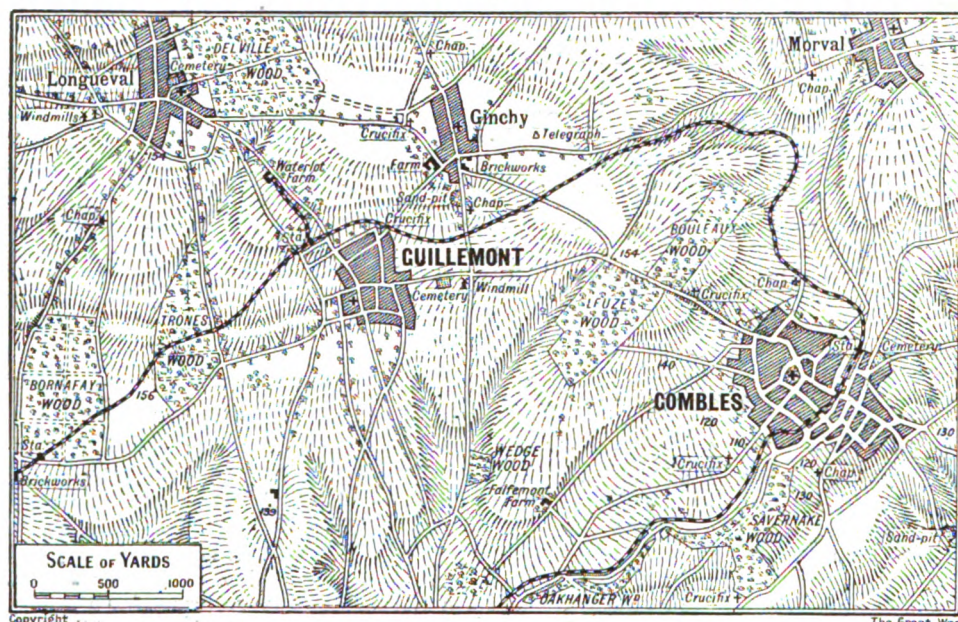
After the advance of the Australians and Territorials to the Pozieres ridge all attempts to extend westward along the heights towards the neck of high land between Courcellette and Thiepval were persistently checked. It will be remembered that the Kents, Sussex, and Surreys at last took the down that dominated Courcellette. But, though gallantly helped by the Anzacs, they could not hold the western slope on which were scattered the ruins of Mouquet Farm. Then, on September 3rd, when the Irish brigades were storming Guillemont, the Australians made

another effort of sustained violence against Mouquet Farm. Not until the farm was secured, with its opportunities for flanking machine-guns against the German works south of Thiepval, could the great caverned down of Thiepval be fully subjected to siege operations. Mouquet Farm was thus a key position, and the skilled men of Australia did all they could to acquire the key. At dawn, after a hurricane bombardment, answered by a tempest of curtaining shell from General von Stein's artillery, the Tasmanians and Queenslanders stormed the neck of high ridge, while the Western Australians, with more Tasmanians, broke into the farm below and dug a good line among the shell-craters two hundred yards beyond, the Mouquet ruins. This looked like an act of permanent conquest, for the Anzac is a master of the art of defensive digging. But

owing, as it seemed at the time, to some confusion in fortifying the conquered farm, the Germans got through a gap between the Tasmanians and Western Australians, and after a prolonged battle of intense fierceness lasting two days and two nights recovered the farm ruins.

Then, in the afternoon of September 15th, the Canadians, flushed with their victory at Courcellette, resumed the attack upon the extraordinary farm and captured it by a strong rush attack, as the Anzacs had done. It was well known that the Germans had two large caverns beneath the almost indistinguishable site of the buildings, and both the Australians and the Canadians secured these subterranean halls of refuge. But after the Canadians had deeply entrenched beyond the farm, as their comrades of the Southern Cross had done, their line was also driven in by a German counter-attack which, in the ordinary way, should have failed at Mouquet Farm as it did around Courcellette.

Standing originally a four-square block of picturesque buildings at the cross-roads midway between Thiepval and Pozieres, Mouquet Farm became the greatest mystery of the war. Months after the loopholed walls had vanished, and shell after shell had penetrated the cellars beneath, the



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE SECOND PHASE OF THE BATTLE OF BAPAUME.

Large-scale map of the area of Sir Douglas Haig's operations in combining with the French army in a decisive enveloping movement against the German base at Comblès.

two miles of Bapaume, but they could not capture the city because, among other things, their position along the Thiepval-Martinpuich-Ginchy ridge exposed them incessantly to a smashing direct fire from hostile guns in the northern hollows, similar to the fire they had poured on the enemy when he was on the watershed and they were in the southern hollows. Then, heavily aggravating this disadvantage of the attacking British forces as they descended from the great ridge, there was an immense mass of hostile artillery and infantry across the Ancre, which maintained a long and terrific flanking attack upon the western side of the thrusting Franco-British armies.

From the middle of September to the middle of December, 1916, there were four important phases of the mighty Battle of Bapaume which followed upon the great victories of the Somme. In the first place, Sir Douglas Haig countered the menace to his left flank by exerting a most violent counterbalancing pressure against the German Ancre position from Thiepval to Grandcourt. In the second place, the British commander cleared his right flank by combining with the French army in a decisive movement of envelopment against the German base at Comblès. In the third place, after clearing his flanks, Sir Douglas Haig attempted a direct forthright thrust against Bapaume. Checked on

**Mouquet Farm taken and retaken**



Germans there broke all advances upon Thiepval. Their caverns were cleared with bombs and occupied; the connecting tunnel was held, and a trench dug a furlong in front of the wreckage. Still the enemy returned and recovered all the position.

In the latter part of September, when a nocturnal attack gave the British back part of the farm, the troops found themselves harassed in an uncanny fashion. One morning an officer, talking to a sentry, saw two Germans by a slag-heap behind him, and thinking they were deserters ready to surrender, approached them and was shot dead. The sentry ran forward, and no Germans could be found. A tunnel was discovered and blocked while strengthening a trench; but still the British line continued to be assailed from the rear when it was being attacked furiously in front. The enemy had constructed underground corridors from the Thiepval region, and the exits from these corridors did not run openly into the caverns beneath the farm, but

then necessary that an enveloping movement around the down should pass by Mouquet Farm, in order to consummate the main operation of attack. The troops were ordered to swing past the farm ruins and let the hidden garrison do its worst behind their back. So the waves of infantry surged over the position and past the trench that marked the reach of the early Anzac advance. As they crashed upon the neck of the Thiepval system, grey groups of machine-gunners and sharpshooters emerged from the Mouquet slope. But a party of pioneers, headed by a young officer, saw the Germans emerge, and took them captive without a fight. Then, going down into the chambers and tunnels, more pioneers fell upon the rest of the enemy and, after a battle of six hours beneath the earth, solved part of the mystery. The last secret of the farm was unwillingly revealed by a German officer taken prisoner in the middle of November. He asked how many of our

**Mouquet Farm's  
last secret**

men had been blown up in the final conquest of the Mouquet position. He was surprised to learn no volcanic explosion had occurred there. A vast amount of explosive had been buried below the lowest cellars, but the electric firing wire had been cut.

Meanwhile, by the last evasive rush over the uncanny and tragic farmstead, there was successfully reopened the struggle on the long Thiepval spur of the main watershed, which the heroic Ulster Division had gallantly tried to carry in one rush on July 1st. Only at this point in our history can we fully appreciate the magnificent drive made by the Ulstermen when they lacked support on either flank. For it will now be seen that what



A LIGHT-HEARTED COMPANY.  
Happy veterans from the Island Continent.  
Australians on their way up to the line on  
the Somme.

into inconspicuous corners of ground where a covering of rubble and earth protected the subways from notice. In the night, during counter-attacks, German sharpshooters and machine-gunners would raise the protective coverings and emerge and go forward and break the Anzac, Canadian, or British line by a drive from the rear. But the success with which the exits were concealed for months from the keenest-eyed fighting men of the British Empire, after continual defeat had made them intensely alert and suspicious, is high testimony to the genius of some Teutonic sapper officer.

The mystery of Mouquet Farm was not cleared up until the entire fortress system around Thiepval was penetrated in a grand storming operation on September 26th, 1916. It was



[British official photograph.]

COLLECTING BOOTY AT ST. PIERRE DIVION.  
Participants in the victorious attack in the region of Beaumont-Hamel on November 14th, 1916, collecting rifles abandoned by the enemy when evacuating the position. Though the Germans relied mainly on machine-guns, there was no dearth of rifles.



a single division of Northern Irishmen came near to accomplishing in a few hours, afterwards required the most desperate efforts of a powerful army to achieve very gradually in the course of weeks. Undoubtedly the enemy had strengthened his positions between Thiepval down and the Ancre between July 1st and September 26th, 1916. But the original fortress with its original garrison still constituted the knot of resistance.

Three thousand Württembergers of the 180th Regiment of the Line, mostly veterans who had fought down the Meuse to the Marne and back to the Aisne and Somme, formed the garrison of Thiepval. They had asked, as a matter of the honour of their regiment, to be allowed to defend Thiepval to the end of the war. For two years they



[British official photograph.]  
CYCLISTS ON THE MARCH.

Notwithstanding the enormous number of motor-cycles, the humbler "push-bike" remained in constant use in France.



[British official photograph.]  
ORIENTAL SOLDIERS AND THEIR OCCIDENTAL "MOUNTS."

Indian cyclists on active service in France during the great advance on the western front. Fit and well turned out, these smart soldiers, headed by their sturdy sergeant, were pleased at being made a subject for the exercise of the official photographer's art.

had at their own desire remained in the fortress, which they had promised should never be lost. They had fortified themselves in Mouquet Farm fashion, hollowing out in the chalk cavern below cavern, with connecting tunnels and numerous emergency shafts and machine-gun redoubts. But they also had many slightly covered exits running beyond works they might lose, enabling them to make rear surprise counter-attacks in the Mouquet manner. Only after Courcelette, Martinpuich, and Flers fell did the Württembergers contemplate eventual defeat, and even then they were resolved to put up a good fight.

The main British attack was made from the south, from the captured outer line known as the Wonder-Work to Mouquet Farm. There was about five hundred yards of open space to be crossed, and as soon as the waves of khaki appeared on the slopes hostile machine-gunners and snipers rose from shell-holes and tunnel shafts in the apple orchard, south of the village, around the red ruins of the

chateau, and along the road to Mouquet Farm. Through the storms of lead, nevertheless, the lines of attack moved onward and upward, behind their heavy screen of shell and shrapnel and bursts of bullets from their Lewis guns. Within an hour the surface of the larger part of Thiepval village was overrun, and the dreadful work of cave fighting was opened in dug-out systems and tunnel entrances. But the chateau held out, for no infantry could storm through its machine-gun streams of bullets. British troops crouched in shell-holes in front of the red walls, waiting for nightfall for a possible opportunity to emerge. But the *deus ex machina* solved all difficulties—or, rather, he remained in the

machine with his attendant spirits—and as the skipper of a "tank" charged ponderously head-on at the chateau, broke through the mound of earth and brick, with all available guns playing upon the startled Württembergers. These held up their hands, while the British infantry were cheering their "tank," and the German battalion commander came forth and surrendered.

#### Night fighting at Thiepval

At nightfall all the German batteries situated between Gommecourt and Grandcourt tried to blast the British forces out of the conquered village by a tempest of high-explosive shell. But the victors retired to the caverns of Thiepval and strengthened their clearing-up detachments in the long and terrible struggle that was still raging in the underground city. In the horrible strife in darkness the attackers at last ran short of ammunition, but found large stores of German egg-bombs that enabled them to intensify their assaults. Bomb, knife, and bayonet were used, yet



even when all the hostile positions seemed to be secured, parties of Germans would emerge in the rear from secret bolt-holes and sweep the apparent victors with machine-gun fire. Thiepval fortress was like an iceberg—nine-tenths of the bulk of it was hidden below the surface. All night subterranean warfare went furiously on, but in the morning, after more than half the effectives of their three battalions had been killed or wounded in battle, and another third taken prisoners, the veterans of Württemberg broke, and the entire village was carried.

Naturally, so strange and confused a conflict was distinguished by many examples of heroic skill. One British private was in a trench held partly by the enemy. A German bombing-party approached, and instead of retreating he attacked, first with his own revolver, then with the rifle of one of the Germans he had slain, and afterwards with another captured rifle. He killed two officers and twenty-two men, and took captive the last member of the bombing-party. Having

**Examples of  
heroic skill**

been wounded in the knee in the combat, he had his leg dressed and went back and fought with his battalion until it was relieved. A Canadian, who had walked and rowed five hundred miles to reach a recruiting office, and had since risen from the ranks, silenced single-handed a machine-gun that was holding up his men, and died the moment he had killed all the enemy gunners. Another hostile gun-team was slain by a lance-corporal, who was killed while shouldering the German gun. Three Australians—two wounded and one unhurt—were rescued in German territory about Mouquet Farm, where, since the Anzac attack, they had lived in a

shell-crater on the food and water which the unwounded man obtained each night by crawling out and searching the bodies of German dead.

The ferocious fighting in and under Thiepval was only preliminary to the long main struggle for the Thiepval spur. The Württembergers played an effective part in the battle by their stubborn defence of the village. For high above the village rose the dominating ridge, where a tangle of fortified positions, famous as the Schwaben Redoubt, extended for a third of a mile from a point near the Crucifix where the Ulstermen fell after their thrust across the Ancre ravine. In the strength of at least a brigade the Germans held the Schwaben Redoubt, the Crucifix Trenches, and the cemetery farther south. Most of the large slab of land they held was some thirty feet or more above the slope on which Thiepval spread in vague brick-dust. But this advantage in altitude did not assist the enemy; it merely exposed him more severely to British gun fire. What did help him was the fact that his long systems of works connecting Thiepval spur with Grandcourt and Miraumont—the Schwaben Redoubt, the Stuff Redoubt, the Hessian Trench, and Regina Redoubt—ran along the edge of the Ancre ravine. Whenever the British troops in a successful attack reached the ravine edge all the downward slope towards the Ancre was swept by machine-gun and shell fire from the opposing face of the river valley between Beaumont-Hamel and Miraumont.

**Tangle of  
fortified positions**

The conditions on this sector were thus a vivid illustration of the revolution produced by recent developments of heavy artillery. A great deal of the extraordinary defensive



GERMAN PRISONERS FROM THIEPVAL Thiepval, the twentieth village recovered from the enemy after the beginning of the Battle of the Somme, was carried September 26th, 1916. It had been garrisoned since September, 1914, by the 180th Württembergers,

ON THE MARCH TO THE "CAGES."

veteran troops of the finest quality. A thousand of them, and more than three thousand other Germans, were captured during the struggle for the fortress, and a vast quantity of war material was taken.

[British official photograph.]



power of the Germans was derived from their low sheltered positions in and about the Ancre ravine. Much of the difficulty of the British attacking movement was due to the high exposed slopes on which their infantry operated. So long as the German ordnance around the Serre plateau and Miraumont could mass on a vast arc against a small number of British cannon sited on the higher Thiepval and Martinpuich spurs the British infantry worked forward against serious odds. The British army could bring to bear upon the enemy only the indirect fire of howitzers, while the Germans had the direct fire of a

thousand cannon and howitzers and tens of thousands of machine-guns.

There were other factors in the situation. For example, the British commander could throw a very heavy cross-fire of howitzer shell upon the German positions along the Ancre by concentrating the artillery on the Gommecourt-Beaumont-Hamel front. And although the enemy could answer this bombardment by cross-firing from his Bapaume front against the flanking British lines along the Ancre from Thiepval to Grandcourt, he had also to meet the British and French guns on this front. The British salient from Thiepval to Combles produced a German salient from the Ancre to Gommecourt, and both salients were, naturally, subject to cross-fires. Superiority was a question of numbers of guns, and here the British army, by the calibre and quantity of its artillery and the speed of its munitioning, retained the advantage.

But, owing to the nature of the ground about the Ancre, the enemy for a considerable period launched successful counter-attacks against every important British advance. The Stuff Redoubt, on the east of Thiepval, was captured on September 27th by a whirlwind bombardment of heavy shell, followed by a series of leaps by the British infantry. The next day the Schwaben Redoubt was assailed in the same manner and carried. But the moment the position was lost the German guns in turn churned up the undulating lines of chalk to prevent the victors from consolidating the works. Then in the night the counter-attacks began,

Stuff and Schwaben  
Redoubts taken



[British official photograph.]

JETSAM LEFT ON THE SHORE BY THE RECEDING TIDE OF INVASION.

View of Beaumont-Hamel after the British recaptured it in November, 1916. The village was once a collection of pleasant houses with well-timbered gardens dotted about the slopes, and a population of some seven hundred people. When the Germans were driven out nothing was left but stark stumps, discoloured earth, and a litter of broken bricks. Above: A British soldier cleaning his stock of hand-grenades.





THE BROKEN ROAD FROM FLERS, CAPTURED ON SEPTEMBER 15TH, 1916. [British official photograph.]  
 Indian cavalry despatch-riders on their way back from Flers. The route was lined with the debris of houses and shell-shorn trees. On each side British soldiers were clearing up the wreckage in view of further military movements. Before and after the bayonet and rifle, the most important tools were pick and spade.

and continued until September 30th from the Schwaben lines on the Thiepval spur to the Hessian lines near Grandcourt. The struggle in places was of a savage persistency. Parts of the Hessian Trench held by the Canadians changed hands four times by September 30th, and though most of the Hessian work and all the Stuff work remained then in possession of the British and Canadian forces, the Germans recovered half the Schwaben line, thus recovering their footing on the high part of the Thiepval ridge.

It was not open field fighting. Between Thiepval and Grandcourt the Germans had a chain of forts, oval redoubts, and circular redoubts dug above the Ancre valley, and buttressed with stones and timber, with cement emplacements for machine-guns, and a skilful, intricate network of communications threading the sunken roads, gullies, and fields. Most of this elaborate fortification had been constructed after the opening of the Franco-British offensive, and the mark of the Teuton genius who had improvised the mysterious defences of Mouquet Farm was evident in the southern works of the Ancre. He was one of the greatest military engineers of his period—possibly greater than any engineer in the British, French, or Russian Armies. It must be remembered that we were fighting against a European nation in the full flower of its genius. Its architects showed more original talent than those of any other nation, and had begun to experiment with the new material of armoured concrete in the creation of that sound new style which the commercialised American genius was too decadent to accomplish and the British and French genius too somnolent even to attempt.

Its discovery of the X-ray had opened a new, vast field of physics; its doctrine of the "quanta," in regard to the mystery of electronic forces, promised an extraordinary, abnormal revolution in mathematical concepts. It was a race at the supreme moment of its renaissance, brimming over with vitality and creative imagination.

Great was the energy of mind Germany had shown in the arts of peace; great was the energy of mind she displayed in the arts of war. Stronger she was in fighting against defeat than in fighting for victory. For, when disaster shook her modernised feudal system of leadership, her numerous men of native talent emerged from the middle classes and imparted new and higher force into the campaign of resistance. Hindenburg's triumph over the Kaiser and the Great Staff was significant of a national change. In the incessant strain of battle, avenues were

opening to all talent, and though the great landowners and industrial and financial magnates strove to preserve their system of Imperial oligarchy, tools began to fall into the hands of men who best could use them. Hindenburg's order that munition-workers should be especially well fed, at the expense of the rest of the working classes, was indicative of a formidable new energising stress of thought in the strongest military race in the world. Far from repenting their criminal blunder of engineering a war for the eventual **Germany's desperate fight for time** dominion of the earth, the German people as a whole were still confident they could attain the end they had in view, by more gradual means than they had first supposed.

Meanwhile, Germany continued to fight for time on the Somme, at the cost of three-quarters of a million casualties. She inflicted equal losses upon the British and French armies, the British having half a million men put out of action, and the French possibly half that number. As the two Allies divided the terrible cost of attrition, their sacrifices would not have weighed so heavily upon them as the enemy's sacrifices did upon him, but for certain circumstances. The British Army was still hampered by the delay to organise and train the entire man-power which should have been put in the field to prevent defeat. The French Army was in such a condition that it had already to be economical of man-power, and its directors were beginning to look to Great Britain and Italy for additional infantry. From the point of view of the enemy High Command, the prevention of a break-through in the Bapaume sector was the only matter of supreme concern. If the front were held through the winter the effect of the mass levy then under consideration would, it was expected, alter the tragic complexion of affairs.

From the last week of September to the second week in November, 1916, a struggle of incessant violence went on by the ravine of the Ancre above Thiepval to the area of Miraucourt. Neither side made any decisive gain of ground, yet the forces of guns and men employed were large. The rain of shell was continuous, and at intervals it increased to a terrific tempest, behind which the infantry crawled from crater to crater through mud, water, and dead. Among the more remarkable assaults was that of October 14th, when the British resumed their hold on Stuff Redoubt, capturing three times more prisoners than their casualties. Then on October 17th the Bavarians were pushed farther from Schwaben and Stuff works. They returned in





[British official photograph.]

#### THE RULING PASSION TO RELIEVE MONOTONY AT THE FRONT.

Card party happy in their game amidst a heap of munitions, a veritable scientific volcano. Most of the known card games and doubtless new ones were in great favour, and chess, draughts, and dominoes were equally popular between the shell storms.

great force on October 21st, and in a hand-to-hand combat all along the Ancre front regained part of their old positions. But the British and Canadian troops had also been preparing that day to attack; and they broke furiously upon the weakened Bavarians, and along a three-mile line of battle recovered Stuff Trench and the posts about Schwaben Redoubt, together with the Regina Trench, originally named after a Canadian force. Some twelve hundred prisoners were taken. Then on November 11th the eastern portion of the Regina Trench was also recovered.

This, however, only restored the line held by the British army at the close of September. For six weeks there had been an intense, grinding balance of forces along the Ancre, but as the line formed the exposed flank of the large British wedge driven towards Bapaume, it may fairly be concluded that the violent and prolonged fighting on this sector was on the whole a defensive victory for the British army. No attempt was made by Sir Douglas Haig to break across the Ancre valley by a main offensive movement and get in the rear of the Serre and Beaumont-Hamel front. His continuous local pressure was intended to anticipate and exhaust the forces which General von Marschall would, if left alone, have used in a grand assault on the British flank.

But while thus holding up and wearing down a strong hostile army on their left flank, the British forces found considerable difficulty in making progress on their front towards Bapaume. Here there occurred

#### Promise of a greater Marne

a forward sweep, similar to the sweep over the Thiepval down, but it was followed by a grinding equilibrium of opposing armies also similar to that obtaining in the Thiepval-Ancre sector. Yet at first, with the French breaking westward at Bouchavesnes and the British army striking out north-westward at Lesbœufs and northward at Le Sars and Warlencourt, there was the promise of a victory of liberation greater than that of the Marne. A German army order of September 21st, for example, insisted on the importance of Lesbœufs as "the last protection of the artillery, which must in no circumstances be lost."

Just before this a heavy fall of rain that went on for twenty-four hours gave a saving breathing space to the

enemy, as it made the chalk slopes of the High Wood watershed so slippery that the advance of the British artillery and supply train was retarded. But this sudden turn of wet weather served to increase the discomfort of the beaten German troops, who had retired into shell-holes in and around the partly broken last German line—between Le Sars and Gueudecourt and Lesbœufs. A highly important stretch of ground on the Le Sars and Gueudecourt sector was won without a struggle by a British patrol that pushed out and found that a German battalion had fled because it had not been relieved. The British force behind its patrol had prepared for a violent conflict, but discovered no enemy to fight. In the same sector, at a point near Eaucourt l'Abbaye, a similar abandonment of a position by weary, disheartened and angry Germans occurred.

So extraordinary was the weakness of parts of the Bapaume front that the British commander could not get his patrols to work

forward quickly enough to keep touch with the enemy. British cavalry forces had to ride out and reconnoitre the ground to find where the Germans were in strength, and where progress could be made merely with the shovel, instead of with bomb, bayonet, and heavy shell fire. The cavalry patrols advanced to the neighbourhood of Pys, meeting with no resistance except from scattered snipers in shell-holes and a few resolute machine-gunners sheltering in the sunken roads that wound through the folds of chalk.

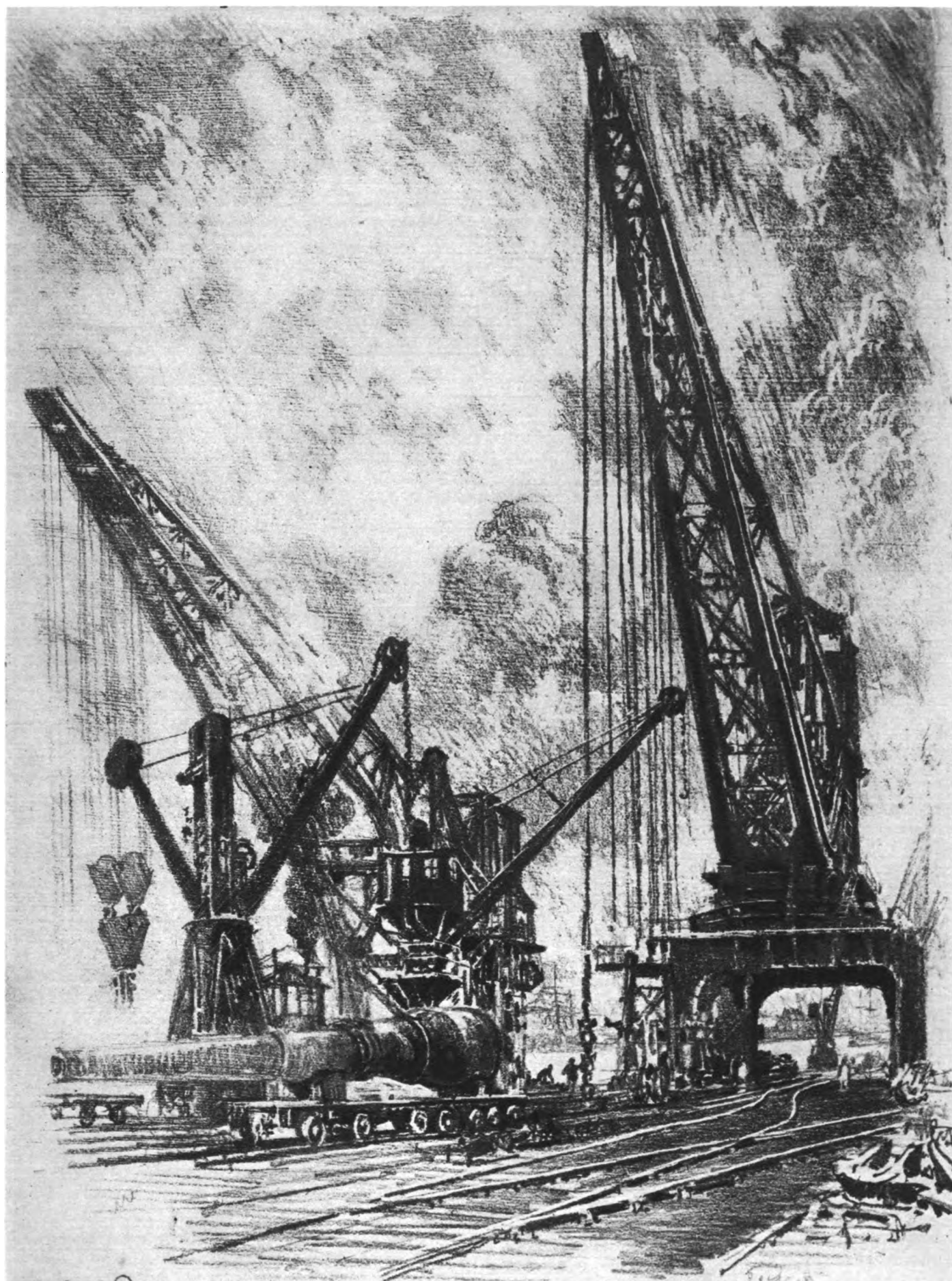
In these circumstances the leading British army corps commanders prepared, as rapidly as the weather allowed, another great blow against the Bapaume front, and on September 25th, 1916, victory again crowned the efforts of the tired but enthusiastic army of the Somme. It was the anniversary of the Battle of Loos, and the memory of that early and partial success of the first new national force was celebrated by such a display of the growing strength of the British Empire as shook the entire fabric of the Teutonic Empire.

#### Bouleaux Wood menace avoided

The pivot of the attack was Bouleaux Wood, just above Combles. From the western edge of the wood all the British forces on the right flank were to swing forward against Morval, Lesbœufs, and Gueudecourt, while the forces in the British centre also moved forward so as to close about Gueudecourt from the northern side. As at the same time the French army was pressing up from Fregicourt, on the western ridge above the Combles valley, Combles was immediately menaced by the Allies' movement. The British offensive extended far beyond Combles, and employed the instant threat to this enemy base, as a means of weakening the German line near Bapaume. Thus there was subtlety as well as strength in the British attack.

The German commander could see what was impending, and with strategic insight he packed Bouleaux Wood with an extraordinary number of machine-gunners and strong trench-mortar detachments. He thought to break the attack by disposing his forces in a sharp wedge at the point on which the assaulting line pivoted, so that his resisting wedge would shear through the charging waves of infantry. But by a tactical stroke more brilliant than the skilful disposition of the enemy, the menace at Bouleaux





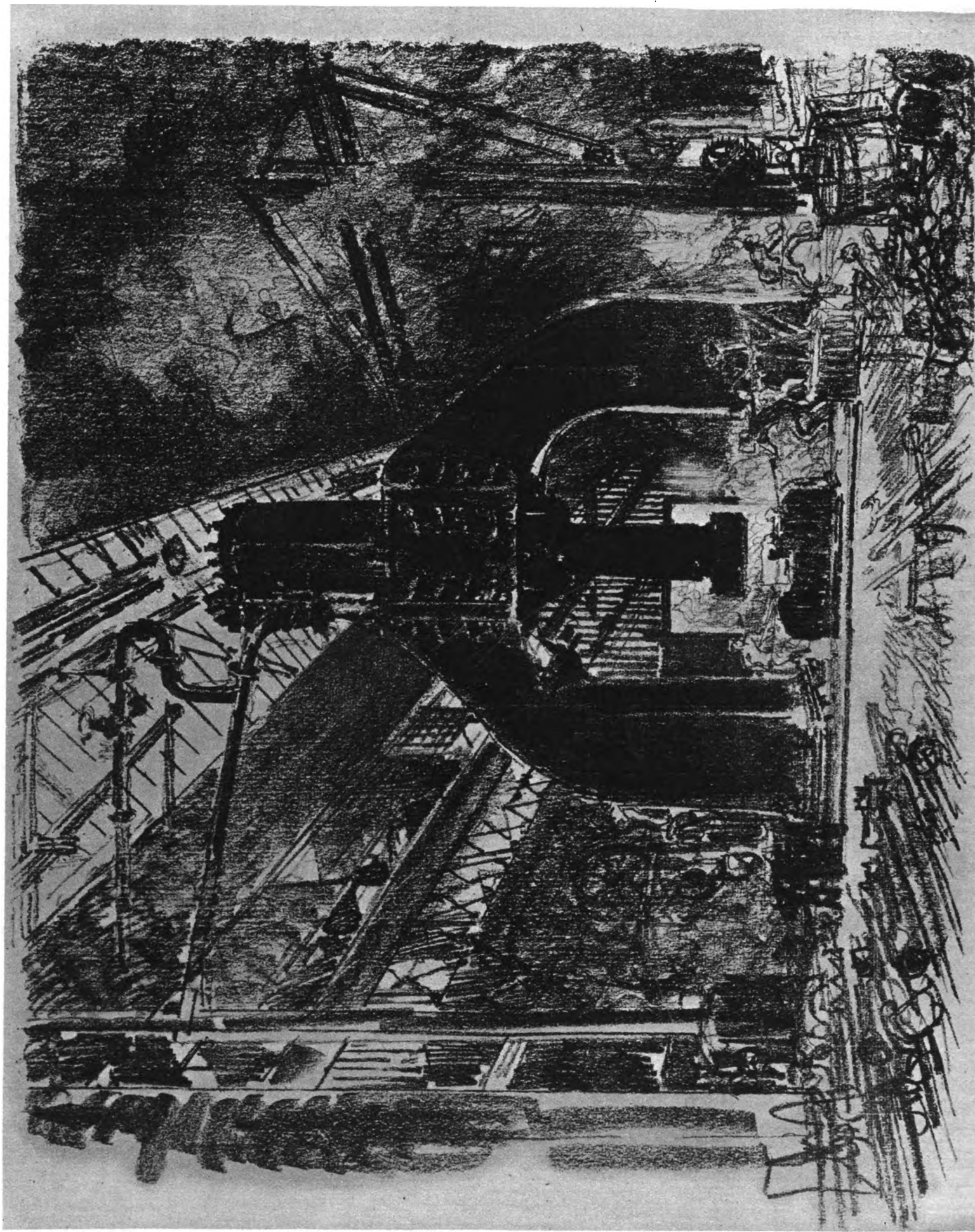
*The Big Guns*

*Gigantic cranes for lifting big guns.*

The above illustration and those on the three succeeding pages are representative of the magnificent series of drawings by Mr. Joseph Pennell depicting work at the munition factories in Great Britain. These

drawings are the result of personal visits made by the artist, with the direct sanction of the Ministry of Munitions, to our mighty centres of labour in 1916.

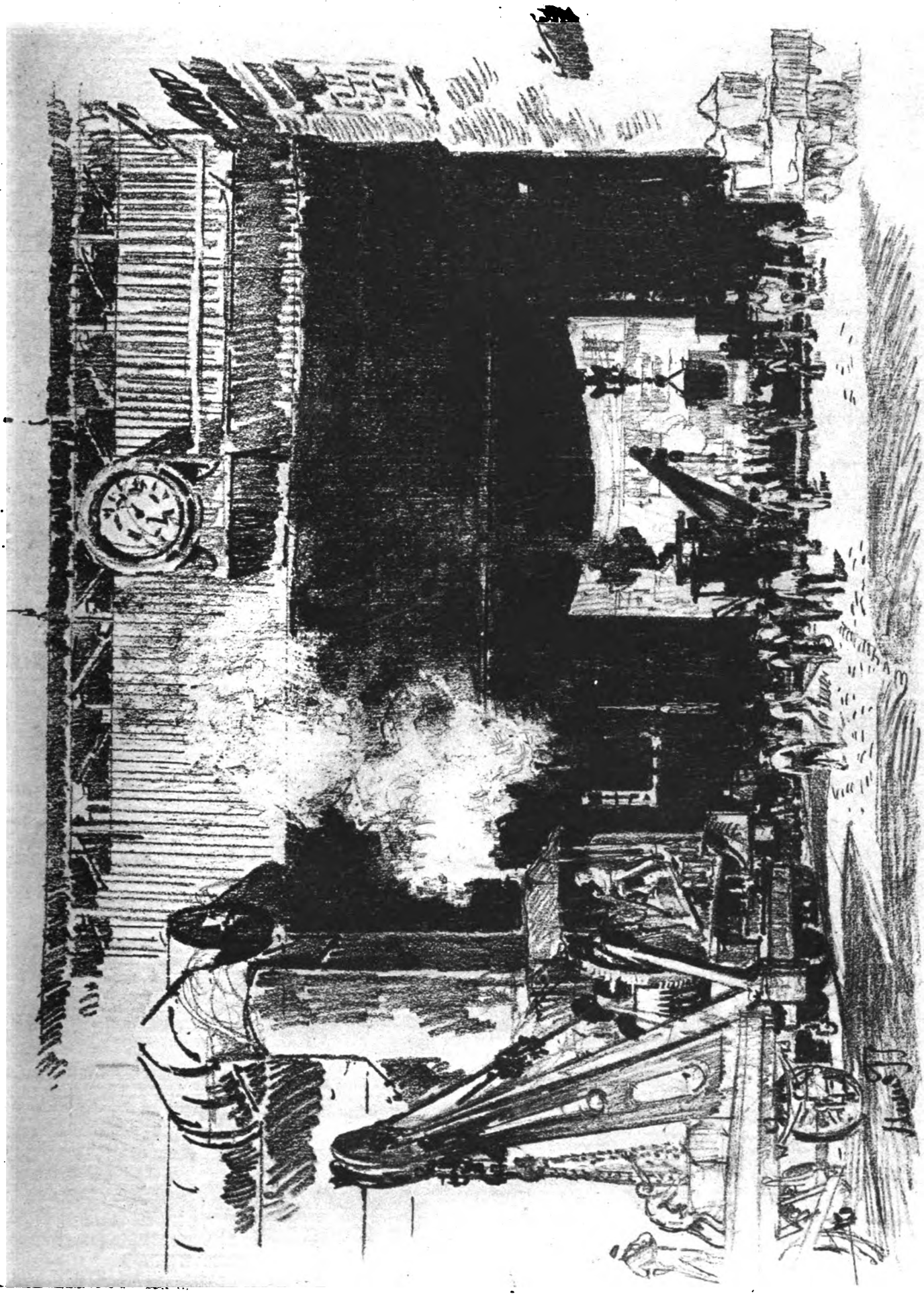




[Drawn by Joseph Pennell.]

*Welding a shell at Vulcan's forge: Colossal hammer at work on the white-hot steel.*

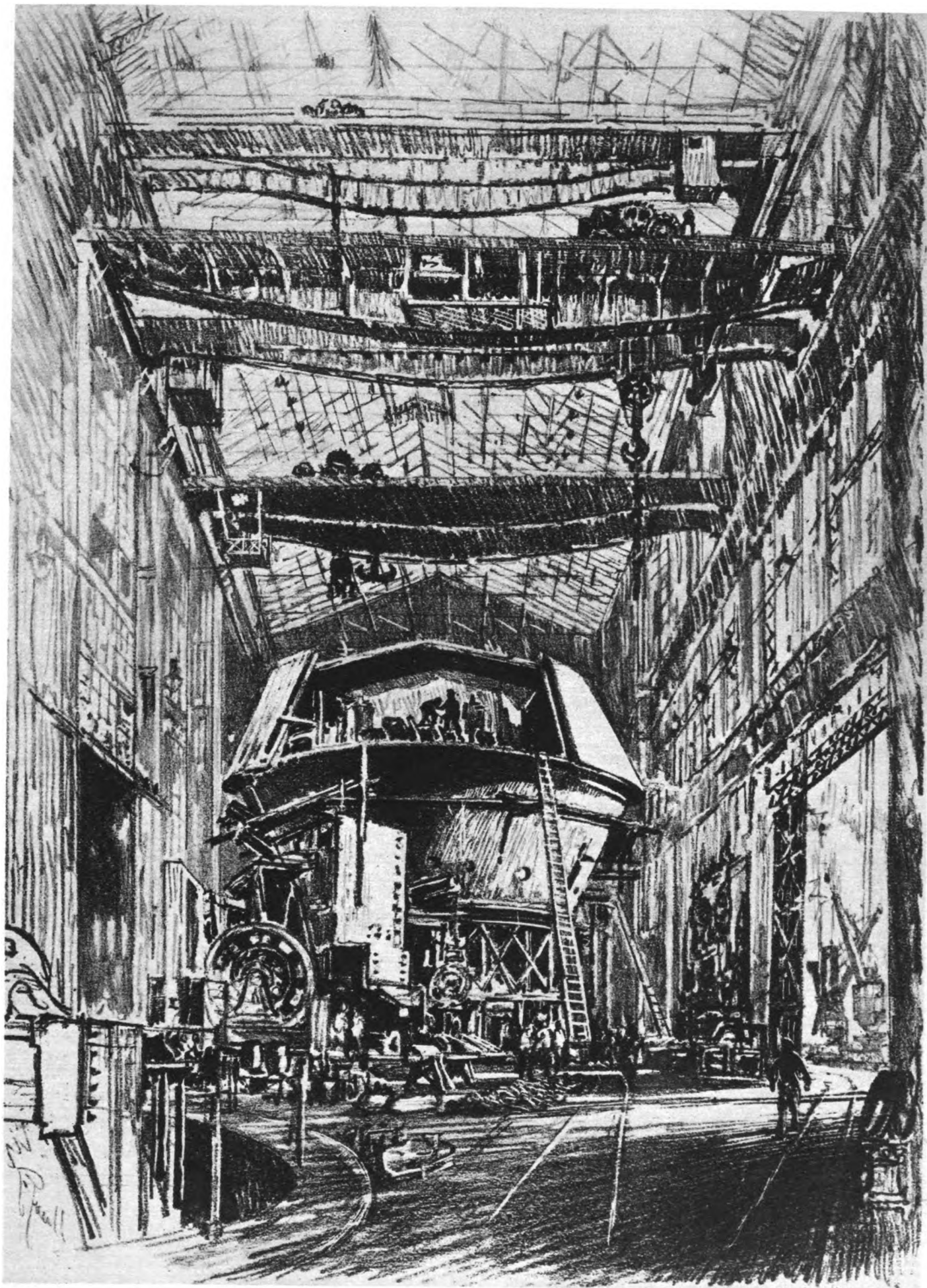




*Big gate of the big shop: Unique scene of British war-time industrialism.*

*[Drawn by Joseph Pennell.]*





*Building a big-gun turret for one of Britain's super-Dreadnoughts.*

*[Drawn by Joseph Pennell.]*



Wood was entirely avoided. In the morning of the great battle several British battalions that had been fighting heavily in the ridge campaign and had suffered many losses, rallied with a fine spirit and set to work to secure the point on which success depended. They advanced against Bouleaux Wood, and in five minutes of fierce combat stormed two lines of trenches on the western edge of the long, narrow copse. The masses of Germans hidden among the shattered trees waited for the khaki line to swing out again for the decisive forest battle.

They waited in vain. A British pioneer battalion was furiously labouring in the captured new outer trenches, and transforming these into a wall that shut the picked German force out of the great battle. The Germans had either to advance into the open and attack, or remain idle while the fortune of the day was going against them for miles along the more northerly position. "You didn't play the game in Bouleaux Wood," complained an enemy officer. "You ought to have attacked us." Instead of so doing, the entrenched

**Morval and** Britons worked along an embankment  
**Lesbœufs stormed** running at right angles from their line and, after a savage bomb fight in a warren of dug-outs, outflanked the hostile garrison of the wood and gained an easy way of approach to Combles.

But long before Combles fell, positions of more importance had been conquered north of the town. At noon on September 25th the British artillery was firing in a desultory way about twenty shots a minute. Abruptly, a thousand shells hurtled upon the German lines and continued to fall at the fiercest speed with which the gunners could feed their pieces. This stupendous tempest of death lasted only ten minutes; then it slackened as the British infantry poured out on the wilderness of chalk and assailed the lines that the guns had hammered. Again all the infernal fury of the artillery filled the sky and smote the earth. The second bound of attack was coming, and the German artillery across the Combles valley and along the Péronne road answered with a rain of shrapnel, through which the British troops worked forward from the cover of holes and lumps of earth.

All the line about Morval was soon a single continuous bank of smoke and flame. Yet in their third bound the Britons reached the hill village lying on the low western spur of the High Wood watershed. It was a knot of caverned ruins and redoubts, all framed by an unusual number of country roads worn deep into the chalk by the traffic of a thousand years. These sunken roads were the strongest positions held by the enemy. His artificial lines of firing-trenches and support-trenches were carried with remarkable ease, as their narrow, shallow openings gave little protection against heavy high-explosive shell. But the wider and steeper hollows of the sunken road, lined often with dug-outs and manned by many machine-gun teams, survived the whirlwind artillery fire and checked the waves of assault.

In material the contest was on fairly equal terms. The enemy had at last so increased his masses of artillery that almost for the first time in the Somme battles he was able to undertake serious counter-battery firing, while maintaining an enormous curtain of shrapnel and high-explosive over the lines of infantry attack.

But the spirit of the Britons was far stronger than the



*British official photograph.*

STEEL HELMS AND BAYONETS.

Fully equipped for battle, British infantry filing into a newly-constructed trench. They were apparently pleased with their new quarters.

spirit of the Germans. They went steadily through the hostile barrage, running after their own zone of shell fire. Checked at first south of Morval, they broke across the machine-gun positions on the north, and then in a furious hand-to-hand fight in the ruins they gradually drove the Prussian garrison into a corner of cellars and loop-holed works. In less than three hours all the village was taken, except for an island of machine-gunners that gallantly held out until the supporting batteries of field-guns behind them retired to escape capture.

At the hamlet of Lesbœufs, on the northern slope of the western spur of the watershed, the defenders displayed less stamina, in spite of the fact that they had been informed by a special army order that their position was of supreme importance. Around the broken farmsteads and white-walled manor-house, fortified sunken roads rayed like the tentacles of an octopus. But the attackers reached the roads ahead of their time-table. They found then only a remnant of dismayed grey figures crouching amid shattered machine-guns and collapsed dug-outs. A few hundred feet away was Lesbœufs, with scattered fire coming from its wreckage. So the conquerors went forward; some fought up the High Street, bombing out the gunners and snipers; others enveloped the village, and the garrison surrendered.

Pure science in attack did not tell entirely in these victorious operations. The force of character of the British private was a grand factor of success. Private Tom Jones, of the Cheshires, was one of the heroes of the day. After the village was captured and the men were digging themselves in, the enemy maintained a most distressing fire over the position. Jones turned to his officer and said: "Let's get at them, or there will be trouble." But the officer thought a charge would only result in disaster, and that it would be better to hold the ground that had been won. The shower of bullets continued, and the man next to Jones was hit. "If I'm to be killed, I'll be killed fighting, and not digging!" said Jones. Grabbing his rifle and loaded with bombs he rushed towards the German trenches. Four bullets flicked his body, but only pierced his clothes. Onward he went and disappeared.

Adventures of  
Private Jones

Then two of his friends said: "He's gone, and we're going, too." They charged forward, and other comrades followed. But when they reached the big hollow, which the Germans were holding, an amazing scene awaited them. Jones had taken a hundred and two prisoners, including





[British official photograph.]

#### A COLLECTING STATION.

A few of the thousands of prisoners captured at Beaumont-Hamel detained in a collecting station until it was convenient to remove them for internment.



[British official photograph.]

#### COUNTING THE PRISONERS CAPTURED AT BEAUMONT-HAMEL.

Sir Douglas Haig reported that after the terrific fighting at and near Beaumont-Hamel, which resulted in the British capturing that great fortress position in the third week of November, 1916, more than seven thousand prisoners were counted.

a Staff officer. He had jumped into the hollow and bombed three men who first showed themselves at the entrance of a dug-out. Then he ordered the garrison to come out, holding up their hands, to avoid more bombs. One by one they came forth and lined up, until more than a hundred stood with raised hands before the Englishman. When his comrades arrived Jones was wondering how to march his prisoners out, without allowing those farthest from him to escape or attack him. But when help came every German was shepherded towards the prisoners' "cage," and Private Jones was recommended for the Victoria Cross by eleven officers.

Between Lesbœufs and Gueudecourt was a long double system of works known as Grid Trench and Grid Support, that extended northwards in a curve some five miles long. Wire entanglements strengthened the Grid, from which outworks also ran at intervals. But the extraordinary whirlwind fire of the British guns rapidly broke a path through the Grid, and in gradual, stubborn spurts the infantry worked through and over the enemy's work into

the northern part of Gueudecourt village. At the southern edge a detachment of German machine-guns, crouching in a redoubt at the junction of two sunken roads, checked the advance on that side and prevented the village from falling at the same time as Morval and Lesbœufs. All the night the enemy garrison held out, but when day broke the encircling movement was continued, with the assistance of a "tank."

This monstrous "toad," with armour-plated hide, had a soul like that of Jones, of the Cheshires. It was brimming over with initiative. In a businesslike way it carried out the task assigned to it and broke into the southern redoubt, helped to take three hundred and fifty prisoners there, and then assisted the infantry in clearing the cavern of the village; from which three hundred more Germans were extracted. When the surface fighting was over the "tank" explored the slopes beyond, like Alexander, seeking new worlds to conquer. It came upon another trench containing a large force of Germans, and a British pilot flying overhead saw the frightened enemy force come forth, waving white handkerchiefs and other emblems of surrender.

It was an extraordinary capture. The Germans numbered at least five hundred. But the "tank" had no room for them. It turned, in more than elephantine majesty, to escort its captives to Gueudecourt, when its machinery went wrong and brought it to a standstill. Thereupon the Germans, gathering courage, assailed their crippled captor. They bombed its armoured skin, shot at the slits from which its guns fired, and at last climbed upon its back and head, seeking for holes large enough in which to drop

**"Tank's" extraordinary capture**



egg-bombs or shoot bullets. The "tank" fought stolidly, as its crew had to wait until the grey figures came in the fixed line of fire of its guns. While it was ringed round like an elephant against a pack of red wild dogs, the British infantry streamed up from Gueudecourt to the rescue. There was a furious battle around the "tank," and when the Germans fled they left nearly three hundred dead or wounded around the modern chariot of war. Behemoth himself was not seriously hurt; the bombs only scarred him, and when the trouble in his interior was put right his fighting powers were as good as ever.

At the time the historic conflict between the land monitor and the German infantry opened, an event of a memorable kind was occurring four miles southward along the line of battle. For the first time in two years of trench warfare on the western front the Allies were recovering a town from the enemy. Hamlets and villages had been won in various advances, but Combles was the first town in Western Europe to be wrenched from the slave-raiders of the new Assyria.

The operation was made practicable by the British conquest of Morval, a mile and a half due north of Combles, and the French advance into Frégicourt, half a mile west of the town in the great hollow. By meeting each other half-way across the hollow the Allies could envelop Combles and capture the large amount of war material the enemy had stored there to supply his large forces lately deployed on the eastern heights. The enveloping movement began in the evening of September 25th, when the British troops that had held the pivoting trench in Bouleaux

**Historic meeting  
in Combles**

Wood sent out patrols to explore the slope to the hollow. All the night the British artillery flung a heavy barrage across the neck of Combles valley to prevent the enemy from removing material from the town. This was effected. Four thousand 6 in. shells were afterwards captured, and the cellars were full of rifles and ammunition. The heights above blazed with the fires of war against the autumnal starlit sky; but in and over Combles there was a sombre quietness. The British patrols, however, found some German patrols in the town, and after a sharp exchange of shots killed ten opponents and captured thirty. Then cautiously the streets were explored by tired, grim men who had been fighting desperately all day. They feared a

trap, and the silence and gloom made them only more careful. Their machine-guns covered every movement made by the advanced scouts. At a quarter-past three in the morning of September 26th a patrol reached the railway-station and saw a group of figures emerge from the shadows on the other side. "It's the blooming French!" "Ces sont les Anglais!" are said to have been the historic words at this glorious meeting of khaki and horizon-blue which set the crown upon the greatest victory of the Western Allies since the Marne.

When the sun rose and the day wore on, the last definite zone of hostile works immediately in front of Bapaume was captured—from Gueudecourt to Combles.

**Prussian flight at  
Le Transloy**

The allied forces, which for three months had gradually diverged towards different objectives on either side the great down-land valley, stood united above the valley at Lesbœufs on the site of their greatest victories. Then there was afforded a striking instance of the observation value of the dominating ridge that had been won. In the afternoon three famous Prussian regiments were launched on a great counter-attack in a supreme endeavour to resume the defences of the Gueudecourt line. They appeared on the rising slope near Le Transloy and were ranged by forward observing officers, who brought battery after battery upon them. Good fighting men these Prussians had proved themselves in clash after clash with the British. But the incessant wear of desperate battle had unstrung them and robbed them of their native courage. Though they were veterans of many fierce encounters, they broke like an untrained mob and at the first shock bolted, flinging away their weapons to speed their flight to shelter. The field was littered with their rifles and equipment.

With certain exceptions the German forces south of Bapaume were generally in the same condition as the Prussians at Le Transloy, or tending to that condition. Among the exceptions were some heroic knots of machine-gunners, backed by regimental officers of the fine, stern school, and some fresh forces newly blooded to British siege warfare, such as the German naval brigades hastily railed from the Nieuport area to fill the gaps in the line against the Canadians near Grandcourt and Le Sars. A Bavarian force, renowned for its conquest of Fort Vaux at Verdun, also came, after a rest, refreshed into the furnace of



KIT INSPECTION BEHIND THE SOMME LINE: AN IMPORTANT ITEM OF ACTIVE SERVICE ROUTINE.





### "THREE MUSKETEERS" OF 1916 IN AN EPIC HAND-TO-HAND ENCOUNTER AT COMBLES.

Combes fell to the Franco-British forces to the accompaniment of bitter hand-to-hand fighting. During a night assault three irresistible Frenchmen came upon six of the enemy. Risking the odds the Pollus charged, two armed with rifles and bayonets, the third with bombs. The Germans endeavoured to resist, but were no match for their quick-witted adversaries. One Frenchman threw away his rifle and grappled the nearest German, the second hurled bombs from a bag which he carried in his left hand, while the third got to work with the bayonet. Those Germans who survived took to their heels.



Bapaume, and distinguished itself by its energy of resistance. But taking, as representatives of its two races, the general body of German forces and the general body of British forces, which had alike sustained the effort of conflict from the middle to the end of September, the German was patently beaten by the Briton.

In a very remarkable communiqué issued from Berlin on September 26th., 1916, General von Ludendorff, the lieutenant of Hindenburg, frankly admitted defeat, but alleged that the Franco-British forces had won the victory by superior machinery. "Our heroic troops," he stated, "had to face the massed employment of materials prepared after many months of labour by the warlike industries of the whole world." But this again showed that the German was patently beaten by the Briton. The "whole world," as seen by the Dictator of the Central Empire and his assistant, consisted of those munition factories of the United States, which were not like most of the munition factories of Japan, concerned only in supplying the Russian and Rumanian front with guns, shell, rifles, and other means of war. If great neutral industrial nations like the United States were able to follow the

**Effect of  
British sea-power**

old example of the Germans and Austrians, and provide belligerents with munitions, their trade in military supplies in the present case was governed entirely by the British Fleet. Owing to the scope of British sea-power no important neutral industrial State, except Sweden, could supply Germany with material of war in any considerable quantity. The Allies' sea-borne traffic in munitions, in despite of the activity of German submarines, was one result of Great Britain's practical mastery of the seas. Another result was the facility with which she transported troops and guns to Flanders, France, Greece, and Egypt.

Ludendorff's reference to the superiority of the Franco-British material of war was the consequence of the industrial organisation which Mr. Lloyd George, as founder and director of the Ministry of Munitions, had perfected in the face of great difficulties. In 1909 Germany had energetically begun to prepare new instruments for a great war of aggression. Then, when her preliminary organisation of all means of destruction proved ineffective, in the autumn of 1914, she alertly made a more tremendous effort, and won another long lead against all the Allies. It was not until the summer of 1915 that Great Britain was moved, by a tragic revelation in the "Times," to organise her industries fully for war. Even then a considerable period had to elapse before the work of the new Ministry of Munitions told on the fortunes of the field of battle. In September, 1915, the northern British thrust above the Loos sector failed because the provision of guns and high-explosive remained inadequate to the needs of the Army. Thus if, as General von Ludendorff admitted, Great Britain, by a miraculous effort of improvisation, succeeded in surpassing by September, 1916, the enormous output of German guns and shell available on the western front, this was evidence that in all fields of conflict the Briton had—for the time at least—beaten the German.



*[British official photograph.]*

**EXAMINING GERMAN MACHINE-GUNS CAPTURED AT BEAUCOURT.**

To the Royal Naval Division fell the distinction of taking Beaucourt, rushing on the way a hidden redoubt whence machine-guns poured a stream of lead upon them. They captured about 2,000 prisoners and many of the machine-guns that had harassed them.

Hindenburg indeed admitted in the most practical fashion that he was worsted. For though it was not publicly known at the time, before the end of September, 1916, he opened negotiations for an armistice. This, of course, was done, through the Imperial Chancellor of Germany, with a view to arriving at a settlement. No doubt there was a secondary strategic ruse underlying the primary significance of the request for an armistice. The Teuton used a double-barrelled gun. He intended by his confession of weakness to make Rumania and Russia slacken in their vital work of strictly co-ordinating their forces and strategy, so that he might strike at the Rumanian frontiers with unforeseen swiftness and strength. But while thus preparing to hit with one barrel, if he missed with the other, Hindenburg seemed to be in earnest in his suggestion of an armistice. Not until it was rejected did he undertake his supreme efforts in munition production and recruiting—the impressment of all able Russian Poles and Lithuanians as "cannon-fodder," the general deportation of labour from Belgian and French territory, and the mass levy in the Central Empires.

The most brilliant and daring of German publicists, Maximilian Harden, conveyed the lesson of Bapaume to his countrymen in the form of an historic parable. He suggested that a certain nation, which had opened a great war under the assumption that it was, as the modern Rome, mistress of the world, was likely to prove only the modern Carthage. Ancient Carthage, he pointed out, would have done well to avoid utter destruction by accepting the position of junior partner of the Roman Empire.

**Parable of  
Rome and Carthage**

Harden might have gone on to remark that if Rome at the height of grandeur had been leagued with the Athens of Pericles, and with a Macedonia possessing large, undeveloped resources—Carthage and the dependencies of Carthage would have been unwise to emulate the atrocious savageries of the Assyrians.

On the battlefield in front of Bapaume, meanwhile,





IN THE NEW ZEALAND LINES.

Sir Joseph Ward, Finance Minister of New Zealand, emerging from a captured German dug-out on the occasion of his visit to the lines in Picardy.

some German of genius seems to have emerged and saved the situation by a superb display of tactical skill. Had Sir Douglas Haig possessed in the last week of September, 1916, a good reserve of capably-trained conscripts, there can be no doubt that the German front would have been pierced. A grand decision hung in the balance. Owing, however, to the delay in establishing a system of national service in England, Wales, and Scotland, there appear to have been insufficient troops in the field to deliver with overwhelming force the final, disruptive thrust.

Germany, distracted by her new Rumanian campaign, threw her naval divisions into the western field as her ultimate resource. Great Britain then brought her naval brigades to the Ancre, and they at the time were all she could afford. The struggle became as close as

#### New enemy tactics

that at Ypres in 1914, when one fresh division on either side might at last have turned the tide of war. General von Below used his men in a mercilessly effective mass. Nearly every division was employed until its fighting strength was spent. Often it was then withdrawn, filled out with drafts, rested for a few weeks, and sent forth again to be worn down. On some occasions this terrible process was thrice repeated, with the result, already seen, that apparently veteran brigades broke at the first new shock. Nearly three-fifths of the entire field forces of Germany were ground in the mill of the Somme, and between them they suffered nearly 700,000 casualties. Germany was thus very close to the end of her immediately available resources, considering the immense fronts she had to garrison in the western and eastern theatres of trench warfare.

With conditions thus set, some unknown German genius of war arranged his country's remaining pawns in such an effective new disposition that a decisive defeat was evaded. His problem was first to reduce the deadliness of the British artillery and limit the effect of the higher power of observation due to the Franco-British position on the ridge and superiority in the air. Next was the task of preserving the German infantry from the terrible wastage of persistent close conflict with British infantry. Both these ends were attained by one means—the German infantry forces were withdrawn to a slight extent and dispersed.

This was the reason why, for a week or more after the rupture of the Grid line, British cavalry patrols continued to be able to scout an uncommon distance ahead of the infantry before coming upon any powerful trap or defensive work. The governing idea was to leave an extraordinarily broad glacis between the German fire-trenches and British assembly trenches. In some places there were a thousand yards of exposed, torn, difficult slope left for the attacking infantry to cover before bomb and bayonet could be used. This much enlarged the defensive power of the German artillery. Then, to restrict the striking power of the British artillery, the fire-trench was manned mainly by machine-gunners well spaced out.



[British official photograph.]

#### AN OFFICIAL CONFERENCE AT THE FRONT.

General Sir Douglas Haig settling a point of detail with Mr. Lloyd George in the presence of General Joffre and M. Albert Thomas, the French Minister of Munitions.

To protect the gunners from raids the ordinary infantry was largely dispersed in an organised system of shell-holes across the wide slopes. Whirlwind shrapnel bombardments, so finely developed by British gunners, did not seriously disorganise the new shell-hole battalions.

Enormous was the amount of shell necessary for the intensive searching of ground in which a score of sharpshooters were taking cover in craters. To a considerable extent shell-hole warfare, with its extraordinary scattering of forces according to the lie of the land, displaced deep trench and cavern warfare.

#### Shell-hole warfare and Hazy Trench

The sunken roads and valleys that seamed the long low undulations of chalk became the backbone of the new hostile defensive system, but this backbone would have been shattered by intensive artillery attack if the roads and valleys had not been lightly held and a considerable force of the holding infantry scattered widely in the forefront, in linked systems of shell-holes and many separate craters. The character of important examples of the advanced shell-hole system is depicted in the name of



Hazy Trench, lying beyond the Grid line. Stormed by the British in the first advance from the Grid, it was abandoned by them because of its weakness and feeble trace. Resumed by the enemy and transformed by him into a source of annoyance, it was at last subjected to serious attack. The British artillery hammered it as if it had been a real trench, with the result that when the charging waves of infantry reached their objective they had the disappointment of not being able to find it. There was nothing to take and hold. Whether the Germans had been buried or had crawled to other shell-holes was a matter of speculation which remained undetermined.

For about a fortnight, from



[British official photograph.]

NEW ZEALAND'S PREMIER IN A GERMAN TRENCH.

The Hon. F. W. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand, paid a visit to the western front during 1916. This photograph shows him on a visit to captured German trenches.



[British official photograph.]

FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY AT THE FRONT.

The Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, at the time of this visit to France still First Lord of the Admiralty, inspecting dug-outs and shelters on the western front.

September 28th to October 12th, a cumulative series of small advances was made on the Bapaume front from Le Sars to Lesbœufs. Often positions of high tactical value were won at astonishing slight loss. Such an action was the progress towards the ruined monastic edifice of Eaucourt l'Abbaye, where the British line was moved forward eight hundred yards, with total casualties amounting only to twice the number of prisoners taken. In other places, such as the low hills near the Péronne-Bapaume road, the quality of the defending forces was high, and the British movement, therefore, slow and

Advance at  
Eaucourt l'Abbaye

difficult. This patchwork character of the enemy's arc of deployed troops, by turns ragged and firm, was no doubt related to the length of time the men had been fighting between the Somme and the Ancre. When at last fresh and rested troops could be found to hold the entire arc, the British offensive there came to a practical standstill.

On September 30th Destremont Farm, south-west of Le Sars village, was taken. On October 2nd the vaulted ruins of Eaucourt l'Abbaye were occupied, then partly

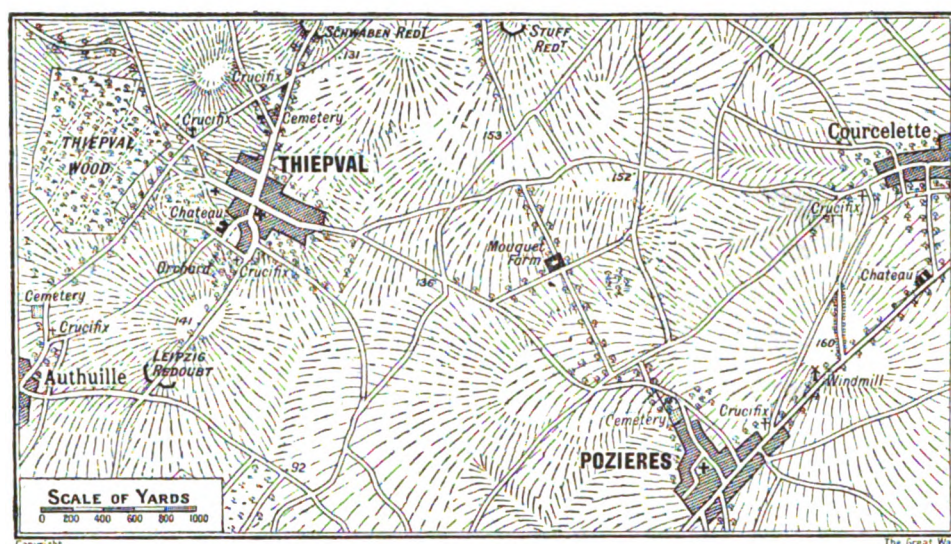
recovered by the enemy, and finally securely conquered by the British two days afterwards. October 8th was another red-letter day in the annals of the New Army. It marked the capture of the cellars and shattered farmsteads of Le Sars, forming the strong point at the north-western end of the old long Gird system of works. It was the twenty-second village captured by the home and overseas troops. The actions at Eaucourt l'Abbaye and Le Sars were one long connected battle against an unusually intense concentration of German forces, consisting of a Bavarian division and an Ersatz division arrayed upon a front of only 3,000 yards. The line also was unusually strong; the first part of it had been the last zone of the original hostile works, and the second part had been constructed at the beginning of July, 1916.

Assault against  
Le Sars

On October 1st a general assault was delivered against Le Sars and Eaucourt l'Abbaye, with the object of taking the first line of German trenches. All the trenches were taken except a short stretch fronting the abbey. But on the east of the abbey a more fortunate body of the attackers broke through the entire German works and, extending north of the ruins, held on there. Then the "tanks" came to the help of the checked British centre and conquered the main trench and advanced into the abbey ruins. One monster that could not move farther operated as a stationary fort, the wounded skipper lying with two of his men in a shell-hole for two days. Meanwhile, the Germans remained in a gap on the west, and both attackers and attacked were ignorant of the general situation. A German detachment crossed the open ground on the north to reinforce the conquerors there, and the men in it were shot or captured. The prisoners complained that their comrades on the northern side must have bolted without giving any warning, as the detachment had moved forward as a relief. Then a larger enemy force came to the new eastern British line to take over the position, and was also tragically surprised.

By this time the German commander, a mile away, grasped the situation. He launched a strong counter-attack through the western gap, and recovered the front trench. The British still commanded the communication from the abbey eastward and northward at nightfall. A day was





AREA OF THE FIGHTING FOR POSSESSION OF THE THIEPVAL RIDGE.

Mouquet Farm was a key position to Thiepval. It was connected with the Thiepval region by underground corridors, whence the enemy had assailed the British line from the rear.

spent in strengthening the captured positions and bombing the enemy farther back. Then on October 4th the abbey was furiously shelled and the entire place carried by British infantry, crawling through deep, grey, slime puddles and by waterpools that had once been shell-craters. Nearly a battalion of Bavarians made a fierce stand in the huge abbey vaults; they hid in dark corners, waiting with bomb and rifle, but they were cleared out. The British soldier was a supreme expert in the art of subterranean warfare; his experience in the matter was large and varied.

When the vanishing abbey was reconsolidated by the conquerors, who found the vaults a paradise after nights and days spent under continual rain, the operations against the neighbouring fortress of Le Sars were resumed in greater force. The Reserve division there was known to be one of the most demoralised. British machine-gunners had fought down German machine-gunners in order to protect from German fire the groups of grey figures that openly left their trenches and walked in surrender to the attacking line.

**Halt at the Butte of Warlencourt** The capture of Le Sars was not a struggle but a rounding up, complicated by knots of

resistent machine-gunners and a number of desperate sharpshooters, including officers of the old school. In the first rush a sunken road running through the middle of the wreckage was taken; in the second rush the troops were out on the farther side, along the Bapaume road. A thousand prisoners, mainly the Reserve division, were taken. East of Le Sars the Bavarian troops fought hard and well, but after a fierce tussle their line was broken and half the ground covered towards a prehistoric tumulus known as the Butte of Warlencourt, where the great British offensive gradually came to a standstill.

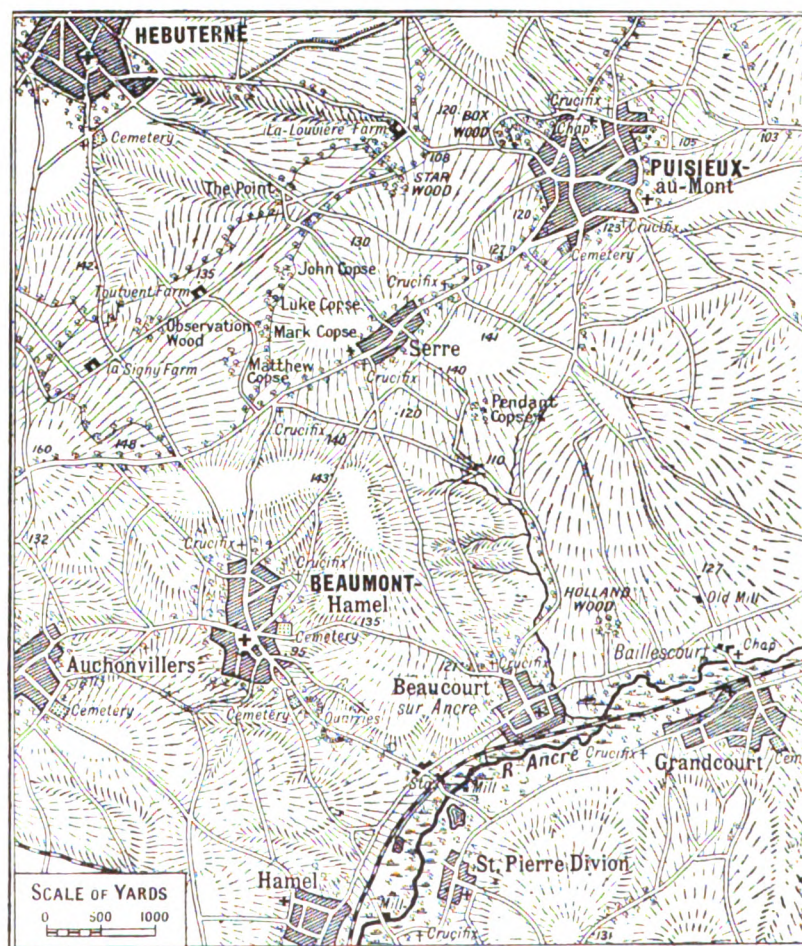
The tumulus stood about fifty feet above the level of the land, and the Germans had dug into this burial-place of some chieftain of immemorial days and transformed his monument into a bomb-proof shelter for a strong machine-gun force, which enfiladed all British infantry movements from the Le Sars and Eaucourt l'Abbaye line.

The butte was bombarded with monster shells, and the battered heap of earth which they left was

carried by the British, recovered by the Germans, stormed again by the British, and again recovered. After a month's fighting, between October 9th and November 6th, in which Anzac forces were engaged, most of the ground about the butte remained in the enemy's possession. It seemed as though the Germans at last had fought their opponents to a standstill, and as if the butte would be the monument of the close of the Battle of Bapaume as the Hohenzollern Redoubt was the monument of the close of the Battle of Loos.

The master factor in the situation was the weather. The autumnal country song of the Somme downlands should run to Shakespeare's refrain, "The rain it raineth every day." And it also rained nearly every night.

Night frosts set in early. Chalk usually permits rain to drain off rapidly; in this respect it is superior to gravel, for gravel is often thin and patchy, while chalk is solid and deep. General Castelnau opened the first great French offensive in Champagne in February, 1915, because the chalk there had absorbed the winter rains quicker than the soil on other western sectors. But the bosses, ridges, and rolls of chalk between the Somme and the Ancre in



THE BATTLEGROUND BETWEEN THE ANCRE AND THE SERRE PLATEAU. Failing in his thrust against Bapaume, Sir Douglas Haig effected a surprise movement across the Ancre, in which Beaumont-Hamel, St. Pierre Divion, and Beaucourt were stormed.





[British official photograph.]

TRACTOR TAKING A BRITISH HEAVY GUN TO A FRESH POSITION IN THE ADVANCE.

the late autumn of 1916 were of a peculiar nature. On Sussex downs, from the Stone Age, men have been wont to make dew-ponds in the chalk. On the downs and slopes south of Bapaume the labours of a million or more munition workers of Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States resulted in the creation of a million or more shell-craters. And for months the rain kept the craters full of water. In the excavation works of the big shells there was sufficient depth of water for men to drown. They drowned singly, by scores, and then by hundreds, and finally by thousands. It was the result of the new method of shell-hole warfare that the enemy had developed.

It was not while charging that men were caught in these deadly pools. The end came usually in the darkness, through utter exhaustion, when the sharpshooters moved about laboriously in the gloom, their boots sticking in the deep slime as they were relieved or came out on duty. Many of them had to work all day in the water of the holes or the mud of the shallow linking trenches. It grew very bleak and chilly at night. What the Germans suffered we can only guess from a consideration of the geographical position and the weather conditions. They were in low-lying land, channelled with valleys and pitted with innumerable earthen cisterns in the form of shell-craters. Immediately above them was a high, long watershed, down the northern sides of which the rains soaked and streamed towards the Bapaume area. All their old works on the dry uplands were places of winter comfort and protection for their enemies. Most of us know what the British army endured in the winter of 1914, when it stood frost-bitten in the marshes around Ypres and Lille, while the German army sat in comparative ease on the eastern hills and ridges. It was long before the German public knew what its main army suffered in the watery craters, frozen puddles, and solidifying slime about Bapaume in the winter of 1916. There are more ways than one of killing—disease is as enfeebling and deadly as poison gas or phosphorus shell. The brilliant German commander who invented shell-hole warfare did not foresee all the results of this manner of holding a front.

Clearly Sir Douglas Haig, at the beginning of November, 1916, was well content with the position of affairs on the Bapaume front, for Bapaume was his to take. He had but to give the order, and his reinforcements of fresh troops of superb quality, including the Naval Division that had proved itself on the Gallipoli Peninsula, would have fulfilled his command. But for good reasons the Germans were allowed fully to enjoy the benefits of their geographical situation.

The British commander and his Chief of Staff, General Kiggell, and our southern army commanders had been studying the advantage of another lowland area. This consisted of the wedge of the Ancre valley, with its rising

slopes between Beaumont-Hamel and St. Pierre Divion. Its conquest would free the British left flank on the Thiepval spur from all annoyance around the Schwaben Redoubt, and transform the lee of all the Thiepval upland into a shelter from the enemy's enfilading fire from the Serre plateau. Farther along the Ancre front near Grandcourt the British troops were on a low slope and exposed to close-range observation across the hollow. The strength of the enemy during the soaking, freezing winter was likely to be improved by operations down the Ancre. For months the heavy British artillery north of the brook had been pouring an intense enfilading fire upon the enemy batteries that faced Thiepval, Courcellette, and Le Sars. There was therefore nothing unusual when the British guns from the Gommecourt to the St. Pierre Divion sectors began to exhibit a fierce activity. It seemed merely to indicate that the forces on the Thiepval-Le Sars line thought of working from the Schwaben, Stuff, and Regina Trenches. But in the darkness before dawn on Monday, November 13th, 1916, the main mass of British artillery smote the German Ancre position from Gommecourt to St. Pierre Divion with a might then unparalleled. As the British munition factories increased their output, until the help of the United States could be dispensed with, so the terrific striking power of Sir Douglas Haig overreached the enemy's efforts to increase the German production of shells. About six o'clock, when a thick winter fog shrouded the marshes of the Ancre and kept back the glimmer of daybreak, the guns divided for their special tasks.

One great mass lifted, and created with its shells an appalling "stationary" barrage on the enemy's communication-trenches and reserve position. Another mass operated in front of the waves of infantry attack and formed the "creeping" barrage that kept down enemy machine gunners and cleared the last obstacle of the advance. Both the near

**The enemy taken  
by surprise**

mobile wall of steel and the distant stationary hurricane of shrapnel and heavy high explosive were operated with tremendous violence. Surprise was the essence of the action. And the Germans were entirely surprised. At some of the most important points they were in their dug-outs, waiting for the "creeping" barrage to move, when the bombers rushed the trench. The German artillery was taken still more unawares than the infantry. Over half the front of advance it did not curtain the lost ground, and the victorious troops strolled about in the open smoking cigarettes. The enemy gunners were too busy getting their pieces removed beyond the risk of capture to drench the lost fortress with shell and hinder it being reconsolidated.

The success was the finest achievement in technique of the British army. In classic method it surpassed the victory of Thiepval and ranked with the French recovery of Douaumont. Practically perfect aerial reconnaissance and forward observation work resulted in swift and exact





**STORMING THE SCHWABEN REDOUBT: SURRENDER OF THE GERMAN FRONT LINE AS THE BRITISH SWEEP OVER THE SUMMIT.**

Schwaben Redoubt was one of the strongest German front-line positions, occupying the crest north of Thiepval and representing the summit of the spur, with a full view over the northern valley of the Ancre. This illustration shows our barrage working ahead of our infantry, who are sweeping over the tangle of trenches, shooting, bombing, and bayoneting, while Germans frantic to surrender wave white flags in the redoubt.



execution. The infantry movement was made on a front of about five miles from Gommecourt to St. Pierre Divion, with the marshes and stream of the Ancre dividing the front into two sectors. The action about Gommecourt was of a holding nature, designed to prevent the troops about the Serre plateau from moving to the assistance of the garrison of Beaumont-Hamel. The northern demonstration also had the foreseen effect of

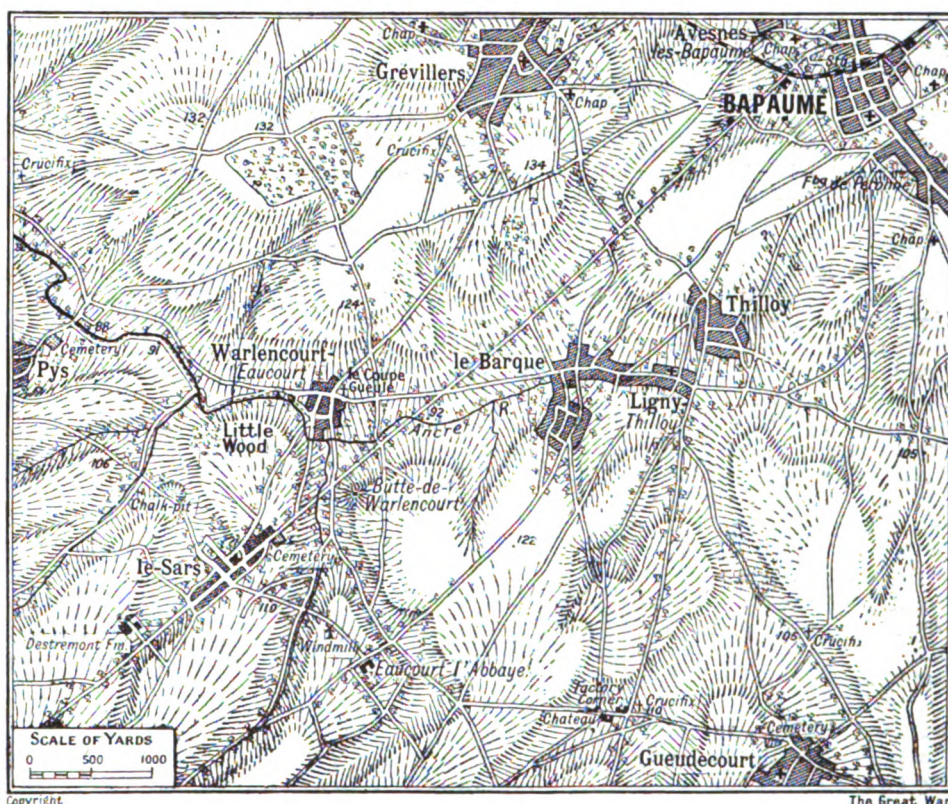
**Bitter conflict of  
Y-ravine** enemy's shell fire, and thus lightening the real task on either side of the Ancre.

The vanished village of Beaumont-Hamel was the main objective. It was reckoned to be the strongest fortress in the German line. The French had vainly assailed it when they held the Somme front. The British had failed there with heavy loss on July 1st, and had again attacked in vain in the early autumn. The houses had disappeared, but beneath their ruins was an underground town. Two cemeteries, two quarries, and a chalk-pit were worked into the defensive system, together with a long Y-shaped ravine sheltered from gun fire. Single dug-outs were of such a size they could hold four hundred men, and beyond the subterranean corridors were underground lanes running to Puisieux. Five lines of trenches with wire entanglements formed the mere approach to the village, which rested in a hollow on a slope rising to the Serre plateau.

Simultaneously with the fine holding advance against the northern side of the Serre plateau that sternly continued throughout the day, a representative force of Scotsmen went forward in bounds behind a creeping barrage. Two days of dry weather had partly dried the porous ground, so that the mud on the slopes was not a deadly impediment. Only at one spot was there a considerable remnant of the elaborate wire entanglement. All the rest of it, not only before the fire-trench, but before each successive line beyond, had been swept away. The trenches and position were so battered that a week afterwards the British sappers were still searching for the mouths of buried dug-outs. Scarcely any resistance was at first encountered, except before the prongs of the Y-ravine. The ravine was full of sheltered machine-guns that no howitzer shell had reached, and the gunners maintained continuous streams of bullets at the entrance. Shelled at this point, the Scotsmen flowed round either edge of the great gash, which ran thirty feet deep and twenty-five hundred feet long, above the Ancre marshes. The Germans, in two years of labour, had burrowed into the steep banks of the gully, and there made caves capable of containing 1,500 men. From the ravine a tunnel ran to the fourth line of trenches in the rear.

Swerving on either flank of the flame-rimmed mouth of the ravine, the attackers worked in the darkness up either side of the gully, passing over two obliterated trench systems with scarcely any struggle. The difficulty of keeping touch in the gloomy fog was fully offset by the cover afforded by the darkness and by the surprise effect produced on the enemy infantry. But the third trench system, flanking the Y, was strongly held by men aroused by the battle, and the Scotsmen had a furious

hand-to-hand conflict. They left the two sections of trench full of dead, and then with bayonet and bomb they turned behind the prongs of the Y, and tumbling down the steep banks assailed the garrison in the heart of their central fortress. Bitter beyond description was the conflict, and while the body-to-body grapple was at its height the British commander skilfully made another frontal attack. The Germans then were trapped. When they swung forward to hold the mouth of the ravine, the attackers in the middle of the gully pressed their rear. When they swung backwards to strengthen their rear, the forces against their front advanced. Meanwhile, towards the end of the Y, other troops broke down upon the enemy. There was a period of murderous confusion, but the Teuton saw it did not last long. First singly, then in groups, he surrendered, and in the afternoon all the ravine was won. One Scots private was remarkably canny. A German officer surrendered to him. Instead of sending his prisoner to the British lines, the Caledonian led him to a suspected dug-



MAP OF THE BAPAUME FRONT: THE LE SARS-GUEUDE COURT SECTOR.  
In late September, 1916, the last German line on the Bapaume front was already partly broken, the enemy being so disheartened that he abandoned more than one position without a struggle.

out and told him to order the men to come out. The officer put in his head and shouted the order, and there meekly emerged fifty Germans.

While the combat in the ravine was increasing in fury, other Scottish troops swarmed over the dip of the hill into Beaumont-Hamel, and more or less captured the village. There was really no village to capture, but the attackers took all the surface positions in sight, bombed some of the entrances to the hidden town below the ground, and stood guard over all suspected spots. This may sound businesslike to the civilian, but it was a wildly romantic affair, marked by great adventures. Mr. H. G. Wells, in one of his mingled moods of Dickensian humour and technical insight, could tell the tale of the Scotsman and the giant periscope had he but been bred north of the Tweed, and there are scores of other fine stories which, we trust, the land of Sir Walter Scott will some day commemorate in literature. Sir Douglas Haig was mindful of the land of

**The victory of  
Beaumont-Hamel**



his birth when he gave to a Scottish force the hardest and most glorious task in all the Somme operations. This kind of intensive patriotism is likely to prove the soundest and perennial source of energy in the flexible yet firm Anglo-Celtic federation that loosely calls itself an empire.

Yet great as were the Scotsmen, they did not win the highest personal honour of this memorable day. Fame fell most brightly upon a New Zealand officer with a Germanic surname, to remind some of the perfervid British Chauvinists that, in addition to King Albert and Queen Elizabeth of Belgium, there are in the world many men of Teutonic blood who are as stubbornly averse to Prussianism as is any Frenchman or Englishman. Lieutenant-Colonel B. C. Freyberg before the war was a long-distance swimmer, born in New Zealand, and at the opening of the Gallipoli campaign he swam to the shore of the Saros Gulf and there lighted flares to induce the Turks to mass in the wrong spot to repel a landing. In the Ancre battle Colonel Freyberg commanded a battalion of the Naval Division that advanced on the right of the Scottish force and stormed the river valley to the hamlet of Beaucourt.

The enemy regarded the valley as a masterpiece in fortification. So it was. But in spite of the network of entrenched lines, with machine-guns working on sliding platforms or beds of concrete on a broad field of fire, the position was not, as the builders fancied, impregnable. In the foggy darkness the naval men followed their barrage through a wire barrier forty feet wide and

eight feet high, which was mown down like grass by the shells. Behind the first two rows of trenches loomed the river-side redoubt, against which English and

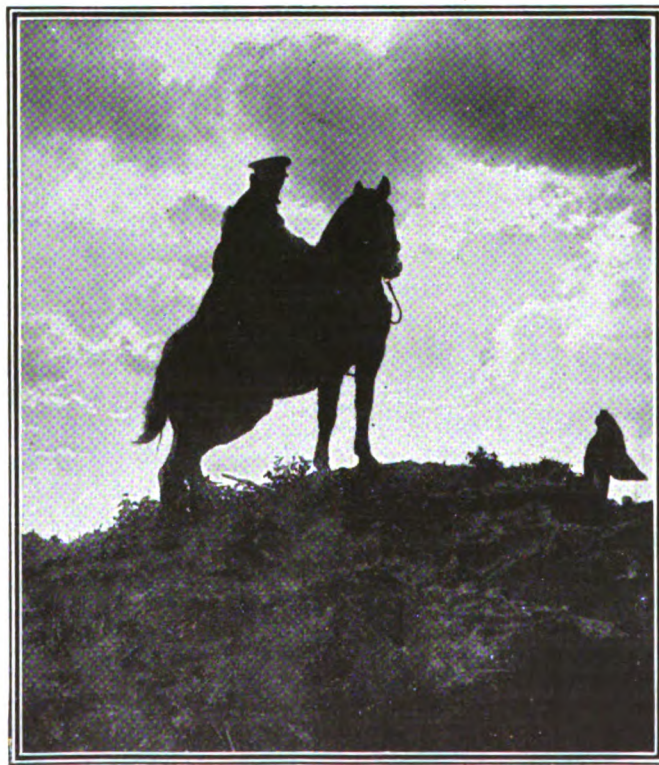
Newfoundland troops had heroically broken on July 1st, while the Ulstermen clung to the high ground by Thiepval Crucifix. The fortress was in a hummock, swelling like a whale's back above the water. Four hundred Germans rose from their caves in the hump of earth and with their machine-guns swept the battalions on the left and held them up. But though the wave of the attack broke against this rock, fragments of naval men got by the post on the right by pressing in the shelter of its steepest face, where no machine-gun could be brought to bear. Then it was that Colonel Freyberg began to work towards a fine victory against heavy odds. He led his own wasting battalion a thousand yards beyond the fort and the checked left wing of the Naval Division, and by grim fighting and brilliant handling maintained the advance for fourteen hours, until the scattered advanced units were lying just outside the hamlet of Beaucourt with three machine-guns to strengthen their lines. Colonel Freyberg had been wounded in going over the parapet, and struck three times more by shell splinters and bullets. But wrapped in bandages he led his men on till nightfall. Then at 8 p.m. he resolved to take the position. He combined a large fragment of two hundred and fifty men of one battalion with one hundred and fifteen men of another, fifteen of a third,

and fifty fine adventurers from the impeded brigade on the left. The night was spent in making preparations for the assault. As day broke, giving just enough glimmer to see the crumble of small ruins, Colonel Freyberg and his little scratch force moved out and captured Beaumont in ten minutes' bombing, bayoneting, and punching.

While the garrison at Beaumont was surrendering to the liveliest casualty in any army, the garrison of the riverside redoubt was being interviewed by a "tank." The Germans attempted no resistance, but thrust up from one of their shelters a long pole with a streamer of white cloth dangling from it. The terror of the "tank" was upon them, as they afterwards confessed. A threat had been sufficient, coming from the toad-like thing of which all Teutons had fearful rumour.

Another "tank" played a terrible jest with some of the German forces holding the third great Somme fortress captured on the day of victories. South of the Ancre the enemy had retained since the charge of the Ulstermen all the slope of downland between Thiepval Wood and the riverside. Close to the water a church had stood about a cluster of houses known as St. Pierre Divion. The buildings had vanished, but the enemy continued to dwell in the cellars. By the hillside, at the water's edge, he made openings that led into the great T-tunnel, running for five hundred yards through the hill. At the end of the right working was a cross tunnel forming the top of the T, and extending for two hundred yards on either side. Offshoot workings from the tunnel led into innumerable rooms and suites of rooms. Then, from the top of the tunnel, shafts ran to the surface of the lower slope of Thiepval down, below the famous Schwaben Redoubt and above the riverside hamlet. Thus any frontal attack on St. Pierre Divion could be met by the garrison climbing through the holes in the tunnel to the hill trench and pouring a deadly fire upon the attackers below. A sheltered communication-trench known as the Hansa Trench connected the troops in the hamlet with the general Ancre front opposite Beaumont-Hamel.

English and Irish troops were employed in an enveloping movement against the St. Pierre Divion position. A flanking force moved northward to the Ancre, near Beaucourt, from Schwaben Redoubt and Stuff Trench, while a frontal force moved in an easterly direction against the tunnelled face of the hill, where the waters of the Ancre swerved down towards the Somme. In the flanking movement from Thiepval the left of the attacking line swung over the hill-top, while the right formed the pivot of the sweep. The enemy had four entrenched systems, with various connecting works on a large boss of chalk, one hundred and sixty feet above the river valley. He could retreat down his shafts to the T-tunnel, where there was a huge store of ammunition. But the enveloping attack caught him, in the fog and darkness of early morning disastrously, by surprise.



A SOMME SILHOUETTE.

Striking impression of a cavalry patrol on the watch from an elevated point of the battle-zone.

Capture of  
St. Pierre Divion





[British official photograph.]

#### VIEW OF THE VALLEY OF THE ANCRE WHEN THE FLOODS WERE OUT.

Weather conditions in the Valley of the Ancre in December, 1916, brought a period of forced inaction, which was exceedingly trying for our troops. When the ground was at its worst many of them were in shallow, undrained trenches, and their chief consolation was that the enemy's sufferings were even worse.

A great relief was taking place along the Ancre valley. The 38th Division was being relieved by one of Ludendorff's new formations, the 223rd Division. The Duke of Albany was waiting at the Somme Headquarters to review his regiment, which had been ordered to move out down the shrouded ravine. Neither division was properly armed. The 38th was laying aside its armament and smartening up its appearance for a happy rest in billets. The 223rd was marching down the riverside, confident of the cover of fog and gloom and unprovided with machine-guns, when the terrific barrages of British artillery roared down from the west and from the south, in an absolutely overwhelming cross-fire of shells ranging down from one ton in weight. Such rapid mechanical slaughter ensued, amid the confused and half-disarmed force of an army corps, as moved even the writer of the official German communiqué to state next day that "important losses" had occurred.

Then it was that the whirlwind method of intensive bombardment, against positions measured almost to an inch by months of aerial study and hill observation, gave wings of victory to the charging

infantry. The relieving division in the valley reeled back, broken and demoralised, so that Colonel Freyberg, with a handful of unorganised scraps of naval men, was able to take Beaumont. The division that was being relieved could not get back properly to fighting trim before the British troops on the Thiepval line fell upon them. Chiefly using hand-grenades in large quantities upon the crowded and dismayed trenches, the attackers had a miraculously small amount of machine-gun fire to encounter, as the confusion of relief work and the fog made many gun-teams almost powerless. Hands went up by the thousand, and after all the slope had been won down to the river, a still more extraordinary event occurred. The German artillery did not fire. The victors sat out on the parapets smoking cigarettes and watching the conflict across the valley. Panic had struck the enemy Staff. The German guns did not fire because they were being moved back in frenzied haste to avoid capture.

The frontal attack across the Ancre marsh and river, against the low eastern sector of St. Pierre Divion, did not prosper with such



#### A BRAVE AND BRILLIANT LEADER.

Capt. (Temp. Lieut.-Col.) Bernard Cyril Freyberg, V.C., D.S.O., R.W. Surrey Regt. and R.N.D. He organised the attack on Beaumont and Beaumont in Nov., 1916, and by his personality, valour, and utter contempt of danger secured the capture of the fortress-villages and 500 prisoners.



driving speed. Charge after charge was made against the village and the hillside; but the enemy's principal line of works remained unbroken. Thereupon, one of the life-savers of the British army crawled over the Ancre meadows and lifted up its steel snout. But at the critical moment something went wrong, apparently with the gear of the "tank." The crew closed the firing-holes and sat tight, and the Germans, as in the affair beyond Gueudecourt, gradually gathered courage to assail the fabulous machine of which they had hitherto heard much and seen nothing. An oldish, energetic colonel was the leading spirit in the affray. He was bent

upon distinguishing himself as the first man to capture in fight the last creation of the hated "Englishmen." Under his orders the "tank" was assailed in every likely manner. Men crawled under it to see if it could be blown up; men crowded around it, just outside the range of their own bomb splinters, and tried to crack its armour with high explosive. Very patiently the skipper of the "tank" waited, watching everything through his periscope. Not until the Germans were close about him in large force did he give his crew the command they eagerly awaited. Then the dead monster came to life, and with every gun firing a stream of bullets destroyed the throng of attackers. The sheltered enemy machine-gunners were next assailed by the lumbering terror, and early in the afternoon the infantry were in the village and beginning with electric torches to explore the great tunnel.

Dead "tank"  
comes to life

The result of the swift and crashing victory of the Ancre was something that could not be measured at the time. It staggered Germany, and led to Bethmann-Hollweg's open proposal for peace negotiations the following month. No doubt this futile proposal was in the nature of a double-barrelled gun, like the private proposal that was made soon after the Somme Battle in September.

The primary significance was patent. The new British and overseas armies had put the fear of death into the hearts of the ruling classes of the German Empire. Between the Somme and the Ancre the common opinion was: "We have them beaten."



[British official photograph.]

WASTE AND DEVASTATION ON THE COMELY FIELDS OF FRANCE.

Section of a captured German trench after bombardment by the British artillery, shattered into heaps of debris and reduced to unrecognisable and useless chaos. Above: British wiring-party going up to the front after heavy rain.





GERMAN PRISONERS COMING IN

## CHAPTER CLV.

DURING THE SOMME OFFENSIVE.

# THE EFFECT OF THE SOMME OFFENSIVE ON THE GERMAN "WILL TO VICTORY."

By Basil Clarke.

**EDITORIAL NOTE.**—In the preceding five chapters of *THE GREAT WAR* our readers have been shown very clearly, and in great detail, the progress of the whole Somme Offensive of 1916; and they have seen how the British Army, starting at the beginning of July with certain initial shortcomings, had, before the end of November, but not without heavy sacrifice, established an unmistakable ascendancy over the enemy. In the following chapter Mr. Basil Clarke, well known as special correspondent of the "Daily Mail" in various theatres of the war, who was one of the Press correspondents present on the western front towards the end of November and the early part of December, 1916, illustrates, by means of quotations from numerous captured documents and interviews with prisoners taken during the later phases of the Somme Offensive, how the whole fabric of German military confidence was crumbling under the increasing pressure of the Allies, and particularly how the improvement in British heavy artillery had brought to the minds of the Germans along the western front their first real fear of doom impending.

Yes. Those damned British have certainly the devil in them. They are determined to pay our beautiful country a visit and to get there by force.—*Extract from letter from his home at Algenrodt, found in the pocket of a German soldier captured during the Somme Offensive.*

**A**s a result of the British Army's offensive on the Somme from July 1st onwards the Germans, as has been shown in preceding chapters, lost heavily in ground and in men; they lost specially-chosen positions on the fortification of which months of labour and all their experience of modern siege warfare had been expended, positions which they had regarded as impregnable and invincible. They lost men at a casualty rate never equalled by their armies in the whole history of the war. They lost also stores and many munitions of war. But in addition to all these losses they suffered yet further losses—losses which if less material, less easy to see and to assess, were not the less important and far-reaching in their results. These were losses in confidence, in hope, in keenness and enthusiasm for the fight, in pertinacity and doggedness of purpose—in all those valuable abstract qualities, in fact, which, fagoted together, make up the one



[British official photograph.]

**KING NICHOLAS ON THE WESTERN FRONT.**  
The much-tried monarch of the Black Mountain (Montenegro) and victim of the Austrian offensive in January, 1916, photographed with General Sir E. H. H. Allenby.

comprehensive military word "moral."

The moral of the German army on the Somme and the moral of the German nation behind the Somme—both alike suffered a heavy depreciation as the result of the work done by our army during July, 1916, and later. In fact, there were competent critics of war who went so far as to assert that the blow to German military and national moral inflicted by our advances along the Somme and the Ancre in this phase of the war under review was the most conspicuous item in all the long list of benefits that accrued to the Allies as a result of that offensive.

This seems a sweeping claim, but it is far from being without basis. After personal investigation on the battlefields, after talks with German prisoners newly captured, after seeing what they had gone through and reading their own accounts of what they had felt and suffered, there remained for me personally no doubt that as a result of the Somme offensive the Germans had arrived at a new conception of what they were





(British official photograph.)

#### RETURNING FROM MORVAL.

Some of our wounded, helpless but happy, being brought back from the front at Morval. Their general cheerfulness was in striking contrast to the dejection of the German prisoners employed as stretcher-bearers.



(British official photograph.)

#### AFTER GUILLEMONT.

Another example of the way in which German prisoners were enlisted in the service of humanity. Four Teutons are here seen carrying one of our wounded to a dressing-station after the taking of Guillemont.



(British official photograph.)

#### WAITING FOR THE AMBULANCE.

British and German wounded, made as comfortable as field conditions permitted by the first-aid care of the R.A.M.C., awaiting the arrival of the ambulance to convey them to the nearest dressing-station.

"up against." Their own oral testimony after capture and their own written testimony before capture (or before the idea of capture ever confronted them) leave no doubt of this. Captured German letters and documents show clearly that as week after week of the Somme push went by the German troops came gradually to a fearful realisation of what war and unsuccessful war might be, of what the British soldier, even the much-scorned "newly-made" British soldier, might be; of what immense military resources those British soldiers had become possessed. And these German writings show further that as week followed week there came to the German soldier's mind the first vision of impending defeat; after that a steady decline in confidence, till the border-line was crossed at last and hope gave way to despair and the certainty of defeat.

#### Decline of German confidence

By means of German writings and documents captured during the offensive I will try to illustrate this gradual falling-off in German moral. First to show something of the battle conditions on the Somme as they appeared to German eyes, and something of the confusion and disorganisation caused by our relentless attacks. Here are a few days' entries from the diary of a man of the 14th Bavarian Infantry Regiment:

10-9-16.—At 11.30 p.m. our 3rd Battalion attacked at the same time as the 19th Infantry Regiment. But they fought against each other, as there is little difference at night between the steel helmets. Every one of the 3rd Battalion officers was wounded and some were taken prisoner. The ranks were very depleted.

11-9-16.—To-day we were relieved by the 7th Infantry Regiment. Also our attacking party is ready, as they have just come. Relieved at 4 p.m. and guided from our second line to our 3rd Company. Trenches quite fallen in; plenty of dead and buried. Shrapnel and artillery continuously active. Now you see men running like cattle, but when they go into position no one is visible. On the way to the 6th Company we lost our way and arrived at our 3rd Battalion, which was attached to the 19th Infantry Regiment in support. Dead and half buried were to be seen in masses, both in and out of the trenches. Heads were sticking out in the middle of the trenches. Six or eight men were lying near me, piled one on top of the other. On the way to our 6th Company, which we finally found after a search of two and a half hours, there were just as many men and corpses buried by shell and men who had not been properly buried. We saw some hideous sights. However, we arrived safely. Half an hour later we went through communication-trenches Floss and Leiter to the third position.

12-9-16.—At 10 p.m. relief for the first and second line. We had some men wounded by shrapnel in going. After being relieved, the enemy's artillery fire became more intense and lasted so until morning. Lively artillery activity all day, also great enemy aerial



activity. British aviators and artillery greatly to be feared. One often thinks their gunners get no food or pay unless they shoot continuously. Owing to their shrapnel fire, fires broke out. Every night our patrols had to go to the 4th Company, which is 550 yards more to the right, and also men from the 4th Company had to go to the 3rd Company. At 2 a.m. one man from each group is appointed to fetch food. This man is exposed to every danger from 2 to 8 o'clock. And what have we to eat for it all—1½ ounce cheese, ¾ ounce butter, coffee in service bottles not fit to drink, water would have been better. The day before last we had tinned meat which stank so much it made one sick. In the evening the artillery fire became less.

14-9-16.—From morning till night very heavy artillery fire of the heaviest calibre. Our position always under fire. Enfiladed on our right. We may thank our God if we come through this.

15-9-16, 1.30 a.m.—Our artillery is lively. The British artillery naturally replies. Every moment one thinks they will attack. Gas shells come. During the hour the 4th Company has had many casualties; we, on the other hand, fairly few. At daybreak, 7 a.m., the heavy British artillery begins with one hundred shots as one shot. One also hears shrapnel and small-calibre shell whizzing over our trenches. We ought to be relieved to-night. The 2nd Battalion had a very bad time in the second line, mostly from heavy-calibre shells.

15/16-9-16.—Apparently as soon as the British get a fresh waggon-load of ammunition they fire it off at us immediately. Their captive balloons look straight into our trenches. Aviators are busy guiding the enemy's artillery fire.

In the above striking document one can see something of the gradual appreciation by the mind of the writer that he and his comrades were confronted with a new and more difficult set of war circumstances than they had been accustomed to. He begins, unconsciously

Self-revealed enemy  
nervousness

no doubt, with instances of the shortcomings of his own army, then goes on to deal with the persistence of the enemy, then with the enemy's superiority in certain respects. As days go by there is an increase in the note of nervousness in his writing, and had that diary only been written up to a later date one might have been able to follow in the case of one man the gradual losing of hope and the coming of despair into the German ranks. Unfortunately for this purpose the capture of the writer put an end to his daily record of impressions.

The diary of a man of the 1st Company of the 66th Infantry regiment (52nd Division), however, may be of use in helping one a little further. Writing about a week later than the previous writer, and from much the same neighbourhood, he says:



[British official photograph.]

GOOD WORK UNDER COMPULSION.

An incident behind the lines at Thiepval. British soldier bringing in two German prisoners, one of whom is seen carrying a wounded comrade of his captor. The other is a member of the German Red Cross.



[British official photograph.]

WOUNDED GERMANS CAPTURED AND "CAGED."

German wounded under guard enjoying a brief halt by the roadside on their way to the "cages" after the taking of Guillemont, captors and captured finding solace in the cigarette. In circle: On arrival at one of

the "cages" set apart for their temporary accommodation the wounded Teutons had their injuries attended to by surgeons of the Royal Army Medical Corps, after which they were removed to an internment camp.



For almost a week this most awful heavy artillery has been bombarding our lines, back and front. With an interval from nine till midnight the British have been sending over the heaviest shells day and night without pause. The dug-out shakes, creaks, and trembles. Now the entrance has again been destroyed. Always this nerve-racking feeling of anxiety that next moment one is going to be buried under the wreck of the dug-out. Up to now it has been all right, but "How long?" is the ever-anxious question. The 3rd Company to the right of us have had again two dug-outs destroyed. Several dead, etc. One is prostrated by this terrible suspense waiting for this awful fire to cease. In this way one becomes a nervous wreck.

#### British air superiority

Letters written near the end of the same month (September) show a still greater German anxiety and the first dawning fear of defeat. An officer of the 170th Regiment, writing on the 27th to a brother-officer farther south, says:

You are still in Champagne and no longer in the witches' cauldron, on the edge of which we here are sitting, always waiting to fall into it from one side or the other. Just now it is very rough here again. In the past few days the air has been alive with aviators, and still more so with heavy shells, which have been flying about our heads and behind our backs upon our poor comrades below us on our flank in Thiepval and on to our batteries. Yesterday at noon



BEHIND THE LINES ON THE SOMME.

[British official photograph.]

During the "great push" of 1916, when large numbers of German prisoners were being taken, such scenes as this were frequent behind the lines of the victorious advance. The British soldiers form a happy frame to a varied study in German facial expression.

there was an intense bombardment frightfully near us at Beaumont, and an attack which is said to have been repulsed. We shall not learn details until we see the official communiqué. You will readily understand if you study the map that we are following developments down there with strained attention. The number of guns—and of the heaviest calibre, too—which the British now possess is uncanny, and the amount of ammunition they fire off is quite fabulous. And what makes it so bad, their airmen are constantly over our lines discovering our batteries so that they may be peppered. They are always attacking our captive balloons, too, which is the same thing as putting our eyes out. Meanwhile, the sky is black with enemy balloons while our German airmen . . . But of that I must say nothing. It would merely be pouring water into the Rhine. Solely the British artillery, the British Flying Corps, and their balloon observation have given them the successes they have obtained in their offensive. That they have gained no more is due to our German infantry. But we could save many thousands of lives if we had the British airmen and gunners. It makes one despair to think of it all.

From the rank and file of the German army about this time (September 30th) came letters that put even more forcibly the horrors through which they were passing and the effect which their sufferings had on their taste for fighting and their hopes of victory.

#### A man of the 66th Infantry Regiment wrote:

Dear Wilhelm,—I send you greetings from my grave in the earth. We shall soon become mad in this awful artillery fire. Day and night it goes on without ceasing. Never has it been so bad as this before. We sit all day deep down in the earth with neither light nor sunshine, but just waiting for death, which may reach us any moment. I ought not to write like this to you, dear Wilhelm, but I must. Again a big attack is coming on! Shall we ever meet again? God alone knows! This is awful!

#### A man of the same regiment wrote:

To-day I have changed my shirt for the first time for twenty-four days and washed myself. That is something. We have no rest from the enemy's artillery. It plasters us continually with guns of all calibres. The roar is tremendous. You, dear father, being a gunner, will know what guns of 9 in. to 11 in. mean and the sort of noise they make. . . . Who thought this wretched war would last so long? People always thought it would be over this summer or autumn at latest, but one will soon have no more hopes. I think we shall have to spend another winter in the trenches. If only this fraud of a thing were over!

#### Letter in shorthand from a soldier:

Dear Friend,—At last the promised letter, but it will not be of the kind I had hoped at first. This is a terrible time for me, a time

of great spiritual trouble. It is not a matter of my own welfare. That does not trouble me much. I have had for a time great doubts as to the result of the war, and for this I have had good reasons. You have read, no doubt, of Thiepval. But I can tell you that for us it was absolutely crushing. According to my idea, every German soldier from the highest general to the meanest private had the feeling that now Germany had lost the first great battle. I myself could not eat anything for eight days. And then the great submarine campaign! After that the friction with America! What disillusionment we had to suffer. For a soldier's heart every moment has become hellish torment.

#### A man of the 1st Musketeer Battalion, Fourteenth Army Corps, wrote:

In the past few days we have been having a very rough time indeed. The British attack us every day and have again penetrated into some of our positions. They constantly follow up their successes. We are in a fix here. If they go on doing the same for a few days more and we are not taken out the outlook is bad—for me. But we mustn't let our courage drop or we are lost. We must call on God to defend us and protect us so that we may come safely out of it again—for to-morrow we are going to be relieved.

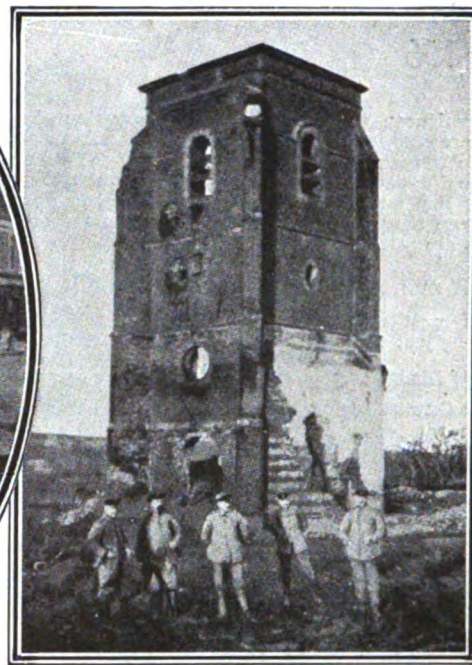
The above writer gives incidentally a quaint illustration of the German egoist outlook. The Almighty is to be called upon for special protection till another German soldier comes along to take the writer's place in the threatened trench! The fate of the trench and of the new occupants seems not to enter into his calculations. His letter concludes with some apprehensions. "I hope the relief will go off all right, for we know nothing of our new platoon commander and nothing of the company."

Through the month of October the tone of the German troops, as revealed in their letters, became steadily more despondent. Writing on October 3rd, an officer of the 11th Regiment Infantry Reserve said:

#### All trenches destroyed

We have now been sixteen days in the front lines and have built dug-outs. The British attack regularly every day. For the first few days we had to live without cover in the trenches till we made the needful holes for ourselves. It was highly precarious. We had losses again as heavy as those we had at Fricourt. From one single shell we had sixteen dead besides several wounded. I can tell you it is awful in the front line. Every day we get from one to two hours' intense bombardment and the fire from individual guns never ceases. You can imagine that the men go through frightful





High School and Church, and (centre) the Faidherbe Memorial, Bapaume. In 1870 a great battle was fought at Bapaume between the First German Army and the French Army of the North, commanded by the famous General Faidherbe. Right : The Church Tower, Grandcourt.



General view of Beaumont-Hamel and (right) houses in that village wrecked by French artillery. After an unsuccessful attempt in June, the British recovered Beaumont-Hamel in November, 1916, the victors being the Royal Naval Division, led by Col. Freyberg, who was awarded the V.C.



The Town Hall and (right) the Place Faidherbe, Bapaume. The pictures on this page are reproductions of some of a series of photographs taken by officers and men of a German reserve corps stationed on the western front between Arras and Péronne. The series has a pathetic interest, because soon after the photographs were taken the great allied offensive began, and in the course of it many of the places included in the series were levelled to the dust.

CAMERA VIEWS OF BAPAUME, GRANDCOURT, AND BEAUMONT-HAMEL.



experiences. There is no longer a question of a dug-out for them. There is no longer even a trench, let alone a dug-out, in the first line. The trenches have been smashed up. The men lie in shell-holes. The dug-outs which we have made in order to get a bit of cover do not fare any better. Some were knocked out by shell fire even before they were ready. The trenches are constantly under fire. We are going slowly back.

A man of the 11th Company, 360th Regiment, wrote :

I must tell you that I am now on the Somme and things are going just wretchedly here. If I come back safe and sound I may indeed thank God. I could tell you much about things here, but I must not. We have had already six days in this dug-out. It is terrible here from morning till night. Our nerves will soon give way.

**Diminishing  
German hopes**

A man of the same company of the same regiment wrote, four days later :

Since October 1st we have been on the Somme. The horrors that go on here I will write and tell you if ever I come through this show. To put it shortly, it is frightful. Could one but get a light wound it would take one back to Germany. Every wounded man goes back. To-night we go into the first line, where the 1st and 2nd Battalions have had such heavy losses. But keep a stiff upper lip.

So far it will be noticed that the letters are those of soldiers who realised that they were in a very "tight place," but who had not completely given up hope or lost all their confidence. The extraordinary difficulties of the position seemed most to impress them, and it is worthy of notice in this matter that troops newly brought into the Somme battlefield seemed as deeply impressed with its awfulness as troops who had spent some time there. The 360th Regiment, for instance, did not go into the line till the

beginning of October, but after one week a member of it wrote about his nerves giving way.

But before very long hope vanished. The Somme came to be looked upon as one vast graveyard for German troops. Men even on coming into it gave up all hope of leaving it alive. Comrades already there warned comrades coming that they were going to their death. More than one letter spoke of the Somme battlefield as Germany's "blood-bath." Here are some characteristic letters, written in the second and third weeks of October, which speak for themselves.

From a man in the 11th Infantry Reserve Regiment :

Hans is dead. Fritz is dead. Wilhelm is dead. There are many others. I am now quite alone in the company. God grant we may soon be relieved. Our losses are dreadful. And now we have bad weather again, so that anyone who is not wounded falls ill. This is almost unendurable. If only peace would come !

From a man of the same regiment :

Dear Brother,—If only this war would end ! You know, it is far from jolly here in the Somme blood-bath. We have been now twelve days in filth. Day and night one has to be on one's feet. Our food is always cold. We are short of drink—only two mugs of coffee a day and perhaps a bottle of water that must be divided among three men. In part the trenches have quite caved in. We walk in mud up to our knees.

**Growth of German  
pessimism**

From a man in the Mörser Battalion :

Dear Nephew Alfred,—I was glad to get your letter last night. I should never have expected that you would be coming so near to me, for Cambrai is only about sixteen miles from here. I am convinced that we shall soon meet here, for your destination is most probably here also, and that is—to your death. Thousands lie dead already. It will not be so bad for you perhaps if you are not in the front-line trenches. But I must tell you at once that anything like what happens here has not happened before in this



ADVANCE, AUSTRALIA!—TO THE TRENCHES.

From their camp at the rear a typical body of men of the Australian Contingent are shown as they were setting forth to take their place in the firing-line on the western front. Many had exchanged the characteristic

felt-hat for the less picturesque but more serviceable trench-helmet. They form a representative group of the Colonial troops who played such a conspicuous part in the epic battles of the Somme and the Ancre.

[British official photograph.]





[British official photograph.]

**GRENADIERS AS ROAD-MENDERS.** Keeping the roads in order is a specially important feature of modern warfare, and the Grenadier Guards are here seen taking their share in this essential work.

war. But if it is your ill-luck to come here you will see for yourself. There is intense artillery bombardment every night which absolutely stuns us. Two weeks ago we were relieved, and our joy knew no bounds. But when we were twelve miles behind Cambrai we were fetched back by motor-cyclist!

From a man in the 110th Infantry Reserve Regiment :

We are here till Monday evening, the 16th. We have had dreadful losses again. I sha'n't get leave I suppose until we have left the Somme, but with our losses what they are, this cannot be long or there will not be a single man left in the regiment. I am glad to hear that Gustav is out of this filthy business. You can form no idea of what we suffer here. Perhaps you think the offensive is like the one in Champagne. Here the filth reaches over eighteen inches above one's boots. The British attack almost daily. The dead lie all around. But I won't go on telling of all this misery. Only one thing—if we are here for long I shall hardly see you again. Painful as it is for me to write you like this, it is my duty. Oh, if only this ghastly war would come to an end!

The following letter is an illustration of the utter abandonment of hope :

Dear Ewald,—You will wonder at this letter I am sending you to-day, and I cannot properly explain it myself. If after reading it you think it is nonsense you can burn it, of course. Perhaps it is due to a presentiment, perhaps to melancholy. You will think: Has he time to brood over things? But neither you nor anyone

**Foreseeing the end.**

can understand unless you have been in the field here. Of those who are here—and on all our fronts—a very small number will ever see their homes again. And your class and year recruits will not be the last to fall victims to this murder, which was begun by a Higher Power. It is decreed by this Power that we shall be completely annihilated. The sooner we acquiesce the sooner will the end come, for the end will come after all. Since we shrink from confessing this it will be all the longer. And, after all, it has only been slow suicide.

The discomfort, depression, horror, and terror suffered by those German soldiers on the Somme were not without

their natural product—resentment. The soldiers resented the work that had brought about the war; they resented the methods by which the war was carried on. Officers and even the highest powers of the German State began to come in for burning criticism. Who was responsible for this deplorable state of affairs, for this wholesale slaughter, this appalling discomfort and all else? These questions clearly began to occupy the mind of the German rank and file, and letters curiously fearless and desperate, considering that any one of them might be read by censors and visited upon the heads of the writers, were written from the dank dug-outs and trenches of the Somme to friends and relatives away back



[Canadian official photograph.]

**SOLDIERS FROM CANADA ROAD-MAKING IN WESTERN FRANCE.**

Men of the Western Dominion—accustomed, maybe, to paying taxes in the form of work on the making of public roads—found a comparatively congenial task on captured ground of the western front in France in preparing the way for further operations.

in Germany. And with this growing resentment there came also loss in moral. In men harbouring such ideas the fighting spirit could not remain at the old level. A curious attitude of "What is the use of it all?" crept into their letters; officers and Government were scoffed at, and even in writing there were confessions of a deliberate intention to shirk the fight and its duties and risks whenever occasion for doing so offered. Here is a characteristic letter, written during October, by a man of the 3rd Ersatz (Reserve) Regiment :

Dear Grete,—The war of 1914-16 is a low, scoundrelly affair, and the Prussian Government is just as guilty of it as any other Government. It is carried on with the object of murdering men so that the Government may keep the upper hand. The officers we have up to the rank of captain are mostly boys who have no idea of anything. They draw good pay and get good food and drink in abundance. We, on the other hand, live miserably, and don't even receive what we should. The German papers are always writing about other States, but the German Government is far worse. It deceives the people in a shameless way. One sees it now very clearly in this wholesale murder. One can hardly help being ashamed of being a German since we put up with all this. We should really turn our rifles round and destroy the whole



Government. If, dear Grete, I should happen not to return, remember what I have written to you about it all, and that "the gang" have caused us to be killed for mere sport. It is different with the enemy; he has not nearly so many losses. If only one of us shows himself they let fly plenty of ammunition, but even though they may be working in hundreds without cover our guns do not fire. They are not allowed to do so, for there is a shortage of ammunition. Yet the newspapers write that it is the enemy who is short of ammunition—by which they mean that we ourselves are.

It is already quite clear that Germany is losing and is getting into a terrible state. For the upper ten thousand this may not be so bad, but for the poor people and the soldiers it is pitiful. In Germany the poorer people are just as grievously deceived as we are here. At first it grieved me very much to see what the officers squandered and the material they wasted. But now they cannot waste enough to please me. In fact, the thing to do is promptly to bury whatever material there is to carry when one is a member of a working-party—whether it is wood or nails or cement. For the sooner that the money is at an end the sooner this murder on a large scale will cease. We get lousy and completely ruined here. In the line the officers live in bomb-proof dug-outs; we, on the other hand, have filthy, wet, tumble-down holes. And the pig of a feldwebel lieutenant says: . . . [very coarse]. That is what a German officer will say to men who are fathers of families! Our officers are incapable of making war. I have heard it only too often from old soldiers that under proper leadership we should often have been able to do something without such heavy losses. If the young officers would not swagger so much, and would treat the men more like human beings, we should be more content and more would be accomplished. But we loathe our officers. We are bound to do. But the whole thing is nothing more than a swindle. In this wholesale murder we realise how completely we are under the knout. In a way, it is a piece of luck that all men are in this universal slaughter-yard, for all will be enlightened. Even the women in Germany must be getting to know how badly we Germans are cheated and deceived.

#### Spirit of revolt

Here is another letter showing a similar intention to shirk all work and danger as much as possible:

Dear Jacob,—If only this terrible swindle would cease and let us get home . . . I can assure you that when I am in the trenches no work will be done. And, further, I shall not go in front of the trenches. What is the use?

Were such letters as these the exception? Without corroboration of some sort it would be hard to believe that this spirit of revolt and slackness was in any way common among the German troops who were bearing the

brunt of the repeated British attacks at this time. But there is ample corroboration from other sources that this fall in the moral of the Germany Army was very widespread, and, in fact, that some regiments were in a state not far removed from mutiny and refusal to fight. Desertions and surrenders became more common than ever before. Every Army, of course, has its "slackers," who will rather lay down their arms than fight, but the German Army, after the first few months of our offensive on the Somme, reached a state in which this spirit was dangerously prevalent. Malingering in all its forms was tried with a view to escape from service in the trenches; and not by privates and non-commissioned officers alone, but even by commissioned officers. Several German soldiers' letters that came under my notice made sneering comments upon sprained ankles, neuralgia, chills, and other minor ailments "mysteriously contracted" by officers near the time when their turn to take duty in the line fell due. In the Bavarian regiments desertions became very common. Their men would cross the lines at night and come towards our trenches with uplifted hands, and with pleadings not to be shot at. A prisoner of the 393rd Regiment, taken at Courcellette, said that they had surrendered without firing a shot. The sentries had purposely refrained from giving the alarm when our men attacked, so that all might be captured without being forced to offer a resistance.

Incidentally, the following German Order, captured at Courcellette, though referring to a slightly earlier period, throws some light on German discipline in that district:

#### IMMEDIATE.

To the Camp Commandant, Courcellette.

I request that in view of the relief of Infantry Reserve Regiment 121 by Infantry Reserve Regiment 99 taking place this evening, and in order to prevent drunkenness and excesses, all canteens in Courcellette should be immediately closed until the relief has been completed. There are a great many men belonging to different formations who are very drunk already this evening, which, considering that they are going into line to-night, is a serious matter.

(Signed) JOANNANT.

Prisoners of the 361st Infantry Regiment gave further striking testimony to the loss of moral among German troops. They stated that, after their regiment had lost 1,300 men in a fortnight, officers refused to lead their men to the front line, and that several companies on being ordered to march into the trenches refused to move.

Prisoners of the 74th Landwehr stated that one of their officers had told them, during a fearful preliminary bombardment by the British guns, that as soon as our men came over the trenches to attack they were to surrender.

In support of these amazing confessions—which, taken alone are perhaps not very sound evidence, seeing that they are the statements of prisoners, with whom it is always customary to put the best light on their actions and to make excuses for their conduct—there is the additional evidence of German "Orders of the Day" which made open reference to "many cases" of cowardice and refusal to obey orders. One "Regimental Order" read: "I must state with greatest regret that the regiment during its change of position had to take notice of the sad fact that the men of four companies, inspired by shameful cowardice, left their



[British official photograph.]

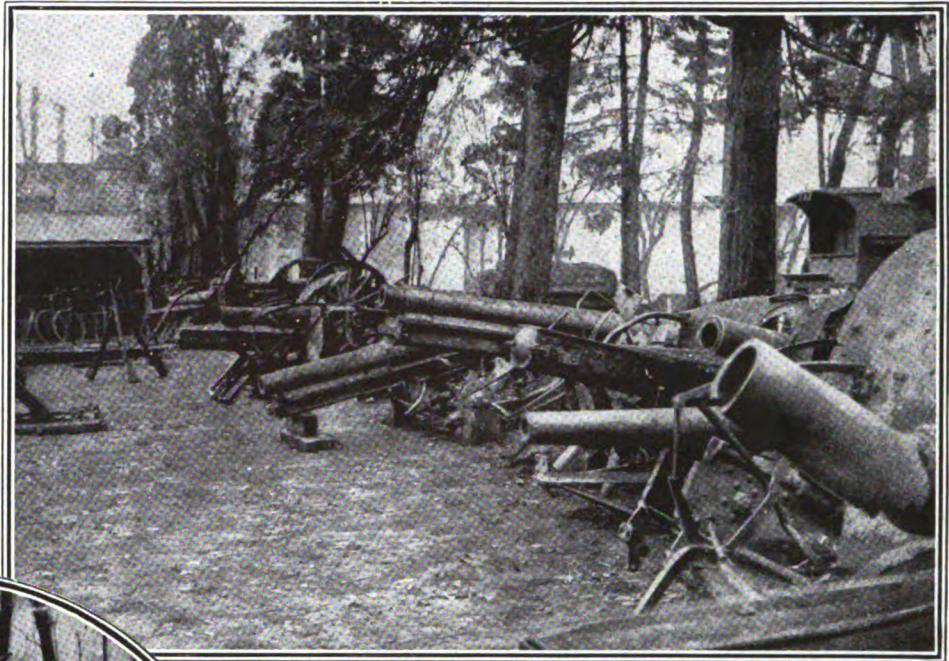
ABANDONED BY THE GERMANS ON THE SOMME FRONT.

Part of a great heap of bombs, grenades, and miscellaneous stores which the Germans were forced to leave behind them when they were driven out of St. Pierre Divion during the great advance on the Somme. The abandonment of such materials indicates the rapidity of the "push."



companies on their own initiative and did not move into line." Another Order said: "Proofs are multiplying of men leaving their positions without permission and hiding at the rear. It is our duty—each officer at his post—to deal with this fact with energy and success."

Measures taken for dealing with this state of things were noteworthy more for their "energy" than for their "success." Executions for cowardice and for dereliction of duty became numerous. Prisoners state that a reign of terror was instituted in several regiments. Men were shot in batches. The choice confronting the reluctant fighters was that of being shot by the British if they went into the



[French official photograph.]

GERMAN ARTILLERY FROM THE SOMME FRONT.

Many in number and varied in character were the specimens of artillery captured during the advance on the Somme front. These pieces, among those taken by the French, bear distinct evidence, in battered wheels and carriages and even broken muzzles, of the severity of the attack.

up to German soldiers the example of the enemy, the hated British soldier and his fortitude and valour. Of this there is actual record in German Regimental Orders which were found in captured positions. One of them was in the following striking terms:

To the hesitating and faint-hearted in the regiment I (the commanding officer) would say these words: What the Briton can do the German can do also. But if, on the other hand, the Briton really is a better and superior being, he would be quite justified in his aim as regards this war—which is the extermination of the German.

There is a further point to be noted. This is the first time the regiment has been in the line on the Somme, and, what is more, we are here at a time when things are relatively calm. The British regiments opposing us have been in the firing-line for the second—and in some cases for even the third—time. Heads up, therefore, and play the man!

After this Order, which must have come as a last effort to spur on the German soldier, I will say no more on the fall in the moral of the German soldier than merely to record the fact that in December there were numerous desertions from even the Prussian Guard Division—a division which had hitherto stood for all that was most valiant in the German Army, and which had often given battles royal to some of our own finest troops.

The next point for consideration is this one: Admitting that German troops on the Somme suffered a serious set-back in moral as the result of our offensive, to what extent did this affect the German Army as a whole?

Careful researches go to show that the average life of a German division in the Somme offensive was about three weeks, after which it had to be taken out to be re-formed. Many of them were past re-formation, and were virtually wiped out. During the first ten weeks of the offensive fifty-three divisions were pitted against the British in this battlefield, and only fourteen of these fifty-three remained in the line at the end of that time.

By early December another sixty-seven divisions had known the horrors of that battlefield, making in all no fewer than one hundred and twenty divisions to pass through this awful ordeal. Many of those divisions, or, rather, the broken remnants of them, left the Somme to be scattered over the whole field of war, wherever Germany



[French official photograph.]

FROM "KULTUR'S" ARMOURY IN THE WEST.

Various forms of the weapons used by the Germans and captured by the French during the fighting on the Somme. In the foreground are two of the "flame-throwers" which the enemy, in defiance of civilised usage, introduced into warfare.

front trenches or by their own men if they loitered behind. Men had thus to be driven into the trenches. Undoubtedly many of them went forward with no other motive than that of deserting at the first opportunity. They waited their chance, and then made their way across the lines towards our trenches. Moonlight nights were especially favoured by them for this purpose. For then the British could see in good time the number of the men approaching the lines and their state as to being armed or not. In the moonlight nights of early December great numbers of the enemy came over in this way. More would probably have come but for the fact that our men were not always in the mood to treat them very graciously. That our men had a curious reluctance to taking deserters in this way was made clear to me more than once. One amusing objection was related to me in these words by a North-country soldier: "The blighters come over here in the night and eat up every bit of grub we've got in the trench."

When desertions and refusals of duty increased instead of diminishing, the German Command was reduced to the expedient—unprecedented, I think, in this war—of holding

German divisions  
wiped out



had troops. There would not be a theatre of war in which the dreadful tale of German losses and suffering on the Somme would not be the talk of every tent, billet, and mess. Each remaining soldier of those divisions would be as a missionary of "doubt"—doubt of Germany's chance of escape from her foes. And with that tale and its telling there would go into each listener's ear the true story of the New British Army—its men and its guns. Though the war was not yet finished, nor the Somme offensive yet over, a new respect and fear of British arms and doubt in his own would grip the German soldier's mind from that moment.

To what extent were the German people affected by the Somme defeats? Was the full sinister significance for Germany of these dreadful months ever allowed to reach the civil population of the country? The German soldiers' letters that have been quoted give ample illustration of what these writers would have told their friends and relatives if they could. But how could such letters ever have passed the German censors, who, as has been well established, kept a lynx eye over all correspondence going from the front to friends at home? Whether such dolorous letters would ever have reached their destination if they had not fallen into the hands of victorious British troops does not matter much, for if such letters did not reach home the writers of such letters reached home in their thousands—wounded and sick in mind and in body. The tale that they would pour out upon the bosoms of wives and mothers as they lay wounded and broken would be the very same tale as is told in those heart-broken letters from the trenches and dug-outs of the Somme. And that dreadful tale would now be told not in cold ink

on cold paper but with living voice, in fullest detail, and with the glistening eyes and the shattered, shuddering frame of the speaker to illustrate the horrors of which he spoke. Undoubtedly the true tale of the Somme reached the homes of Germany quite safely.

Here are one or two letters written from Germany to men in the Somme trenches, showing how the news was percolating through in spite of all censorship.

Letter to a man of a Bavarian infantry regiment :

Things must be dreadful on the Somme. From what soldiers tell us who have been there it is hellish. But the papers only give the casualties of the enemy, while ours must be infinitely worse. —S. Kleintz.

A letter from Karlsruhe to the same man :

So you are fighting on the Somme! It seems terrible. We shall soon have had enough of it. It cannot go on much longer. At home here we have nothing more to eat. Last night we had an air-raid alarm and sat again in the cellars.

To a man of Infantry Regiment 153 :

Bitlorfeld.

Is not this world-conflagration ever to be extinguished? To-day men of 47 and 48 years went off. One's heart could bleed. Fresh soldiers again and again go off. Opitz's son is among the fallen on the Somme. Every day these dreadful sacrifices! What can come of it all?

To a man of Infantry Regiment 66 :

Brunkau.

So the British want to break through on the road to Bapaume? It is to be hoped they will not succeed. Also with the French on the Somme. Everywhere it is frightful. If only their superiority does not become too great! It seems hardly possible for you to withstand the assaults of your enemies.

To a man of Infantry Reserve Regiment 77 :

Luneberg.

I see from your letter that you have gone with your regiment to the Somme. May Heaven protect you in that dreadful place! I only wish that you may be made prisoner. I agree with you that those at home can form no idea of what you have to go through there. If some at home could do so, they would not fleece the mothers and wives and children of those who are fighting there, and suck their blood in the way they are doing now. One's blood freezes in one's veins when our shameful band of profit-snatchers shout out daily from their well-gorged throats: "Hold out!"

To a man of an infantry battalion, Fourteenth Army Corps :

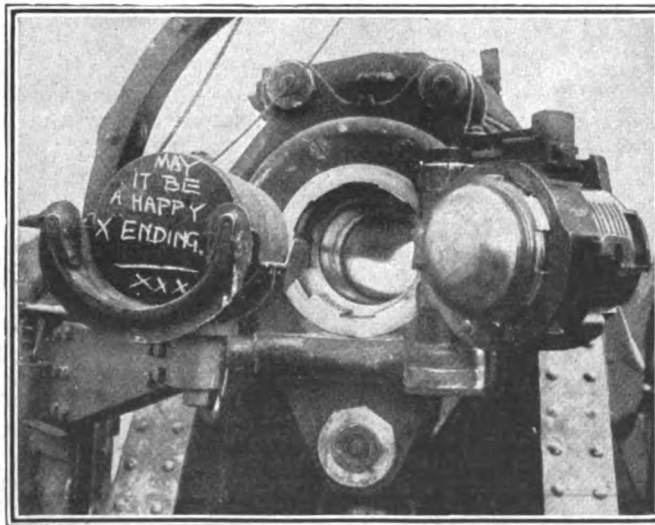
Every day whole trainfuls of wounded arrive here from the Somme. Do take care to get away from that dreadful place.

"That dreadful place"—so the Somme became known to German civilian and soldier alike, and on the Somme German military moral touched its lowest point since the beginning of the war.

Remembering the undoubted heroism of German troops at earlier periods of the war—their wonderful self-sacrifice, for instance, on the banks of the Yser, before Verdun, and elsewhere—one hesitates to believe that the horrors of unsuccessful warfare were alone responsible for this great lapse in fighting spirit. There were two further outstanding causes for it. In the first place the regiments that faced the British on the Somme and the Ancre in November and December were very different in make-up from the regiments that fought even in July. The men were less fine physically, and had had less military training. Some of them were well on in years while others were very young, the explanation being that all recent drafts into the regiments had been drafts of middle-aged men or of youngsters of the 1917 class. These latter were undoubtedly keen as fighters, but they had neither the strength nor the training of the older German soldiers. Of the best type of German soldier—the type that fought so resolutely, if so unsuccessfully, on the Yser—relatively few remained. Watching the prisoners coming into the "cages" after Beaumont-Hamel and the other fights of mid-November, many a British onlooker, myself among them, remarked upon the altered physique and bearing of the German troops. The finest type of German soldier was in the minority.

One of the German officers captured on that day, a member of a brigadier-general's Staff, was questioned about this falling-off in the appearance of the troops, and he made a frank admission. "The German soldiers of to-day," he said (as reported by a writer of the "Petit Parisien") "are in no way comparable with the soldiers who fought under Von Kluck and Von Bülow two years ago. The finest troops of Germany, of which she was so proud, have melted away under the fire of the French and British guns. There now remain so few of them that they can only be used to stiffen regiments of young recruits and middle-aged men. The young ones go bravely into the fight and let themselves be killed, but they know nothing about warfare. The old ones, on the other hand, have no heart for war and fighting, and never lose an opportunity of surrendering. They are mere dummies, not fighters at all." This candid officer added that, if the Allies did pierce the lines on the Somme, Bapaume must fall.

#### Deterioration of fighting spirit



[British official photograph.]

#### A SOMME MESSAGE.

With a handy piece of chalk the British soldier often indulged his ever-ready humour in such a manner as this, the words roughly inscribed on the gun being the "compliments" that accompanied the shell upon its way into the lines of the enemy.





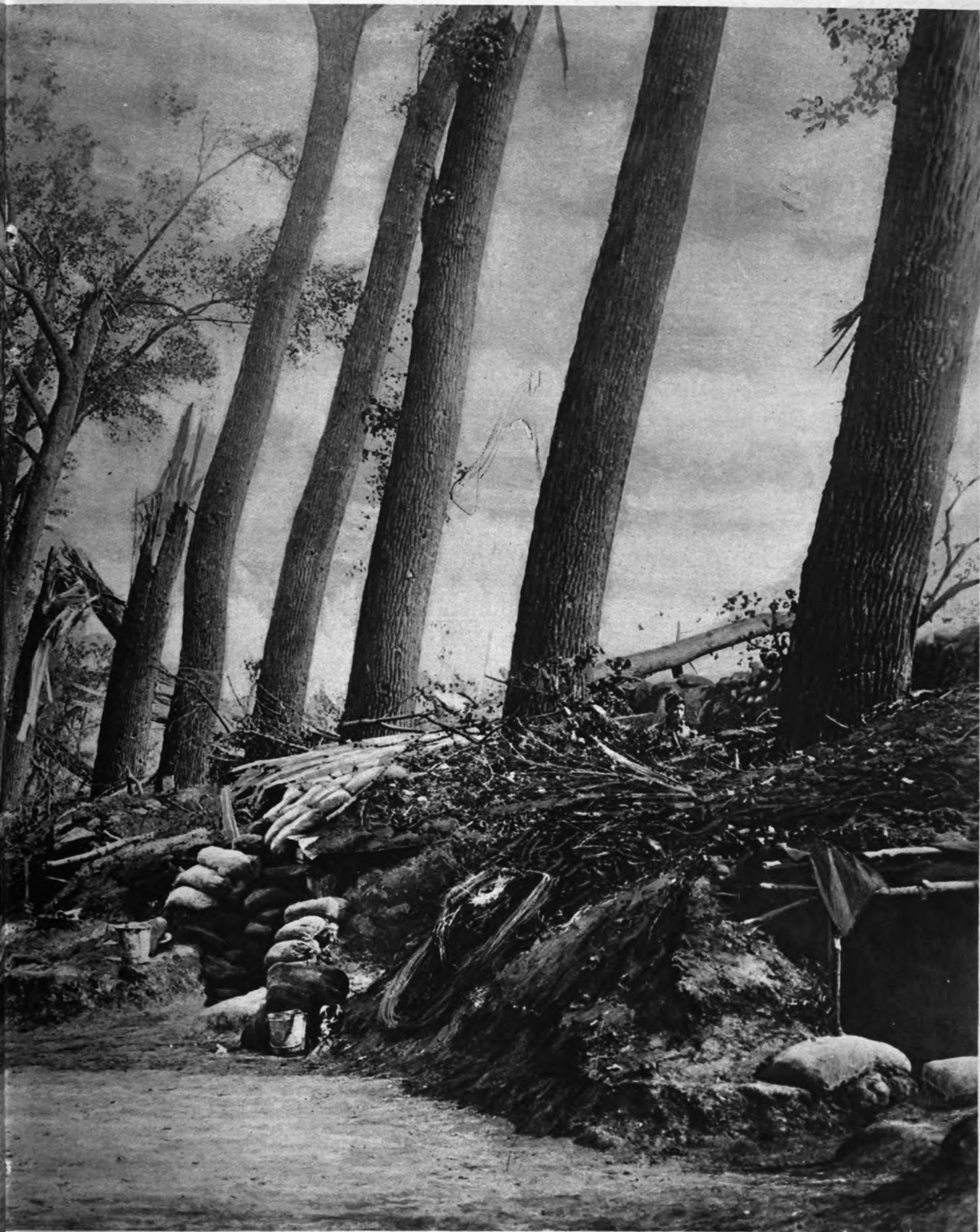
*General Robert Nivelle, Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the North and North-East.*





*Sand-bagged shelters and soldiers' graves in a shell-shattered avenue of*





*Trenches along the borders of the Yser Canal between Boesinghe and Lizerne.*





*Mitrailleuse section of the Belgian Army heading a march to the front.* [Belgian official photograph.]



*New fleet of armoured cars built for the reconstituted Belgian Army* [Belgian official photograph.]



Without accepting all that this candid enemy had to say in criticism of his own troops, there was undoubtedly more than a grain of truth in what he said, as was borne out by the observations on the field of battle of myself and more expert military observers.

Before I leave this point concerning the physical quality and military training of the new drafts supplied to make good the great gaps made in German regiments which visited the Somme, let me quote one illuminating letter, written by a soldier whose battalion had left the Somme "for repairs," to a comrade still remaining there :

My Dear Wilhelm,—You do not know Strehlon, but one thing will certainly interest you. Since September 1st our battalion has received 600 recruits, but they are not the sort of people that can be any use in war, at any rate, though they may be some good for work on garrison duty. These people, who practically without exception have done no previous military service, are to be trained for only three weeks and then to be sent off to the areas behind the front. They relieve those men fit for active service who are still behind the front. I believe our Hindenburg is responsible for this idea. Certainly he intends to strike a decisive blow, and in order to bring the greatest possible force into action he is relieving the people behind the front. You can't imagine what "apparitions" there are among those passed as fit—garrison or working battalions. In spite of that, the medical officer has passed about 350 men out of 600 as fit for "active service." Yes, Wilhelm, you would be astonished and I am also. I, myself, am only fit for garrison duty. But I can't help it. My wound is still suppurating. So, recently we have had two more declarations of war, but after the rest this is nothing. What it means is that our front has been lengthened, and—owing to that—the war.

The second reason for the falling-off in the fighting spirit of the German troops opposing our men on the Somme—over and above the great fact that they were beaten—lay in the doleful news which they were all this time receiving from home. Though the richer people of Germany may have been able at this time to get all the food they needed, it is clear that the poorer people—the wives and children and mothers of Germans fighting in the ranks—were suffering great hardship, and in some cases actual hunger. To their men-folk, themselves struggling in the trenches against a powerful and relentless enemy, these women wrote letters that would have taken the "fight" out of almost any man. Imagine the feelings of any soldier, himself in desperate danger and suffering acutest discomforts, upon receiving from his wife at home a letter such as one of the following :

**Despair in German homes**

Whenever you come home do try to bring a bit of meat or fat with you. We have nothing.—(Letter from Hamburg, 22-9-16.)

I wish I, too, were a soldier like you. One gets enough to eat then —(Letter from Mouschwitz, 19-10-16.)

It is a pity that you cannot come on leave. But what do the great care about the poor? Everybody else may perish if only they may fill their bellies. But they cannot escape God's punishment.—(Letter from Meisdorf, 12-10-16.)

Erna went to Oberniebelsbach to-day to see if we cannot get a bit of fat or butter or eggs. You cannot get anything here, and the food from the war-kitchens (Kriegsküche) is uneatable.—(Letter from Karlsruhe, 8-10-16.)

It will soon come to this here—that we shall live on dry bread, potatoes, and salt. . . . Klegstoten has returned from England, having been released. He says there is plenty to eat there, and that anyone can buy enough there, and that things are not nearly so dear as here.—(Letter from Goostenmunde, 11-10-16.)

**Sacrifice in vain**

If you have any old stockings, please do send them home. We get no wool at all.—(Letter from Dortingen, 8-9-16.)

We get half a pound of bread a day regularly, and a pound and a half of potatoes, and a quarter of a pound of meat weekly. On that we are to work hard! We just cannot do it. But what are we to do? It cannot be altered.—(Letter from Lothfold, Hanover, 18-9-16.)

I have by me further letters from German civilians which might be quoted to show gravest discontent with other war woes besides the food scarcity—with the work shortage, for instance, and poverty; with the recruiting hardships; with casualties, and the insatiable life-appetite of war. But enough has been done. From the documents already quoted in this chapter one sees German soldiers writhing under the continual hammer-blows of a relentless and superior enemy; German soldiers reduced to sloth, and even to cowardice, by the dreadful nature of their sufferings. Behind these soldiers one sees also—in these documents—a nation fast becoming not only intolerant of their own hardships, but more and more convinced as week followed week that their sacrifices were vain, that their manhood was doomed.

Noting these things, so strikingly testified by German pens and lips, it seems not too extravagant a conclusion if one marked down in history the Somme offensive of 1916 as the starting-point of the end—of the great German collapse. Those "damned British," thanks to Germany's own handiwork, had certainly "the devil in them" and meant to pay their Fatherland a visit. Germany seemed, before 1916 was ended, to have realised this at last.



[British official photograph.]

**MUTE APPEAL FROM FRANCE FOR HELP AND SYMPATHY.**

Vivid presentation of the havoc wrought by invasion in the remote recesses of pastoral France. The pitiful desolation of the scene seems to have caught and stirred the imagination of the British soldiers halted for a moment on the muddy road





[Belgian official photograph.]

DEFENDERS OF THE LAST UNVIOLATED STRIP OF THEIR HOMELAND.

Belgian troops on a road on the Yser passing as they marched to and from the trenches. The Belgian line ran from Nieuport to Neuve Eglise, less than thirty miles, and guarded the seven or eight miles in depth of Belgium that were left uninvaded.

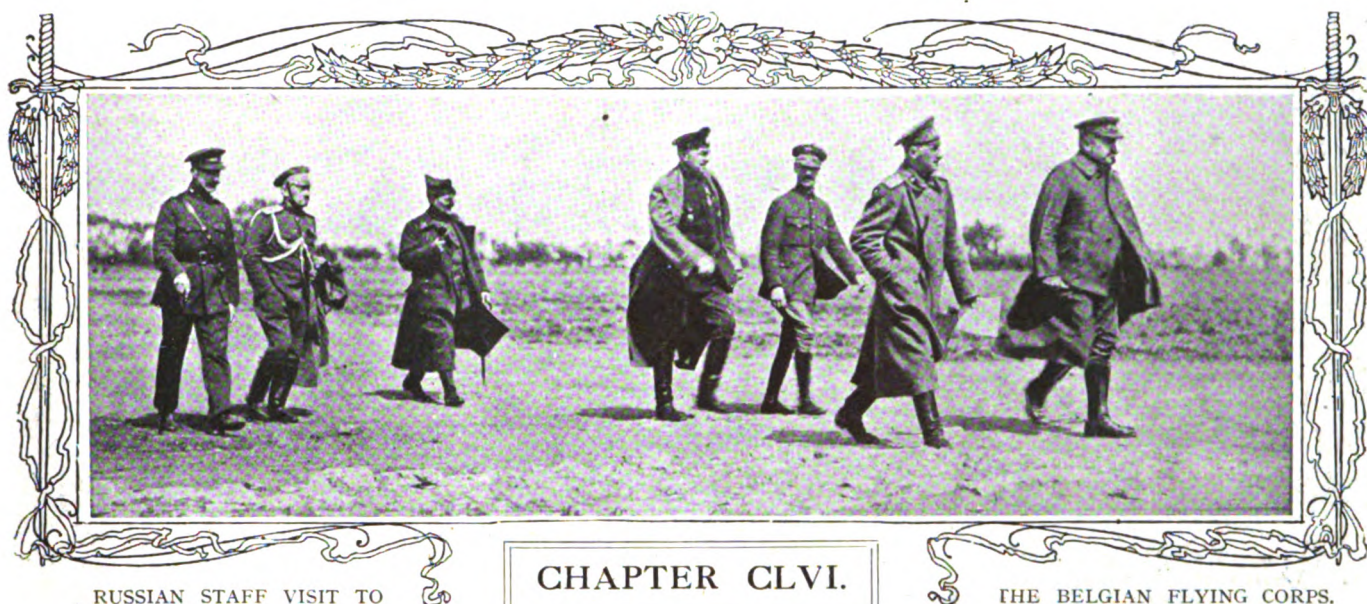


[Belgian official photograph.]

RUSSIA COMMEMORATES HER PATRON SAINT'S DAY BY HONOURING BRAVE BELGIANS.

The Tsar of Russia took the occasion offered by St. Nicholas' Day—December 6th, 1916—to mark his appreciation of the bravery of Belgian soldiers, and through one of his generals conferred medals upon a number of officers and men at the Belgian Headquarters.





## BELGIUM UNDER TWO FLAGS :

### The Homeland Under the German Heel and the Renaissance of the Army on the Yser.

By F. A. McKenzie.

Position of Belgium in the Second Year of the War—Passionate Devotion of the People to their King and Queen—German Military Administration and Civil Government of the Country—Modification of Local Government—Press Censorship—"La Libre Belgique"—German Exaction of Indemnities, Fines, and Extraordinary Taxes—Persecution of Individuals—Patriotism of the Church—Cardinal Mercier and his Lenten Pastoral—Vain German Attempts by Bribes and Threats to Secure Belgian Labour—Registration and Deportation of All Able-Bodied Labour—Cardinal Mercier's Protest to the Civilised World against the Enslavement of the People—German Acquisition of the Material Wealth of the Country—Urgency of the Food Supply Question—The Commission for Relief in Belgium and Mr. Herbert Hoover's Model Organisation—Methods of Purchase, Transportation, and Distribution of Foodstuffs—Benevolent Work for the Destitute—Dr. Lucas's Report on the Health Conditions of the Population as a Result of the German Occupation—Some Main Facts of the Reconstruction of the Belgian Army—Work of the Belgian Army during 1915 and 1916—Vain German Attempts to Create Schism between Flemings and Walloons—Belgian Refugees in England—What Will the Future Be?



THE position of Belgium in the second year of the war was one of extraordinary interest. Almost the whole of the kingdom was occupied and controlled by the enemy. The King and Government had been driven back on a little strip of their own territory, stretching from Nieuport to Neuve Eglise, a strip less than thirty miles long and seven or eight miles broad. During these weary months of waiting this was all that was left of their European country to King Albert and his faithful subjects.

Flanders and Hainault, Namur and the province of Luxemburg, Liège and Mons, the great cities of Antwerp, Brussels, and Ghent, and nearly all of the sea-coast had passed for the time into German hands. The strip left to the Belgian King was most of it nothing but a ruin, and all was under the fire of the enemy guns.

The little summer seaside resort of La Panne, so small that it does not find a place in many atlases, was the temporary Belgian capital. The quaint old town of Furnes, full of vivid memories of the days of the Inquisition, was the chief centre of population. Here and

there a village was left half whole. Loo, for example, still kept its houses intact on one side, although its beautiful old church to the east had been wantonly shattered by German shells. Ypres, the ancient manufacturing town of West Flanders, still in the hands of the Allies, was smashed to worse than nothingness, and most of its houses were piles of rubbish—the cathedral ruined, the Cloth Hall destroyed, and not a house whole in the place.

Yet from this strip of ruined land King Albert and his advisers started bravely on their work of reconstruction. The hearts of his people from Ostend to Arlon still beat true to him. Day by day men made their way through the German barriers of electrically-charged wire into Holland so that they might join their King and die for their country if needs be. The French Government provided Belgium with official quarters in Havre, with land on which munition factories could be built, with port accommodation at Gravelines, and with quay room at Calais. The Belgian Army, almost annihilated in its brave and successful efforts to keep the Germans back on the Yser, was reconstructed to meet the new conditions, and soon a powerful and well-armed



THE LION OF FLANDERS.

Throughout the war King Albert (right) refused to leave the strip of kingdom left to him behind the Yser. He gave his whole time to his Army, and was a familiar figure in the front trenches.





BELGIAN RECRUITS IN TRAINING IN FRANCE.

France provided camps for the man-power of Belgium that survived in freedom after the German onrush was stayed, and here every man underwent training to take his place in the reconstructed Belgian Army.



PRACTICE WITH LIVE BOMBS.

Bomb practice in a training camp for Belgians in France. In handling these most destructive weapons action had to be automatic, for the life of every man in a trench hung on the fraction of a second.



LEARNING HOW TO STALK THE LURKING FOE.

If sheer courage were needed to capture a trench, caution and cunning had to be superadded in clearing the enemy out of it. This part of the modern soldier's craft was an essential part of military training.

force arose from the heroic remnants of the old. Here was a King with his kingdom almost gone, and yet showing to his people and to the world at large a supreme example of courage and determination. "Punch" well expressed his position in a cartoon. The Kaiser was shown taunting King Albert. "You have lost all," he sneered. "Not my soul!" the King replied.

A large number of Belgian people, several hundred thousand, had escaped from the German rule in Belgium and made their homes in France, Holland, or England, or in the little bit of remaining Belgian dominion, but over seven million people still remained in the German occupied territories. These were made to feel to the full the iron heel of the Hun. The series of outrages which marked the German entry into Belgium, the destruction of villages and towns, the hangings and shootings at the will of drunken soldiers, and the nameless brutalities of August, 1914, came to an end. A system of callous exploitation was set afoot—fines raised on any and every

Under the iron  
heel

excuse, heavy taxation, and the wholesale plunder of means of production. The country was "bled white." And then, to crown all, Germany, in defiance of all humanity and international law, began the wholesale deportation of the civilian population of the country to what was virtually slave labour.

Ruined towns and villages still bore witness to the early days of the German invasion. The most dreadful of these was Dinant, where 1,263 houses out of 1,375 had been completely destroyed, and where the people were weighed down with the unthinkable memories of the black days when the Germans shot unarmed leading citizens, turned their machine-guns on women and children in the caves by the river-bed, and slaughtered in a few days 800 people of all ages and both sexes. Then there was Louvain, where the heart of the city with the old university building and the wonderful library had gone, and 1,120 houses had been destroyed.

Termonde, a busy town close to Antwerp, had been completely wiped out at the will of the German general who, with his aides, had sat in a garden by the riverside drinking champagne and singing while the town was burning to the ground. Villages by the score and hundred told the same tale of wanton destruction, villages ranging from the Liège border to the outskirts of Ghent. In four of the nine provinces 18,207 houses and public buildings had been burned or otherwise destroyed.

Much more serious, however, than the destruction of the houses and the killing of people at the beginning of the war was the economic condition of the country. Manufacturing had almost totally ceased. The Belgian worker in iron would not produce war munitions for Germany, despite the utmost coercion, and little else was wanted.



Manufacturers could not obtain raw material from abroad and could not export their goods even if they made them, for Belgium was closely blockaded by the Allies. The country could not produce sufficient foodstuffs for itself, and had it not been for the generous aid from outside, aid which reached the country through the American Commission for Relief in Belgium, a large part of the population must have starved. As it was, by the autumn of 1916, one-third of the population depended for their food on charity.

The kingdom of Belgium still existed. That was a fact of the utmost political importance. King Albert ruled not over a State of 11,373 square miles as in the old days, but over two hundred square miles of largely ruined land in Belgium itself and a Colonial dominion in Central Africa. Yet he was still a King in being, recognised by other Great Powers as a reigning sovereign, having his Army, his Court, and his Ministers. His palace was a country house at La Panne.

The King and his devoted wife put on one side for the time the trappings of State. They sent their children to school in England, having them back with them for the holidays. The King gave his time to his Army. Day by day

**Brave King and devoted Queen**

his car might be seen tearing along the roads behind the lines. It would stop, now at Dixmude, now at Elverdinghe, now at divisional or brigade headquarters, and the tall, slim, and singularly youthful figure of the monarch would emerge for a conference with his generals or a word with his soldiers. He would leave his car at the final point near the German lines to which cars could possibly go, and would set out on foot round the front trenches. What thoughts must have been his as he paced the shallow lines on the west bank of the Yser Canal and looked across at the fair country—his own land—on the other side now held by his foe!

The King was not always alone. The Belgian people in those days accepted one statement as unquestionably true. "Wherever the King is," they told you, "the Queen will be near." Queen Elizabeth was originally a German princess, for she was one of the Bavarian Royal Family. "But she has done her best to wipe out that fact," said the Belgians. Her time was largely devoted to works of mercy and charity, supervising the hospitals, cheering the wounded, and looking after the well-being of her husband, as any middle-class wife might have done. Sometimes she would get away from her wounded and her sick and set out with the King himself into the trenches.



LESSONS IN TRENCH WARFARE.

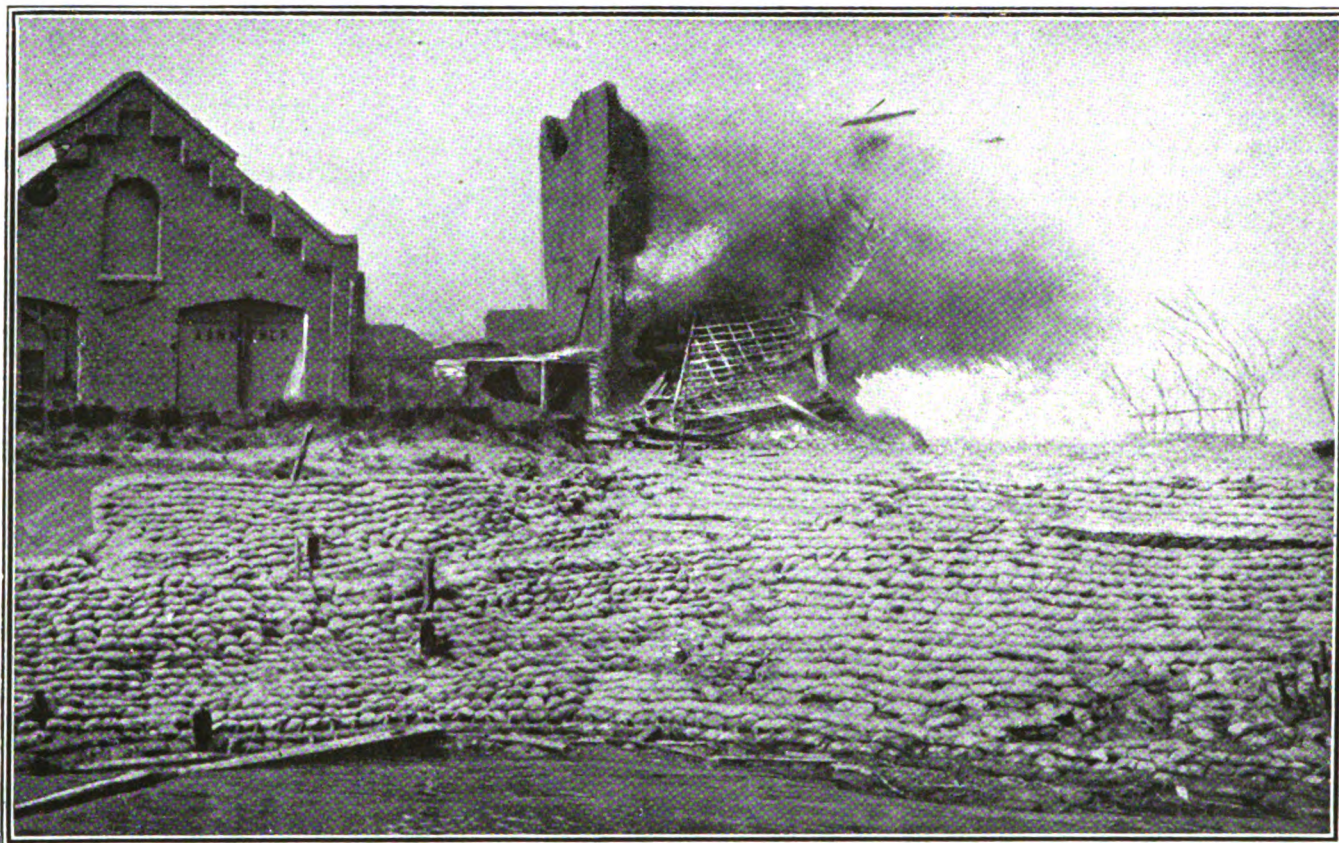
Another camera-impression of the newly-organised Belgian Army in training. This photograph shows a company lesson in trench warfare at one of the training centres.



CAVALRY OF THE NEW BELGIAN ARMY IN TRAINING.

Horses and men enjoying an exhilarating gallop down a vast stubble field near a cavalry instruction camp. Above: Up the bank and through the stubble again. The Belgian cavalry had ever been noted as splendid horsemen, and the squadrons that rode along behind the line in the waiting months of 1916 were as fine as any Belgium had ever seen.





USELESS DESTRUCTION BY A FOE ANGERED AT BEING BAULKED OF HIS DESIRE.

An enemy bombardment on the Belgian front. The Belgian Army held a section of the line from immediately north of Ypres to Nieuport by the sea. During 1915 and 1916 the Belgians were attacked by the Germans

with sufficient frequency to keep them in touch with the realities of active war, but the fighting they experienced was little more than skirmishing in comparison with the tremendous battles that raged on the other fronts.

Every Belgian regiment had stories to tell of how the Queen had been among them, how she had never flinched when the shells whistled overhead, and how she had laughed contemptuously when a German bullet angrily spat by. The soldiers told how when the fighting had been hard and they were wearied, they found their young Queen there, cheering them, helping them, encouraging them. Quite early in the war Queen Elizabeth became almost a traditional and sacred figure to the Belgian Army. Men who had lost all faith in the Unseen, men to whom the ancient traditions of the Catholic Church, the Church to which their forefathers belonged, were nothing more than mockery, found a new saint to hold in veneration—their Queen.

#### Rule by martial law

Let us attempt to picture Belgium as it was in the second and at the beginning of the third years of the war. The country was at first entirely under military administration. The railways were solely available for the Army. Posts, telegraphs, and telephones could not be used. People were not permitted to leave the districts in which they lived, except after obtaining special military permits. Everything was done to discourage the inhabitants from going from place to place. Military governors ruled by martial law. There were constant hunts for spies and for escaped prisoners, and the punishment of those suspected of aiding the Allies was prompt and very heavy. The German troops at this time were, in some cases, guilty of many outrages; although in other districts it is only fair to say they behaved with restraint and moderation.

The first great development came with the establishment of civil government over a part of Belgium. The conquered country was split up into three divisions. There was first a limited area immediately behind the fighting-line, called the "operation zone"; this was purely a military area. Behind that was the "Étape zone," covering much of East and West Flanders, which was governed directly by the Army. The larger part of Belgium was, however, regarded as occupied territory, and was called the "occupation zone" with a joint civil and military general

government over it. At the head was the German Governor-General, Baron von Bissing, who succeeded General von der Goltz, and his administrative offices were known as the Kommandantur. In the "occupation zone" the people were gradually allowed more liberty of movement, and the use of railway and internal post was restored.

Throughout the whole of the country, with the exception of the "operation zone," the old system of local government was maintained, under German control, and with certain modifications imposed by the Germans. Thus the communes and municipalities had their mayors (or burgomasters); the provincial councils were maintained and were made to vote the money demanded by Germany; the civil courts still sat. In some cases, such as local disturbances due to lack of food, the German authorities refused to take action. "This," they said, "is the business of the Belgians themselves. It has nothing to do with us." The population in the area of civil government numbered close on 6,000,000.

The Press was rigidly censored. Some of the leading Belgian papers, refusing from the beginning to submit themselves to German domination, had closed down their offices and transferred their headquarters to London. One of the most notable of these was the great Brussels daily, "L'Indépendance Belge," which, from almost immediately after the German occupation in Brussels, appeared in London. Another was "La Métropole," which also issued a London edition, after closing up its original offices. The papers that decided to continue publication in Belgium itself had a very precarious and difficult existence. They were suspended or suppressed at the will of the authorities.

#### Treatment of the Press

The importation of foreign newspapers was strictly prohibited, and any person found with one of them was severely punished. But no punishment could restrain the Belgian people in their hunger for news. They disbelieved, and not without abundant reason, the German statements of the progress of the war. German placards pasted on the walls of the cities giving news of victories were torn down



or pasted over. A new business arose—that of smuggling in English and French newspapers. Certain tobacco merchants were reported to be agents for this contraband trade. Runners made their way through the highly-electrified wires separating Belgium from Holland with their precious loads. As much as fifty francs was paid for a copy of the "Times."

When an English paper was smuggled in, girls set to work typing out sections of it, and these sections were passed round from hand to hand. Some of the newspaper agents were shot in making their way over the border; others were captured. German spies got to work, and a number of tradesmen accused of being distributing agents were arrested and severely punished. Even girls were not spared. Baron von der Goltz issued a special edict calling the attention of the population of Belgium to the fact that the sale and distribution of newspapers and of all news reproduced in any manner, which was not expressly authorised by the German censorship, was strictly prohibited.

**A newspaper  
mystery**

"Every offender will be immediately arrested and punished by a long term of imprisonment." This threat was carried out. For example, one girl, Camille

Pousseur, was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for buying foreign newspapers and copying them.

The German authorities were greatly disturbed by the secret publication of an exceedingly outspoken patriotic paper, "La Libre Belgique." It appeared irregularly, and the manner of its distribution was a mystery. Every prominent German in the country would one morning find a fresh issue delivered at his house. Sometimes it arrived by the revived post; sometimes it had been slipped into

his letter-box during the night. Its literary contents were witty and scathing. It made fun of the enemy in every possible way. It declared that it was issued by the Belgian Patriotic Propaganda and submitted to no censorship. Its price was "from zero to the infinite—purchasers are requested not to exceed this limit." It gave as its telegraphic address "Kommandantur, Brussels." "Our general offices are installed in an automobile cellar owing to the impossibility of having them in a stationary place." "Advertisements: Business being at a standstill under German domination, we have suppressed the advertisement page, and advise our supporters to save their money for better times."

**Defying the  
censorship**

Its favourite butt was Von Bissing, the Governor-General. On one occasion it declared that Von Bissing was the same man as the Lieutenant von Bissing mentioned by Sir William Russell, the famous "Times" correspondent, as one of the looters of treasures from the Chateau of St. Cloud during the Franco-Prussian War. On another occasion it appeared with a photo of General von Bissing showing him deeply immersed in reading "La Libre Belgique." Underneath he was made to say, "How happy I am to be able at last to read a paper which is not under German censorship and to be able to learn the truth."

It had a dictionary of words beginning with the letter "K," a favourite letter with the Germans. Here are some of the definitions:

Kathedral.—Target for 17 in. guns.

Kamerad.—The word German troops use to signify their wish to surrender.

Katastrophe.—The finish of strategic movements planned by the Crown Prince on land, and on sea by Admiral von Tirpitz.



[Belgian official photograph.]

**NEW MEN, NEW METHODS, AND NEW MACHINES OF THE BELGIAN ARMY.**

Quick-firing gun emplacement on the Belgian front, with a trench egress at the rear which enabled the men to leave their post without exposing themselves to enemy fire. The reconstituted Belgian Army was equipped

so generously and so efficiently, especially in regard to its artillery, trench mortars, and machine-guns, that early in its history it was able to boast it had more machine-guns to a regiment than any other one of the Allies.





[Belgian official photograph.]

## TRENCH-MORTAR PRACTICE.

Belgian recruits at trench-mortar practice on a training ground in France.

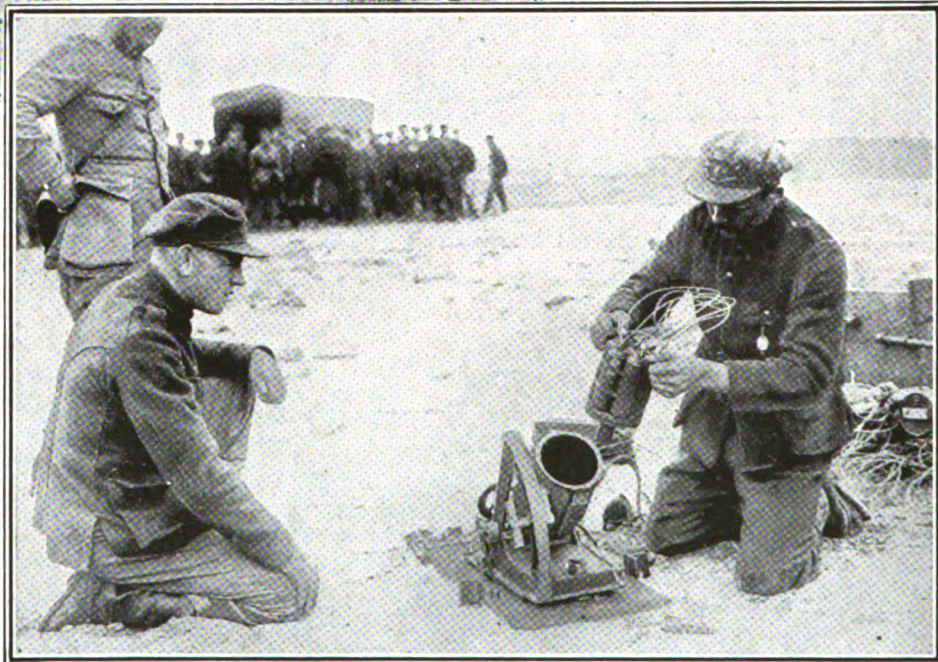
The whole of the extensive German spy system in Belgium was put to work to discover the editors, printers, or supporters of this paper. A reward of several thousand pounds was offered to anyone disclosing the identity of the editors or publishers. Domiciliary searches were made in the homes of people supposed to be connected with it. At one time the Germans suspected that M. Lemonnier, the Acting-Burgomaster of Brussels, might have something to do with it. The Town Hall and M. Lemonnier's private house were searched in the most rigid manner, but nothing was found. On another occasion the Germans ransacked a convent from roof to cellar, believing that the paper was produced there. But equally in vain. After each search, out would come "La Libre Belgique" again, once more wittily flaying its foes.

The German lacks a sense of humour, and the sprightliness of the paper made the authorities more furious than ever. The number of arrests rapidly increased. A lady, Miss Schepens, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for supposed connection with the hated sheet. A lawyer at Liège, M. Jean Davin, was sent to prison for three months on the charge of having contributed to it and having published some pamphlets without leave of the censor. Two Jesuit Fathers and a boy of sixteen, Jean Lenertz, of Louvain, son of a professor who was killed during the massacres in Louvain, were arrested, and one of the Jesuits, Dubar by name, was sentenced to twelve years' hard labour in July, 1916.

It might have been thought that the Germans would have had statesmanship enough to attempt to conciliate the Belgian people and to endeavour to steal their allegiance from the Allies. No doubt they wished and intended to do this, but it soon became evident that the German administrators were not men great enough to accomplish

it. They treated Belgium as a conquered country that had to feel the heel of the conqueror.

One of the first things done was to exact an enormous indemnity from the country as a whole, an indemnity of £19,200,000 to be paid in monthly instalments. This was afterwards made a permanent monthly contribution of forty million francs (£1,600,000) during the war. An extraordinary tax was collected from the property of absentees, amounting to ten times the ordinary personal tax. Heavy fines were inflicted on towns and cities on various excuses, and humiliating punishments were imposed. Thus the Governor-General imposed a fine of £50,000 on Brussels because it celebrated the Belgian National



[Belgian official photograph.]

Practising the use of double grenades fired from trench-mortars at a training centre. All the very latest improvements of trench artillery were lavishly supplied to the Belgians in the course of the re-establishment of their Army in readiness for the carrying out of its heroic struggle

Fête Day. Although the fine was afterwards withdrawn, the fact that it had been imposed rankled. The townspeople of Malines were sentenced for the same offence to remain indoors between ten o'clock at night and five in the morning. The village of Hamont was fined £50, and all the people ordered to be in their houses by 7.30 every night for fifteen days, because the Germans disapproved of the conduct of one youth there. The military governor of the province of Antwerp fined that city £5,000 because allied airmen had made raids near to it.

Then the Germans tried to interfere with the ordinary life of the people. The names of railway-stations were altered from French to German. Towns were rechristened. The very time of day was changed to German time, and a process of Germanisation was attempted. The use of the French language in official transactions was forbidden. It was forbidden to use French in public notices, and French street names were abolished. These were little things which hardened the hearts of the people against alien rulers more than many great changes.

Next came a series of persecutions. People were arrested and punished on the mere suspicion of disliking the Germans.



This did not apply only to Belgians. One officer in the United States Army, Major Dutton, was fined £25 by the military tribunal in Brussels for disrespectful conduct towards a German officer. Had the Germans been able to collect fines from all Americans who spoke disrespectfully of their officers their problem of war finance would have been solved! A Brussels doctor was arrested for speaking his mind too freely in a tramcar. Numbers of men, some of them in eminent positions, were taken away without warning to prison at Charleroi or elsewhere, kept there for some time, and then released without apology or explanation.

In August, 1916, the German authorities arrested one hundred



[French official photograph]

#### HALL-MARK OF THE HUN.

Shattered villas, with graves in every front garden, showing how the Germans carried on their system of ruination in Flanders.

Jesuit Father was arrested in the Church of the Sacred Heart at Brussels for a sermon he preached.

MM. Timmermans and Walrand have been sentenced to six days' imprisonment for having insulted some Germans.

The assistant stationmaster of the Gare du Nord, Brussels, was arrested some time ago and imprisoned. No one knows what has become of him.

MM. Brilla and Benoy, of Antwerp, have been condemned to a month's imprisonment for refusing to make known to the German authorities the hiding-place of an old soldier.

Some time ago we reported the incident of a postman of Reckheim being arrested as he got out of the train along with his young wife and brother-in-law. The Germans have tortured the woman so that she has died.

M. Gerard Smeets, a contractor of Maaseyck, has been imprisoned for several weeks for having refused to work for the Germans. He has, however, been compelled to put his workmen, etc., at the disposition of the Germans, and they have had to work night and day for the enemy.

Westwezel has been fined £40. Some days ago the Germans discovered an old pail hanging from the chains of the electric standards. Without taking the trouble to discover the culprit, they saw a means of getting money and demanded the fine. None of the inhabitants are allowed to leave their houses after seven in the evening.

The lawyer De Baer, after eighteen months' captivity, has escaped, and has arrived in England.

Five young men of Louvain have been condemned to three and six months' imprisonment for having sung in the streets of Louvain and Heverlé.

The Governor of Namur district has punished the whole population of the town for having cheered an aviator.

All the inhabitants of the boulevards of Brussels have to be in their houses by 8.30 in the evening, and all lights to be extinguished at that hour. The reason for this is that the people cheered with frenzy an allied aviator who flew round the town.

Joseph Mahi, of Val-St.-Lambert, has been condemned to death, his wife and their daughter, aged ten, to two years' penal servitude. Reason unknown.

The people of Belgium treated the invaders with contemptuous scorn. The Germans had occupied their country; they were in possession of the machinery of



ANCIENT BUILDINGS THAT ATTRACTED THE ATTENTION OF "KULTUR."

Ruins of a famous tower, once a landmark in an historic Belgian town. Much of the havoc in Belgium was wrought gratuitously, and was not incidental to necessary artillery action, material destruction being part of Germany's policy wherever her armies penetrated.

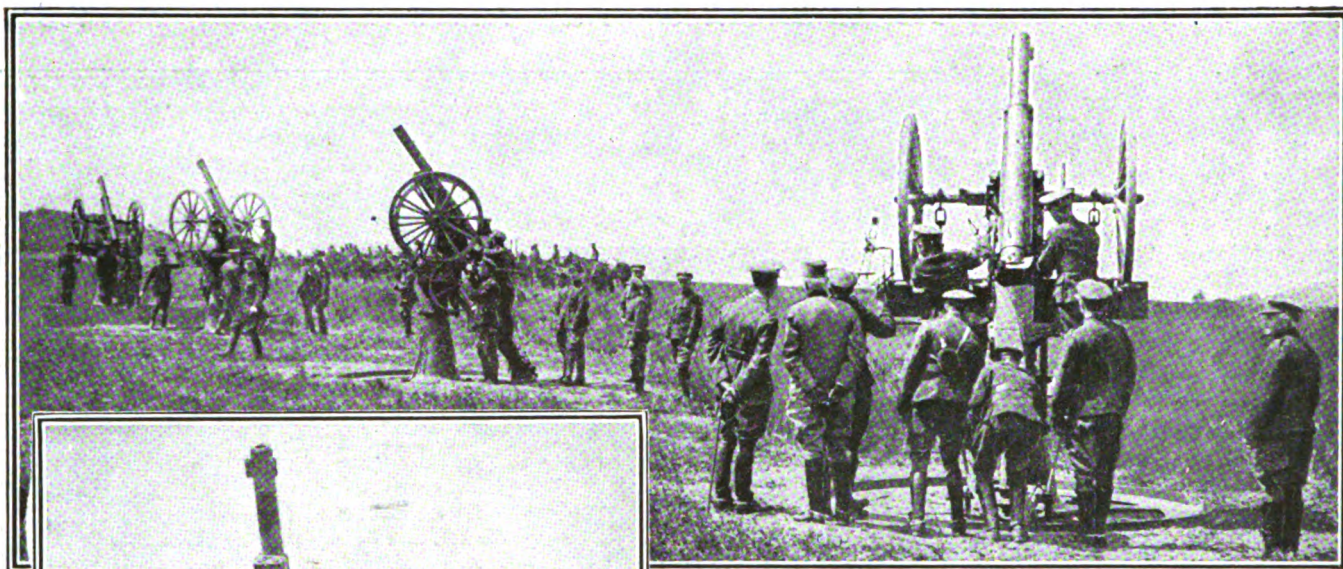
and fifty persons at Brussels on suspicion of having taken part in the formation of a Belgian association designed to serve as an intermediary between soldiers on the Yser front and their relatives in the occupied portion of Belgium. A manufacturer in Antwerp was condemned to five years' penal servitude for corresponding with his sons at the front. He was not alone. In Brussels, in particular, many people were sentenced to several years' imprisonment on the same charge. In Ghent seventy women were arrested for having received letters from their husbands or sons in the Army. The boat which carried the letters had been betrayed by spies and seized. The number of people executed in Belgium for high treason against Germany was estimated by the summer of 1916 to have reached five hundred. This did not include those who had been summarily executed as francs-tireurs. The Belgian papers were full of items such as these:

Father Fallon, Jesuit, Prefect of the Old College of St. Michel at Brussels, has been condemned to three years' imprisonment and has been deported to the citadel of Rheinbach for having helped some young men to rejoin the Belgian Army.

Forty Jesuits have already been imprisoned. Recently a

**Scorn for the  
invader**

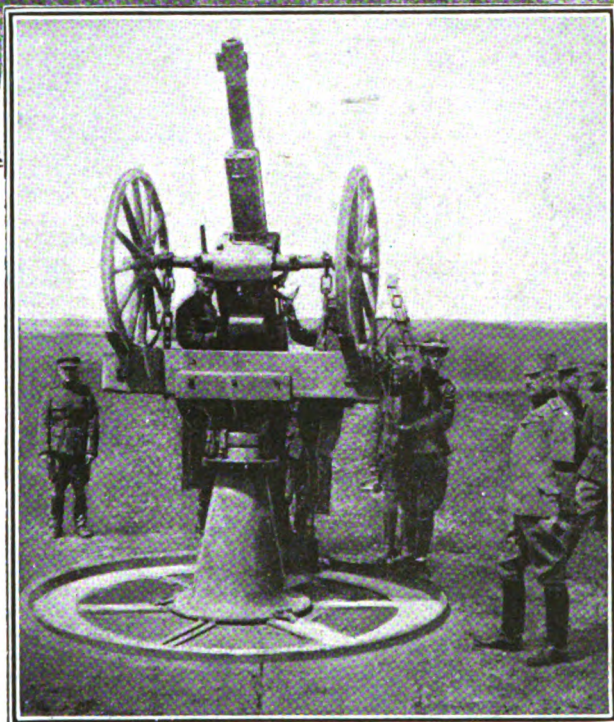




[Belgian official photograph.]

#### REVOLVING ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS IN BELGIUM.

Her geographical position made Belgium the theatre of great aerial activity during the "waiting months," and her air service was energetically developed, the Allies providing it with the best and latest material.



[Belgian official photograph.]

#### A "SOIXANTE-QUINZE" MOUNTED ON A PIVOT.

The French "75" proved a most effective anti-aircraft weapon. Mounted on pivots, like this one used in Belgium, the "75's" were mainly responsible for the fact that German flying men gave Paris a wide berth.

government; they could punish with death if they wished. All that was self-evident. But these things did not prevent the Belgians as a whole from regarding the Germans with open contempt. One of the favourite amusements of the street boys in Brussels was to march behind the German soldiers, mocking them by attempting a ridiculous goose-step. This was carried so far that the German authorities had to punish a number of the boys to stop it.

When the people of Belgium were forbidden to keep their national Fête Day, July 21st, as a holiday, and were ordered to open their shops and conduct business as usual, many of the shopkeepers multiplied the prices of their goods

#### Fines for window-dressing

that day fourfold and fivefold, while some lads were around the street early in the morning and emptied pots of paint in front of the doors of certain pro-German shops so that no one should be able to enter. The tradesmen dressed their windows for that day in extraordinary fashion. One milliner had nothing but green hats and green ribbons in her window. The authorities were furious. This was treason! The milliner was fined £500. A fruit merchant committed a yet worse offence. He dressed his window with red tomatoes, yellow citron, and black raisins, thus making the Belgian colours. He was fined the same amount. The Governor-General could do nothing but inflict heavy fines on Brussels and the other cities, and childish punishments, such as that people should remain within doors.

The attitude of the Church cannot be passed over without record. Belgium in the days before the war was divided perhaps more sharply than any other country in Europe into clerical and anti-clerical parties. The clerical party was opposed to conscription, and the Army held that it was responsible for the delay in military preparations which caused Belgium to be so ill-equipped when war broke out. The Army consequently felt very bitterly towards the priesthood as a whole. Yet in the dark days of German occupation many of the priests set splendid examples of patriotism.

In large numbers of churches throughout the country the Belgian flag, tabooed elsewhere, was draped about the altar, and the Belgian people joined in singing their own national anthem each Sunday morning.

#### Heroes in the Church

Time after time priests went so far in their patriotic sermons that the German authorities dared even the wrath of the Church and arrested and punished them. The Jesuits gave particular offence. By July, 1916, forty Jesuits had been already imprisoned. A celebrated Dominican, Father Huygens, of Ghent, was condemned in the autumn of 1916 to ten years' penal servitude by a German court-martial on account of a patriotic sermon which he had recently preached. Other priests were sent to long terms of imprisonment in fortresses for helping young men to rejoin the Belgian Army.

The great figure that stood out above all other Churchmen was Cardinal Mercier, Archbishop of Malines. He openly opposed the German administration. He refused to be silent about the outrages which had marked the first days of the German occupation of the country, and he demanded that they should be independently investigated. He appealed now to the Pope, now to the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops of Germany, Bavaria, and Austria-Hungary, and now to the world at large to hear the truth. He sent pastorals to his clergy, and he preached sermons fired with the loftiest patriotism.

In Lent, 1916, after a visit to the Pope in a vain effort to secure his intervention, he published a pastoral which sent a thrill of fresh confidence throughout his people. "The day will come when we shall weep no more, when we shall be no longer scattered, when our families will be reunited never to be parted again," he declared:

My conviction, both natural and supernatural, of our ultimate victory is more firmly rooted in my soul than ever. If, indeed, it could have been shaken, the assurances given me by several disinterested and careful observers of the general situation, notably those belonging to the two Americas, would have sufficed to consolidate it.



We shall triumph, do not doubt it, but we are not yet at the end of our sufferings.

France, Britain, and Russia have engaged not to conclude peace until the independence of Belgium is completely restored and an ample indemnity has been made to her. Italy, in her turn, has given her adhesion to the London compact.

Our future is not doubtful.

But we must prepare it.

We shall prepare it by cultivating the virtue of patience, and the spirit of self-sacrifice. "Be of good courage," says the Psalmist, "and He shall strengthen your heart, all ye that hope in the Lord." Viriliter agite et confortetur cor vestrum, omnes qui speratis in Domino.

"There is no king saved by the multitude of an host," says the Psalmist; "a horse is a vain thing for safety, neither shall he deliver any by his great strength. Our soul waiteth for the Lord; He is our help and our shield."

He told the Belgian people that they had already won a moral triumph. Their sacrifice of goods, homes, sons, and husbands for their plighted troth had won the homage of the world. "The moral triumph of Belgium is a very memorable fact for history and civilisation. Your generation has made a glorious entrance into history."

**Cardinal Mercier's  
brave words**

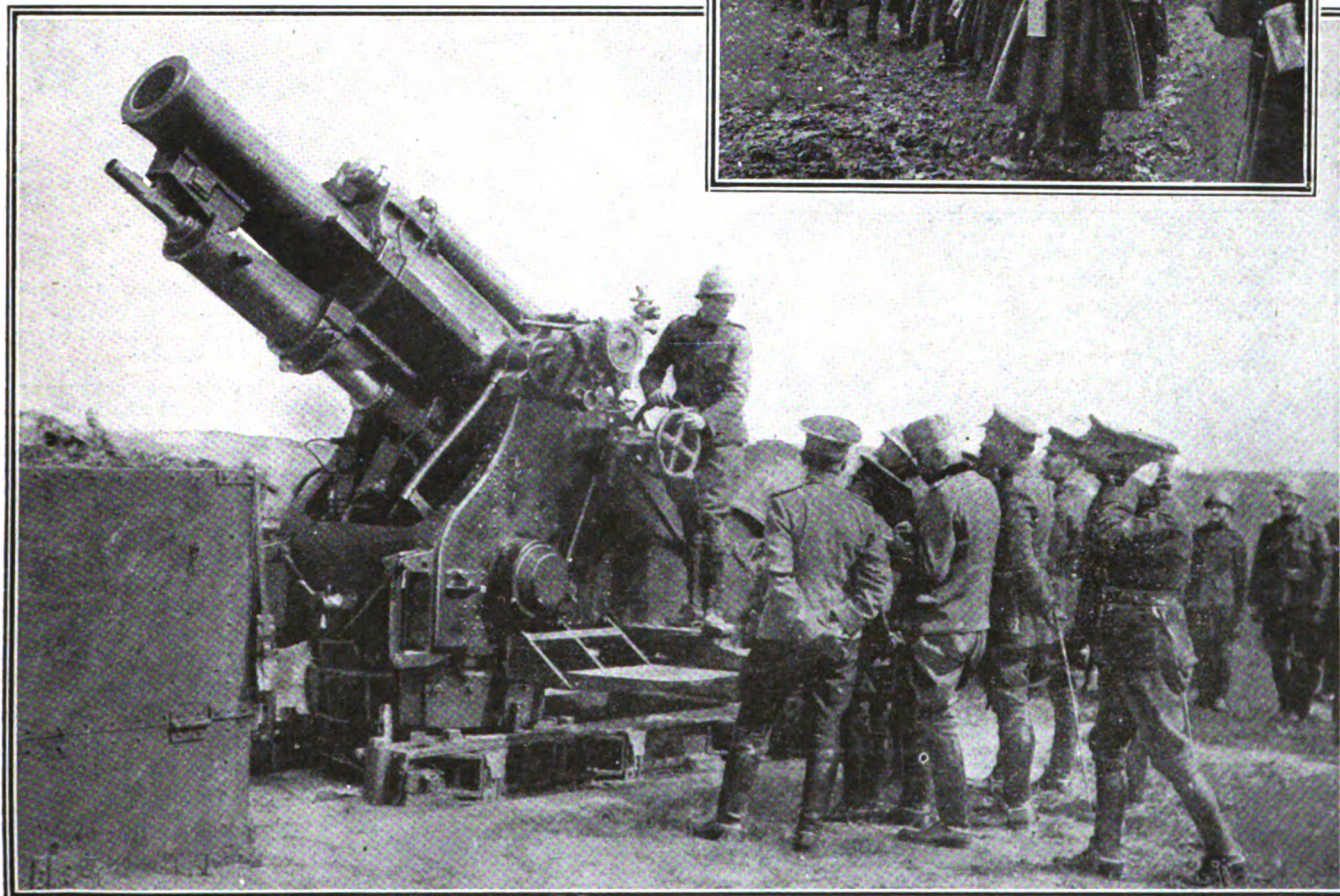
Brave words these from the chief priest of a stricken nation, when armed enemy guards watched the very entrances of the archiepiscopal palace through which the message was sent, and when enemy legions had bombarded the cathedral and burned large parts of the city in which the Archbishop lived. "You are conquerors!" That was the spirit of Belgium even in the darkest days.

Yet, looking over the country there was much to discourage and much to depress. Almost every factory and mill was closed, unable to obtain supplies and having no market for its goods. The streets of Brussels, in ordinary time full of gay life, were strangely silent. No private motor-cars were running, for it was impossible to obtain

petrol, and the tyres had been confiscated for their rubber. Every bicycle had gone, for the rubber of the bicycle wheels was wanted by the Germans.

Crowds of people, workless and underfed, moved sombrely through the avenues. Shops dealing in articles of luxury were still open and still made a brave display, but they had very few purchasers save occasional German officers. Most shops supplying foodstuffs were closed. Banks throughout the country were ever under the fear that the Germans would finally deprive them of all their resources. Business men told how their best stocks had been taken to Germany.

Placards on the walls advertised alleged German



[Belgian official photograph.]

**GUNNERS AND GUNS THE** Heavy howitzer, an 8.5 in., in position and about to fire. The Belgians concentrated on the improvement of their artillery, and with a strong force of new guns and a host of trained gunners they soon became noted

**GERMANS LEARNED TO FEAR.**

among the Allies, and inspired the Germans with a most wholesome respect for their efficiency. Above: Soldiers of a regiment of Guides returning for a necessary spell of rest to billets during relief.



victories, but people paid little heed to these. They had heard too much of imagined German triumphs to believe them. The more flamboyant the notices were, the more the Belgians took heart. "Things are going well to-day," they said to one another. "The Germans have claimed another great success. We wonder where they have really been defeated!" Now and then rumours would spread over the city and over the countryside,

**Winged messengers  
of hope**

no one knew how, telling of coming relief. Often the guns would be heard on the coast, the guns of British ships bombarding the German positions around Ostend and Zeebrugge.

Sometimes the people would watch warily through the darkness as allied aeroplanes came along bombing German strong points. Sometimes a Belgian airman would pass over, greatly daring, and would sail even over Brussels itself, scattering proclamations telling of coming victory. Thus in September, 1916, a Belgian airman dropped over Brussels thousands of copies of a handbill headed "Proclamation to the Belgians."

Belgians! The end approaches! Before Verdun the heroic and sublime resistance of the French Army has broken the gigantic German offensive. Upon the Somme the victorious British and French Armies continue to progress.

In Volhynia and in Galicia the Austrian troops have been hurled back by the Russians, and their broken ranks, reinforced by corps of Germans and Turks, are impotent to bar the way against the continuous pressure of the Allies.

The Italians have thrown back the invaders.

Your unbreakable courage, your dignified pride, and your unflinching energy are the admiration of the entire world.

The monotony of life was only relieved by some fresh proclamation from the Government announcing a new offence or fresh punishment. Here is one :

Whoever within the territory governed by the Governor-General, is found guilty of suspected incendiarism, causing an inundation, attacks on or resistance to the representatives of German civilian or military authorities, will be punished by death, or, if extenuating circumstances are proved, by ten or twenty years' penal servitude. Whoever spreads false rumours in regard to the German Army or of so-called victories by the Allies, or stirs up a rebellion or instigates soldiers to act contrary to their military duties, will be punished by five years' imprisonment.

The Germans desired to make use of the manhood of Belgium. They wanted the Belgian railwaymen to operate the lines. This in itself would have saved them an army corps. They wanted to employ the great iron-works of Belgium and the skill of the artificers of Liège in making weapons. But here they found themselves met by the stubborn resistance of the entire nation. The Belgian people refused absolutely to work for the enemy. They were threatened, punished, almost starved, to compel them to give way. All was in vain. Here is an example given by Director Bicknell, of the American National Red Cross :



[Belgian official photograph.]

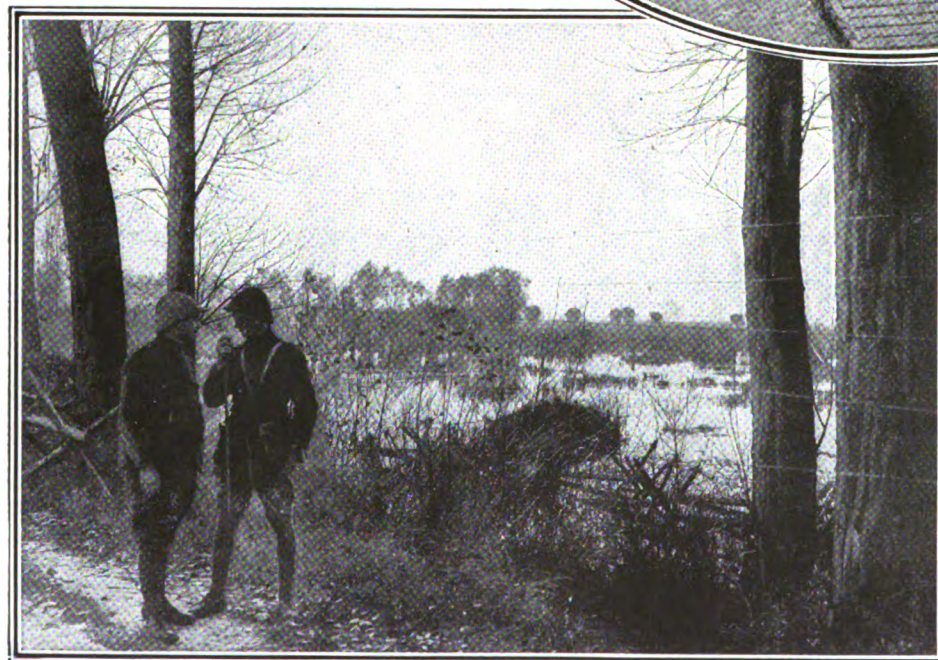
#### AMPHIBIAN WARFARE.

A front-line trench in the inundated region of Belgium.

Malines is the site of extensive railway repair shops, and as the operation of the railways by the Germans was steadily reducing the rolling-stock through accidents and natural wear, the German Government decided that Belgian workmen formerly employed in the repair shops should be forced back into them. An order was issued that no more food be distributed by the relief committee until the men returned to the shops. Farmers and gardeners were forbidden to bring in their produce. No inhabitant was permitted to leave the city. Sentries were posted about the outskirts, and a barbed-wire barrier erected round the city.

The people of Malines, however, would not give way; and, finally, in deference to a protest from the Red Cross, the Germans gave up the attempt.

One method adopted by the Germans was to offer very high wages. At one place they offered as much as £2 a day to special men.



[Belgian official photograph.]

#### PRIMEVAL MARSH IN THE ESTUARY OF THE YSER.

An immense watery expanse stretched before the Belgian front, strewn with decomposing bodies of men and beasts. In the rear the accumulated floods from the heavy rain, having no outlet, covered again large areas once wrested from the sea. The whole estuary reverted to primeval marsh.



M. Hulzebusch, the Secretary-General in Brussels of the Imperial German Railways, declared that they would compel the people to serve by starvation. At Luttre the German authorities summoned workmen to the central shops, ordered them to resume their work, and promised increased wages.

The ordinary workmen were offered five, six, and seven shillings a day, while machinists were offered a pound a day. The workmen promptly and indignantly refused, whereupon the Germans shut them up in railway-carriages and declared that they would not be allowed to leave until they had consented to do as required. Day by day they threatened them with deportation to Germany, where they would be



PAST THE POLLARD WILLOWS.  
Belgian troops on the march back to billets through the mud.



"CORDUROY" PATH ALONG A BELGIAN TRENCH.

Not the least of the difficulties that confronted the Belgian Government was that of housing and finding accommodation for troops in a damp and sparsely populated region wholly unsuitable for maintaining armies through a winter campaign.

compelled to work without any pay at all. They told their families what was happening to their husbands and fathers, in the hope that they would persuade them to give way.

Finally a time limit was fixed. If they did not start to work by a certain day they would be taken away. On the morning announced for their departure the people of Luttre crowded around the station, and as the train steamed out the prisoners stood at the windows responding to loud shouts from the crowds, "Long live Belgium!" The departure was a bluff on the part of the authorities, for when the train reached Namur it stopped, and the workmen were liberated.

Some days later a fresh attempt was made. A number of workmen were taken up by force to the shops, and there a German officer ordered them to return to work. They stood still, making no move and saying no word. The officer then turned, and shouted bullyingly at them, "You need not think you are going to escape like the other fellows did!" Thereupon the workmen cheered, and shouted "Long live Belgium! Long live our soldiers!" What was to be done with such obstinate fellows?

Following this, on May 10th the Germans arrested M. Kessler, the director of the central workshops at Luttre. He was taken to prison at Charleroi and put in a cell with nothing for his bed save a straw mattress. From here after a time he was taken back to Luttre, where a number of workmen had already been punished by the Germans. A written notice had now been distributed among the men that they would be sent to prison-camps in Germany if they still refused to work.

Asked by the German authorities to attempt to persuade his men, M. Kessler replied that he had sworn loyalty to his King, and that he did not mean to perjure himself. He was then asked to persuade the men to work on the

locomotives on the promise that they should only be used for commercial, not military work. He told them what the Germans had said, and declared that he left it to each man to do as his conscience dictated. The men promptly intimated that they did not believe the German pledge.

M. Kessler and some other officials were again sent back to the prison at Charleroi. One hundred and sixty-six workmen were deported to Germany. About sixty other men were also arrested shortly afterwards.

Much the same thing happened at Sweveghem, where there was an important wire-drawing mill. Here the Germans ordered a quantity of barbed-wire for their trenches. The three hundred and sixty workmen immediately refused to continue work. The burgomaster of the village, the communal secretary, and the senator of the district were thereupon arrested by the Germans and sent to Courtrai, the burgomaster being released the same evening.

Sweveghem was at once surrounded by a cordon of troops, and no one was allowed to enter or leave it. All





BELGIANS TAKING 3 IN. MORTARS UP TO THEIR POSITION.

When the new Belgian Army at length came into being its equipment was admirable, lacking nothing. The artillery especially was excellent, and in the short front before the Belgian Army the Germans were often

quiet lest the Belgian guns and trench-mortars should open out on them and deal them severe punishment. Here a number of the soldiers are seen dragging these small guns to their front.

supplies of provisions were cut off. All vehicles of every kind were stopped. A few days afterwards it was announced in the village that if the work was not begun within the next twenty-four hours severe penalties would be incurred. All the inhabitants of the place from fifteen to forty-five years old were ordered to present themselves at the Public Hall. Some of the workmen were dragged by force to their establishments. The troops attempted by all kinds of brutalities to compel them to give way. Sixty-one of the men were sent to prison. Here their wives were taken to see them, and the Belgians declared that the women were odiously maltreated on the journey to the prison. The burgomaster was forced to issue a notice asking the men to go on with their work. They ignored the notice.

In studying these incidents, it is well to remember that The Hague Convention, in rules of war to which Germany among other countries gave adhesion, formally forbade any Power occupying conquered territory to compel the people to do work or to perform services of a kind which imposed on them the obligation of assisting operations of war against their own country.

The system of deporting able-bodied labour into Germany was extended as time went on, and in the summer and autumn of 1916 large numbers, not only of men but also of married women and girls, were forcibly taken from their homes in Belgium and sent to Germany; some of them to work in the harvest-fields, some to work in factories. Homes were broken up and the greatest hardships inflicted. Many of the women and girls were allowed to return when the harvest was over, but many others, men particularly, were kept in a state of semi-slavery in Germany. Germany

#### Deportations to slavery

was developing to the full the art of attempting to subdue and break the spirit of a brave people by systematic, purposeful, and merciless brutality. The hardships under which the Belgian people suffered were not of the thrilling and dramatic nature that some of the people experienced early in the war, but they were of a kind to test the courage and temper of a nation to the full.

In October, 1916, the German authorities in Belgium began the wholesale deportations of Belgian able-bodied men. This virtually meant the reduction of Belgian manhood to a state of slavery, with the added bitterness that the slave was torn away from wife, children, and home. It was disguised at first as a plan for helping the Belgian unemployed, and with an hypocrisy already too familiar in the actions of the enemy in King Albert's country, the Germans even plumed themselves on their benevolence and kindness.

On October 3rd a decree was issued from the German General Headquarters subjecting to forced labour all able-bodied Belgians who, through lack of employment or for any other cause, were dependent on others. This decree was quickly put into effect. The unemployed were required to register, and the local officials were forced to hand in lists of them. Those who refused were penalised. Thus the members of the Municipal Council of Brussels were arrested because they would not supply lists. Uhlands would ride into towns, call all the men together, and hurry them off to waiting trucks.

At first only real unemployed were taken. Then every able-bodied man in some districts, even though a man of means, was seized. Soon in other districts every fit man between eighteen and thirty years of age was registered or deported.

#### Real aim of the enemy

It became apparent that the real aim of the Germans was to supply the lacking man-power in their own land from the population of Belgium. The numbers of the enslaved soon rose from thousands to tens of thousands, then scores of thousands. In the city of Ghent alone it was estimated that by mid-October no fewer than five thousand men had been taken. The scenes on their departure, scenes repeated all over the land, were moving in the extreme. Women and children, mothers with babies in their arms, others with infants barely able to walk clinging to their knees, stood around weeping and lamenting. In Ghent itself there was the greatest excitement. A fever of indignation spread through all classes. Crowds assembled in the streets, singing patriotic songs and shouting satirical remarks at every German they met. This gave the enemy opportunity to apply further punitive measures.

An official notice was posted on the city walls explaining what had happened. The German authorities declared that a situation had been created which was impossible. Large numbers of men had continued out of work for two years, with inadequate relief. The long spell of idleness was doing them great harm. Hence the decision to make them work. They would not be made into soldiers. They would be fed and housed, given free medical aid, and paid a minimum wage of threepence-halfpenny a day for each day of actual work. Specially diligent men would earn more, and foremen would receive sixpence a day. Each man could receive a postcard weekly from his family, and send one card. People who circulated wicked rumours about the men's treatment were severely censured.



Explanations such as this did little to calm the popular excitement. From all parts came tales of more frequent raids. At place after place the men were paraded, examined like cattle, and the strongest ordered off. Where the local authorities imposed difficulties, or refused to aid the Germans, the towns were fined and the officials removed. Thus Bruges was fined £5,000 a day for each day's delay in assembling the men, and the burgomaster, an old man of eighty, was deposed from his office because he refused to be complaisant.

Then tales came from the borders and from Germany itself, telling of the hardships of the men en route. Dreadful narratives were received of their condition during the journey when, packed in cattle-trucks, hungry and thirsty, they were carted off like beasts to market. One correspondent of a Dutch paper told how, standing near the frontier, he had seen the slave-trains arrive. The men looked as though they had been snatched straight from work, an odd commentary on the German explanation that only the unemployed had been taken.

**Cardinal Mercier's protest** Thus a butcher boy was still in his white apron, farm labourers were still in mud-covered clogs, fresh from the fields, and mechanics bore on them clear marks of toil. Other accounts told how as the trucks passed through some districts pitiful people pressed up trying to throw anything they could to the hungry men in them.

Once in Germany, they were made to feel the full force of their slavery. They were put to any work the enemy pleased, mining, digging trenches, making barbed-wire, working in furnaces. No scruple, no thought of international law counted now.

Cardinal Mercier once more came to the front with bold protests against the illegality and brutality of the business. In an open letter to the civilised world, sent on behalf of the Belgian bishops, he told how he had already protested to General von Bissing. Then only men actually out of work were affected. Now, he added, "all sound men are taken away without distinction. They are packed into goods trucks and carried off we know not whither, like a gang of slaves." The Cardinal went on to show how Germany had broken repeated promises and solemn undertakings. Then he added:

The naked truth is this: Every workman taken from Belgium

means one soldier more for the German Army. He is intended to take the place of a German workman, out of whom a soldier is to be made. So that the situation which we now lay before the civilised world comes to this. Four hundred thousand workmen have fallen victims to unemployment against their will, and, for the most part, as the result of the German régime of occupation.

Troops of soldiers force their way into these poor homes, tear the young men from their parents, husband from his wife, father from his children. They guard with bayonets the doors through which wives and mothers desire to run and bid a last farewell to those taken from them. Soldiers separate the prisoners into groups of forty or fifty, and load them by force into goods trucks. The engine stands under steam, and when the train is full the superior officer gives the signal for departure, and once more a thousand Belgians are carried off into slavery and, without formalities, are condemned to the hardest punishment known to punitive legislation—namely, deportation. They know neither where they are going nor for how long. All they know is that their work is to profit the enemy alone.



IN FLOODED FLANDERS.

Flooded land along the Belgian front proved a fatal barrier to the German advance. At its edge here it will be seen that the water rose up to the horse's girth.



WATERY BARRIER ALONG THE BELGIAN FRONT.

By releasing the pent-up waters of canals and dikes the Belgians interposed between themselves and their ruthless foes an effective No Man's Land. Over the flooded polders the Belgian soldier looked with grim satisfaction at the friendly element in which large numbers of his enemies had been swept away.

The news of the slave-raids was received by the neutral world with horror. In the United States the Government showed its feeling by ordering the American representative at Berlin to inform the German Foreign Office that the deportations could not but have a most unfortunate effect upon neutral opinion, particularly in the United States, which had the interest of the Belgian civilian population so much at heart. American indignation was strengthened by reports from American citizens in Belgium, which emphasised and added detail to the brief Belgian accounts received. Washington's protest was echoed



in other neutral capitals. In the British House of Commons Lord Robert Cecil told the nation that mere words of protest against a policy of atrocities like this were of little avail. The only action that could finally solve this problem was to wage the war with all our power.

The Germans continued semi-officially to paint their policy as one of philanthropy. "All in all," declared one such statement, "the measures have had a thoroughly good success, and one doubtless can expect that the Belgians themselves will gradually realise the utility of these regulations."

What said the Belgians? M. Emile Cammaerts eloquently expressed the feelings of his fellow-countrymen in a statement printed at the time in the "Observer," November 19th, 1916:

If things are allowed to go on at this rate we shall witness the wholesale deportation of an entire people reduced to slavery. All the country's best blood will be used up in the German workshops and mines, or, worse still, in the trenches which the enemy is

material wealth of the country may be given. The German Commissioner at Brussels demanded a forced loan of £40,000, three-fifths of the amount to be furnished by the Belgian National Bank and two-fifths by other banks. The directors of the National Bank were told that if the money was not forthcoming they would be arrested. When they declined to pay, one of their leading members, M. Carlier, was taken as a prisoner to Aix-la-Chapelle where, according to a Belgian official statement, he was treated with brutality and forced to carry a heavy wooden fetter.

It was reported shortly afterwards that the Germans had also arrested M. Carlier's daughter in order to bring pressure upon her father. Having arrested the banker, the Germans naturally sought some excuse for their action, and so they spread reports abroad that he was one of the most bitter of Germany's enemies. One German newspaper declared that during the Siege of Antwerp he led the anti-German movement among the people there. "It is with great delight that we see the end of this pernicious

worker, one of the most dangerous agitators in Belgium." And all because he refused to sanction a plan which would have given him and his fellow-directors a mass of German paper of doubtful value in place of their own good money. However, on threats of seizing all the properties of these private banks, the Germans obtained the coveted money.

In the autumn of 1916 the German Government seized two hundred locomotives, five thousand vehicles, and several hundred miles of rails belonging to the Belgian light railways known as the *Chemins de Fer Vicinaux*. These light railways were the great rural means for the transport of goods, and the result of the seizure of the line, coming as it did just before the beet harvest, was to arrest the internal traffic of a large part of the country. Food could not be conveyed into the districts and the beet supplies could not be sent out.

If the Belgians offended against the Germans, they were punished with great severity. Men were sentenced to heavy fines and imprisonments for breathing a whisper against the invaders.

Germans of good position, on the other hand, could commit atrocious crimes and go almost unpunished. The most notorious example of this was the murder of Baron d'Udekem d'Acoz, a well-known Belgian noble. The baron was living on his estate, and several German officers came to his house, he being forced to receive them and house them. It was suggested that, as was only natural, he felt none too friendly towards these enforced enemy guests, and did not take particular pains to conceal his distaste of their presence. He disappeared, and three months afterwards his body was discovered by a gamekeeper in a wood on the estate. An examination of the body showed that the baron had been killed by a shot from a revolver in the back.

It was said at the beginning that the German officers might possibly know something about the baron's disappearance. The German police arrested the baron's wife and kept her in prison for some time, treating her



PROUD MOMENT OF A BELGIAN OFFICER'S LIFE.

It was indeed a proud moment for the soldier when, in the presence of the officers with whom he would henceforth rank, he took the oath. Standing by the well-loved "drapeau Belge," held by a veritable giant of a standard-bearer, he swore fidelity to King and Flag.

building behind the front in Flanders and Northern France. Our preachers have frequently chosen recently as a text the well-known Psalm: "By the waters of Babylon we sat down . . ." Did they guess that Belgium should not only suffer from exile and oppression, but that her sons should be carried away captive in the land of her conquerors?

This is, indeed, worse than the disaster of the invasion, worse than the retreat from Antwerp, worse than the wholesale massacres of Louvain, Tamines, Andenne, and Dinant; worse even than the ceaseless persecutions to which the nation has been subjected during the last two years. Any military defeat may be avenged by a glorious victory, destroyed towns may be rebuilt, dead martyrs may be worshipped, persecutions may be endured. But what will Belgium's answer be to this new crime? What will she be able to say if no one is left at home to speak? Up to now she had merely suffered in her body; she had been wounded, bullied, and starved, but her indomitable spirit remained free. To-day her soul is stricken. Every one of these captives will have to choose between death and dishonour; his spirit will be broken by a slow and gnawing torture endured in complete isolation.

The steady absorption of the wealth of the country went on all the time.

Two illustrations of the German plans for acquiring the

**Murder of a  
Belgian noble**





BELGIAN NATIONAL SPIRIT MAINTAINED ON ITS NATIVE SOIL.

[Belgian official photograph.]

Proudly holding on to what was left of their own land, the Belgian troops were still able to celebrate their national fetes on national soil unsullied by the Hun. On the place of that short stretch, for so long all they had of

enemy-free coast, the troops that took part in such celebrations showed by their soldierly bearing something of that sturdy confidence in the future for which they were ready to strike with effective force.



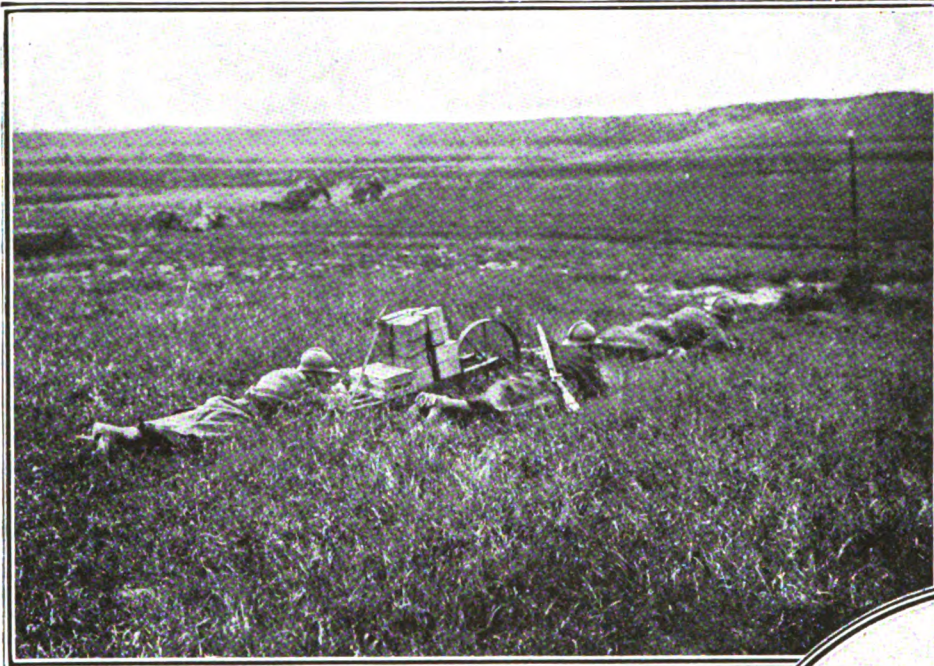
NEW BELGIAN ARMY IN THE MAKING.

[French official photograph.]

Whatever Belgium lost when her fair land was overrun by ruthless German hordes, as it was finely said, she kept her soul. This was illustrated by the heroic tenacity with which the last strip of Belgian territory was held by

the remnant of her troops, and by the readiness with which her manhood responded to the need for building up a new Army. Part of that new Army is here shown during its training in a coastal town of France.





KEEPING THE MACHINE-GUNS WELL FED.

Carrying supplies of munitions to advanced machine-gun sections was an hazardous undertaking, calling for the greatest care. It will be observed that the men had to crawl along and take advantage of the slightest inequality of the ground in getting to their comrades' position.

with the utmost severity. Soon after the body was discovered, a chauffeur in the service of Prince Stolberg, one of the officers who had lived with the baron, denounced his master as the murderer, and accused another officer, a Count Gagern, of being his accomplice.

The accusation was so specific and detailed that the German authorities could not pass it over. The two officers were arrested and tried by court-martial. Their

arrest caused a great sensation, for the prince belonged to one of the oldest sovereign houses of the German Empire. Both prisoners were found guilty. The

prince was sentenced to death, and the count to ten years' hard labour. Now comes the amazing sequel. Shortly afterwards, the Kaiser remitted the sentences on both the prince and the count—the same Kaiser who could find no mercy in his heart for Miss Cavell.

The case of Miss Cavell has been so fully treated elsewhere in this work that it is unnecessary to do more than refer to it here. It was a striking example of the work of the German spies maintained all over Belgium. There were spies everywhere—in cafés, in street cars, in shops, in every crowd. The German spy system was in many ways the most odious and repulsive part of the German rule in Belgium.

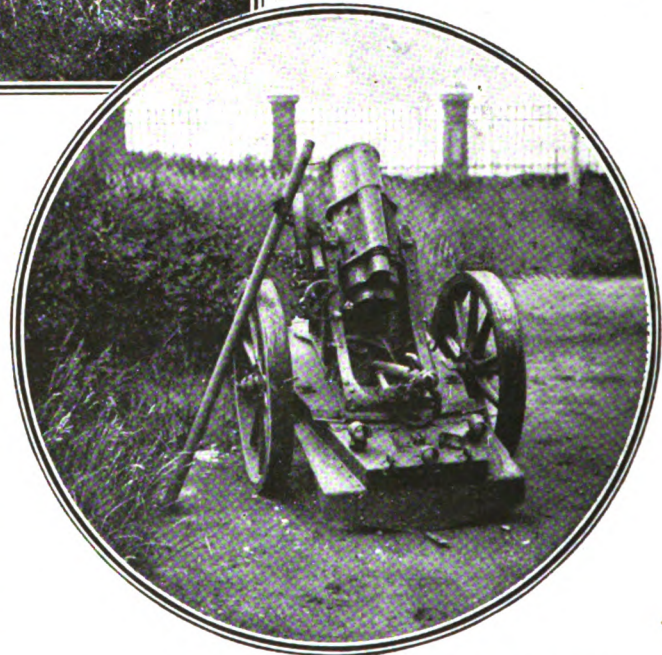
Food supplies soon became a question of very great urgency.

In the autumn of 1914, when the opposing armies formed the long trench line in Belgium and in Northern France, which was to fix their position for two years and more ahead, it soon became evident that unless some extraordinary measures were taken to feed the Belgian people, large numbers of them must die of starvation. Belgium in normal times imported the greater part of its food supplies. Seventy-eight per cent. of the wheat consumed in the country came from abroad. The proportion of other staple articles imported was also very high. Now many of the crops had been destroyed. In many districts it had been impossible to harvest them because the men had been called up to war just as the grain was ripening.

Germany could not or would not help the conquered country. She wanted all the food she could secure for herself, and was only too ready to steal from the Belgians the little

they had. The big stocks of grain and other foodstuffs in the country when the Germans came were commandeered by them. Importation in the ordinary way was impossible. The allied fleets barred the seas. The Allies could not and would not permit the general importation of food supplies. Had they done so, Belgium would simply have become a channel for the conveyance of food to Germany, and the allied blockade would at once have been rendered vain.

Yet something had to be done. To permit a population—including the inhabitants of Northern France in the occupation of Germany—of 9,500,000 people to starve was unthinkable. Here was a case where neutrals might



BOMB-THROWER TAKEN BY THE BELGIAN ARMY.

That formidable examples of the bomb-thrower were employed against the Belgian line is well shown by this photograph of one of those very powerful weapons, which was captured from the Germans at Ramscapeelle.

act, and the United States rose splendidly to the occasion. An organisation was formed, the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which undertook nothing less than the work of purchasing, conveying, and distributing sufficient essential foods for the whole population in the allied territory occupied by Germany to the west. President Wilson, with the friendly co-operation of other neutral countries, appointed a committee of picked business men, who flung themselves into the work of raising money by millions of pounds, purchasing foodstuffs in millions of tons, and distributing it throughout the conquered territories.

**Splendid neutral relief work**

To describe the work of the Commission for Relief in Belgium as the greatest philanthropic effort of any age is inadequate. The conception was grandiose; the execution of the scheme was admirable. The Commission was fortunate in its leader. Mr. Herbert Hoover, who became chairman and active director of the entire undertaking, was one of the newest types of great American business organisers.



A young Californian with a distinguished university career, and a trustee of his *Alma Mater*, the Leland Stanford Junior University, Mr. Hoover had for nearly twenty years since his graduation been engaged in big works of organisation. A mining engineer by profession, he began his wider career by taking over the management of a group of mines in Western Australia. From there he went to China as head of the newly-created Government Department of Mines; later on he came to London, where at the time

**The Director of  
Relief**

war broke out he was the controlling head of undertakings employing 125,000 men. When the American authorities appealed to him to guide the work of the new Commission he probably had little idea that he was setting his hand to a task that would take not a few weeks, or a few months, but years at the very prime of his manhood.

He quickly gathered around him a group of young Americans—engineers, university professors, Rhodes scholars from Oxford, men of real business experience. They were full of enthusiasm, and one and all gave their services freely. They set themselves to their task as they

Germans, on the other hand, suspected that the Americans were working in a way unfriendly to them, they could have closed down the entire operations of the Commission in an hour. The Commission had one work and one work alone—to feed the people—and its members were rigid in their determination to maintain neutrality.

Next to the diplomatic work came the procuring of funds. The heart of the world had to be touched by a knowledge of the needs of Belgium. Money had to be raised on a scale never previously dreamed of in the history of philanthropy. Soon the Commission was spending considerably over £1,000,000 a month. All this amount was not raised by public gifts, although the public in the allied countries and in every neutral nation—notably the United States—did splendidly. By far the greater part was paid to the Commission by Great Britain and France, and even by the Belgian Government on the loans granted to it by the allied Governments. The different Governments quickly became convinced of the admirable disinterestedness of the Commission's organisers.

It is obvious that in the purchasing of food by the million of tons a very little skill may make a very great difference in the total prices paid. The Commission had first to make up its mind what were the essential food-stuffs it would buy, and then it had to procure them at as low a rate as possible. It early decided that its staple importation must be wheat and flour for bread. After this came maize, and it was in time realised that one of the best foods was rice. Beans and peas, bacon, lard, and potatoes were also bought in large quantities. In the first month the total food purchased came to 26,000 tons, there then being considerable quantities of foodstuffs remaining in the country. As these supplies failed, the importations increased within a year to close on 120,000 tons a month. The Commission was made the sole importer of wheat from overseas into Belgium. It had to procure not only food to be distributed among the destitute but also to be sold to all classes.

In purchasing it went to the fountain-head. Thus it bought most of its wheat in the Chicago wheat-pit and its rice in Rangoon. The Chicago Board of Trade became its purchasing agent, an honorary purchasing agent that watched the market more closely than the keenest broker.



**BELGIAN HILL-TOP GUN-PIT.**

With their gun-pit masked by gorse bushes, such as this, the men of the machine-gun sections were able to give a good account of themselves against the enemy.

would have gone into any vast business undertaking. They laid their plans carefully and exactly. They divided the work into sections, put responsible men in charge of each, gave them a free hand, and established from the beginning a system of inspection and reports which kept those at the head in complete touch with all that was happening.

The work of the Commission naturally divided itself into three or four main sections. There was the diplomatic side. The goodwill of both the allied and the German Governments must be maintained. If the Allies did not approve of what the Commission was doing they could prevent its importation of foodstuffs. If the



**WELL-GUARDED ENTRANCE TO A BELGIAN TRENCH.**

Such important positions as those at the trench-endings frequently formed the most effective points for machine-gun emplacements. In the Belgian, as in the other lines, these machine-guns played a vital part in the operations, forming one of the most effective means of stopping or holding up an attack.



During the first year of its existence the Commission paid from 5 to 10 per cent. less for its high-grade wheat than any other large purchaser. It secured special freight rates for the carriage of its foodstuffs to the seaports, partly on account of the enormous size of its transactions and partly from the goodwill of all for its work. The Commission had the same success in Rangoon. It waited until the markets were exceedingly low and then flooded them with an order for 40,000 tons of rice. Next day the price of rice rose 20 per cent., but the Commission had its orders already accepted at the lowest price of the year.

**A record for  
Rotterdam**

Then came the work of transportation. The Commission had to hire its own ships, on long charter or short, and soon it had no less than seventy-five steamers in its employ. Here, as in other operations, exact office work told. Things were so planned that when a steamer reached a port there was a cargo waiting for it. There were no delays and no lost time. When the steamers reached their port of destination, Rotterdam, all was ready for the discharge of their cargo. And so the ships were kept moving all the time. The speed in discharging the cargo steamers and the cheapness per ton made a record for Rotterdam.

The cargoes were all landed at Rotterdam, and from there placed in barges and distributed to various central points in Belgium. The canal system which connects Rotterdam up with practically the whole of Belgium and a considerable part of Northern France, including Lille and Cambrai, was made the main means of conveying the food over the country.

In the work of distributing the food supplies of Belgium the Commission worked through a system of provincial and local committees, which were directed by the Belgian National Committee at Brussels. These local organisations were operated by no less than 37,000 voluntary workers, all people of responsibility. Thus the National Committee at the top consisted of a group of prominent Belgians working in conjunction with several representatives of the Commission for Relief. Each communal committee usually had the burgomaster at the head of it.

Watching over the work of these different committees, helping, acting as intermediaries when difficulties arose with the Germans, preventing abuse, and keeping a general check on things, were the American workers, young, keen, active volunteers, who were ever on the move from end to end of the land.

The work of distributing the foodstuffs was kept quite apart from the work of charity. Each communal committee was able to order within certain fixed limits what it required. It paid for this in cash to the provincial committee, and the provincial committee paid in cash to the central organisation. The wheat—to take the main article imported as an example of what happened with other goods—was distributed on an arranged plan to certain mills throughout the country, the millers being paid for their work of grinding it into flour.

Experience proved that the utmost nourishment was obtained by an 82 per cent. milling. At first it was the general practice to mill 90 per cent. of the wheat into flour, and to use the remaining 10 per cent. of bran for fodder. In ordinary milling for white bread only about 65 or 70 per cent. of the flour is used. By using 82 per cent. as a standard, the maximum of nourishment was obtained, and although numbers of Belgian people would have greatly preferred a finer white bread, their wishes had to give way to the essential requirements of the situation.

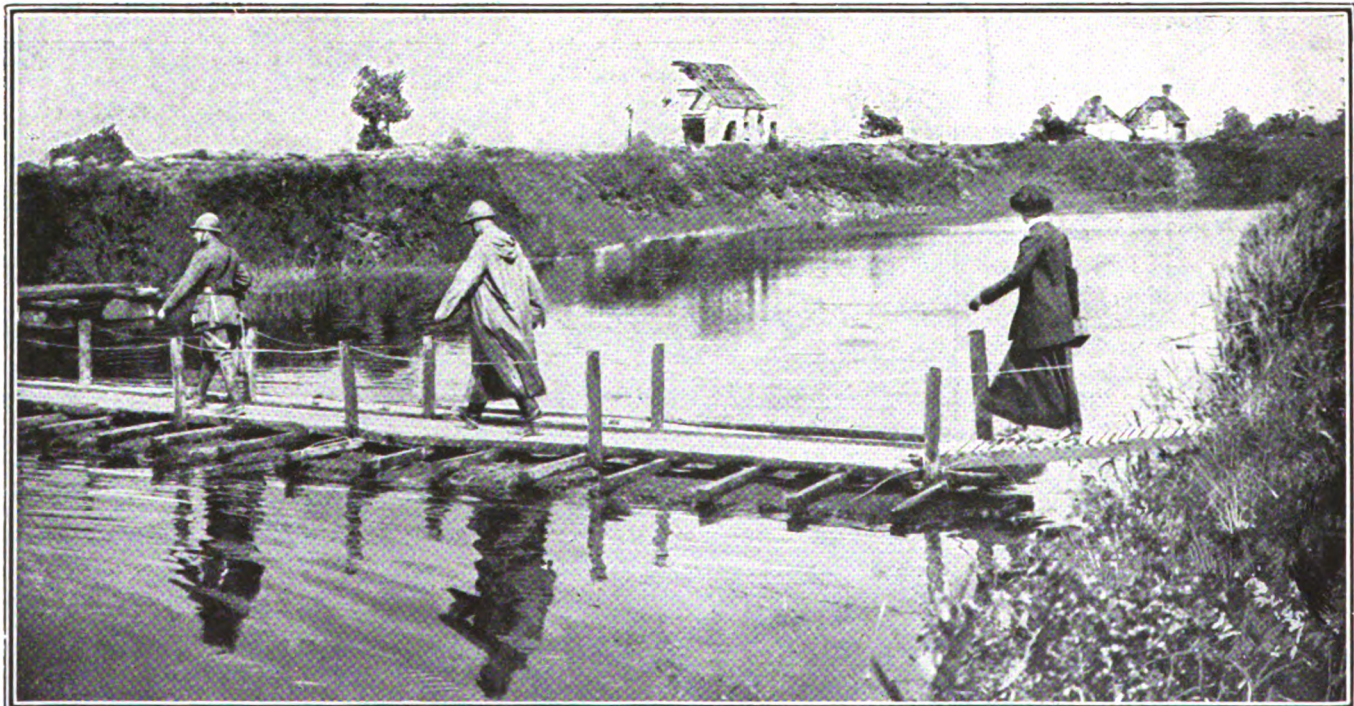
From the mills the flour was issued to the communal committees, and they in turn served it out to the bakers. Each baker had his old list of customers, and he was allowed to bake according to the number of these.

**Distribution of  
flour and bread**

The most satisfactory plan was eventually found to be to pay the baker so much per loaf, the baker being under contract to produce 4 lb. of good bread from each 3 lb. of flour allowed to him.

The baker did not himself do the distributing of the bread. When baked it was handed in by him to a central shop, the communal warehouse, from which the purchaser obtained it.

The bread was issued to the purchasers by tickets, the general allowance being 330 grammes (about three-quarters



QUEEN ELIZABETH SHOWING SYMPATHY WITH HER WAR-SHATTERED COUNTRY BY PERSONAL VISIT TO THE FRONT.

From the first unjustifiable attack by Germany on Belgium's neutrality the bravery of King Albert and his Queen commanded widest admiration. The King and Queen remained ever in close touch with their heroic troops

who held on to so much of their land as had not come under the iron heel of the Hun. Here her Majesty is seen as she visited one of the ruined districts immediately behind the firing-line in Flanders.



of a pound) of bread per head daily. The purchasers were given cards showing the number of persons in their houses and the amount allowed to them. They were required to obtain their bread as a rule from the nearest distributing depot and to take it away themselves, each family going for their supply three times a week. Every baker's bread was kept separately, and the customer who desired could change from one baker to another. By this means the bakers had the best of all stimulus to keep up the quality of their wares.

The price of bread was fixed by periodic agreement. It was found in practice that this system of direct purchasing and wholesale distribution worked out very advantageously to the buyer. There was a saving of 10 per cent. on the cost of wheat up to the time it reached the mill in Belgium, but the greatest saving of all was in the cost of general distribution. "If the Commission saved 10 per cent. on the price of the wheat from the Chicago pit to the Belgian mill," wrote Mr. Robinson Smith, one of its active organisers, "it saved from 30 to 40 per cent. from the mill to the mouths of the people. This can be very easily demonstrated. In normal times the most the Belgian farmer gets for his wheat from the miller is 16 francs for 100 kilos (13s. 4d. for 220 lb.), and the normal price of bread in Belgium is 30 centimes a kilo (3d. for 2 lb. 3 oz.). The average cost to the miller (acting for the provincial committee) of the Commission wheat during the first year was 32 francs 7 centimes per 100 kilos (£1 6s. 8½d. for 220 lb.), yet the average price of bread during the same period was only 38 centimes per kilo (3½d. for 2 lb. 3 oz.).

"In other words, the miller had to pay more than double for his wheat because it was war time, but the people had to pay only 27 per cent. more for their bread."

A comparison of figures month by month from the beginning of 1915 showed that during most months the people in Brussels were paying less for bread of the same quality than the people of London, and this notwithstanding the very high extra transportation costs into Belgium. The Commission had not only a monopoly for the importation of flour, but it also purchased the entire crops of the farmers in Belgium itself.

The larger part of this saving was due to the reduction in the cost of distribution. Competitive shopkeeping was practically abolished, and a striking example was given of the fact that eventually it is the consumer who pays for competition. One shop did the work of distribution which was done by forty shops in the old days. The communal store did not confine itself to the sale of bread. It supplied



KING ALBERT'S DAY IN HUN-FREE FLANDERS.

It was still possible to celebrate King Albert's Day in one of his country's churches, though all that was left to him was but a strip of Western Flanders. On the occasion represented the Duke of Teck was among those present at the celebration. The lines of helmeted soldiers are eloquent of the conditions in which the service was held.

all the goods provided by the Commission, and it was encouraged to extend its field as largely as possible, for the more it sold the more widely distributed were its overhead charges.

It was not enough, however, to import food into the country and to distribute it at the cheapest possible rate. There were large numbers of people who could not afford to pay even the minimum price. For them there must be charity. It was to purchase food for them that the allied Governments and the charitable public of the world had subscribed so freely. Destitution was mainly felt among the industrial population; the farmers were most of them better off than ever, because of the high prices to be had for their products.

The number of Belgians without means increased as the war went on, until by the autumn of 1916 it amounted to

A A





BELGIAN GUNNERS TESTING THEIR NEW WEAPONS.

Fine work was done by the Belgian artillery in the stubborn defence by which they held the enemy after his onrush had been stopped. Here a gun-detachment are to be seen as they carefully learned to sight their weapon preparatory to going forward to their service in the front line.

about one out of three in the population, or close on two and a half millions. But for outside aid the greater number of these must undoubtedly have died of sheer hunger. Germany did very little indeed. One or two show places were maintained in Brussels and elsewhere to which neutral journalists were carefully conducted that they might see the benevolence of the Prussian to his foe. But the entire field of German benevolent activity covered at the most a few hundred people.

The Commission for Relief in Belgium worked on its benevolent side in close co-operation with the Belgian organisation, the Comité National de Secours et d'Alimentation. The main basis of the financial resources for this work came from monthly grants of £1,000,000 from the allied Governments, of which Great Britain contributed half to the Belgian Government for the service of the Commission. In addition to this, the Commission obtained aid from 4,000 committees established in many neutral and allied countries.

The Government subsidy was spent largely on semi-official relief, such as allowances to families whose bread-winners had been lost owing to the war, supplementary allowances to the destitute, advances to families of officers and non-commissioned officers, assistance to communal organisations, and advances to building and loan societies, charitable institutions, and educational institutions. The money coming from charity largely went on direct feeding and clothing the destitute, and providing temporary shelters, and on the establishment of special committees.

One of these committees started to obtain work for lace-workers, some gave special

assistance to artists, to foreigners, to doctors, and to the dispossessed. Some were for the clergy, some for the destitute young mothers, and so on. Large amounts of new and second-hand clothing were received from all over the world, and were badly needed. This clothing was distributed only to the destitute, and without charge. Gift shiploads of food sent to Belgium were of temporary assistance. But it was soon realised that the need was too big for occasional gift cargoes to be more than a drop in the bucket in meeting it.

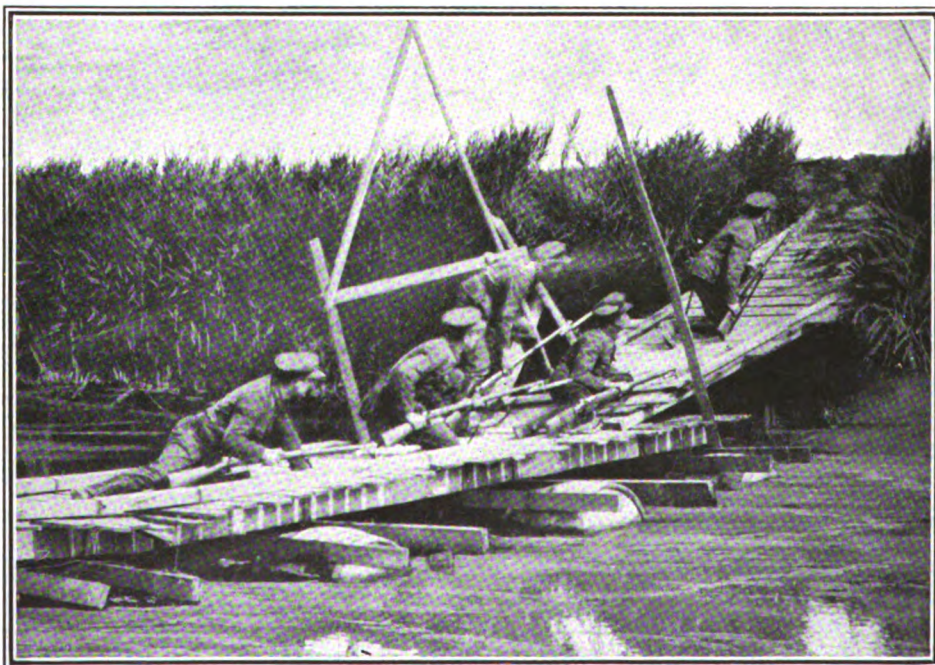
The Commission aimed at obtaining as its main resource gifts of money, which could be fairly distributed and used directly in purchasing food which had been distributed over the country by the Provisional Department of the Commission. A great deal of help was also given in providing fresh homes for the large number of people whose houses had been destroyed during invasion. Considerable numbers of Belgians were at the beginning forced into

the open fields or cow-sheds, overcrowded in the remainder of the undestroyed villages, or driven into the slums of near-by towns. Householders were given loans or supplies of material to help them to rebuild.

The main work of feeding was done by giving regular rations of food to millions of people each week. In each district the voluntary committees of local workers sought out the really needy. Any person whose income did not amount to 4s. 2d. a week was entitled to assistance.

Seeking out the really needy

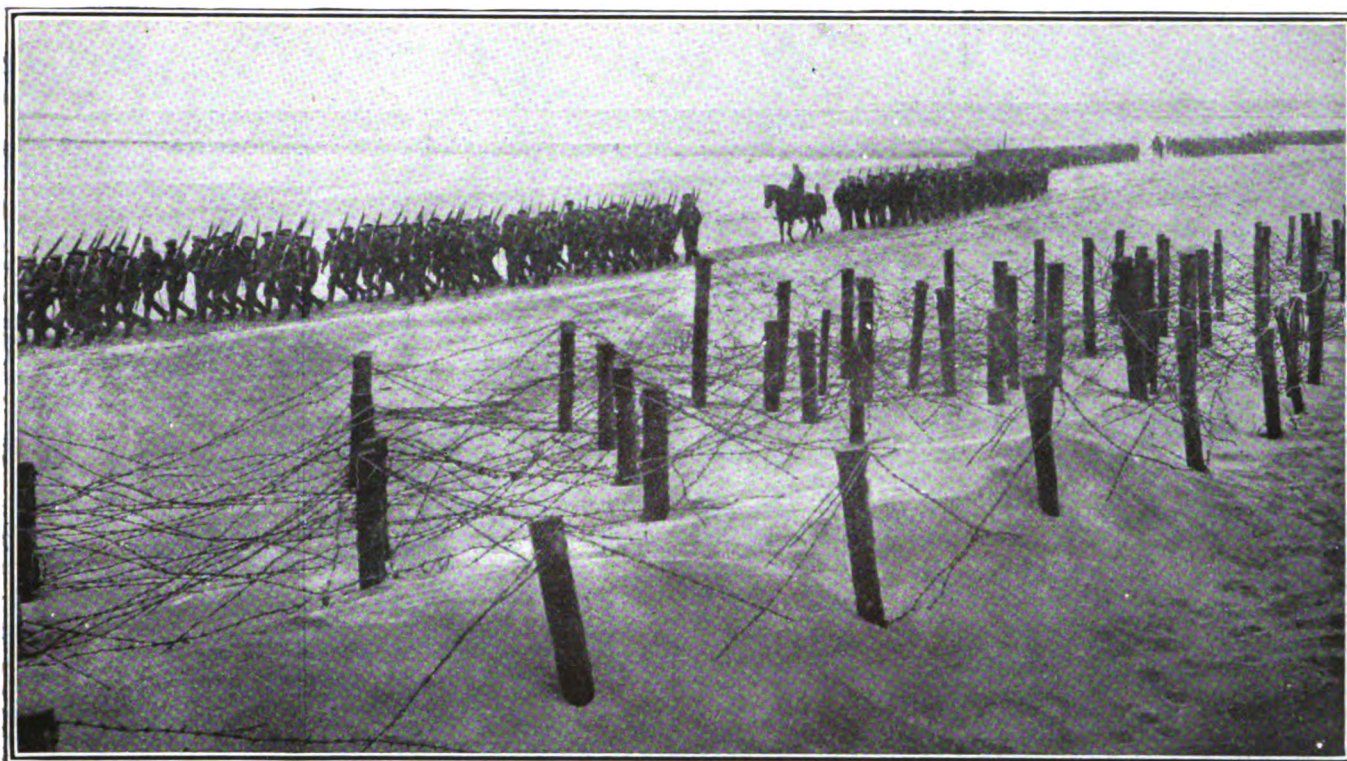
Nothing could be more eloquent of the terrible conditions existing in Belgium than that over two million people qualified for relief under this condition. There were various precautions to prevent the relief being abused.



APPROACH TO A CRITICAL CORNER BY BELGIAN SCOUTS.

Very special training was required for those who undertook the hazardous and vitally important work of scouting. Crossing an emergency bridge this small party of Belgian Scouts, in their new khaki uniforms, were advancing as though beyond the reeds they might come in touch with the enemy.





GERMAN MARINES ON THE BELGIAN SAND DUNES.

Denied that service afloat for which they had been trained by the fact of their ships being kept securely in harbour, the German Marines were marched off to fill places along the depleted line of the western front.

The companies of them shown here were wending their way along the Flemish dunes during the German occupation. The wire entanglements were for the defence of the shore against landing parties.

The scale of help varied according to the conditions of the person. Let us take as a typical example the case of an unemployed labourer or artisan with a housekeeper or wife and a family. He himself would be allowed 2s. 6d. per week, 1s. 3d. would be allowed for the wife, 5d. for each child under sixteen, and 2s. 6d. for children over sixteen, formerly employed or at school. Thus a man and wife with three young children would receive five shillings a week. This would not be given in money. It would be delivered in "bons"—that is, orders for

#### Health of the populace

provisional committee, or to accredited tradesmen for native supplies. This assistance was not, however, all. The communal committees were encouraged to devise methods for helping special classes, particularly nursing mothers and children.

The aim of the Commission was to maintain the people of Belgium in a state of health. How far did it succeed in its aim? A very interesting report by an American medical man, Dr. Lucas, was published in August, 1916. Dr. Lucas, in response to an invitation from Mr. Hoover, spent some months in Belgium examining the health conditions of the population. He found that the amount of food being supplied through the work of the Commission, the utmost food that it could give, was barely enough.

"Even with these supplies," he wrote, "the population has existed upon the narrowest margin of dietary necessities. . . . In a general way there can be no doubt that the vitality and resistance of the majority of these classes (the industrial and minor commercial classes) have been lowered." He found an increase in tuberculosis due to under-nutrition.

Dr. Lucas gave a number of facts showing the alarming growth of consumption among the working-class population, directly attributable to the great shortage of fats in their foods. The lack of meat, the growing failure of milk supply, the diminution in the native supply of vegetables and fruit, all had evil results. From Brussels came the news of a considerable increase in the number of cases of tuberculosis, and a large number of relapses among old, arrested cases that had been supposed to be cured.

The Antwerp conditions were told in reports for the first seventeen weeks in each year. In 1913 the mortality from tuberculosis during that time was 7.1 per cent; in

1914, 9 per cent.; in 1915, 9.5 per cent.; in 1916, 13.2 per cent. In Namur the deaths from tubercular causes had almost doubled. The doctors further found evidence of the lowered vitality of the people in the fact that, according to the current opinion of employers and others able to judge, the labouring man was not able to do the amount of work he formerly did. "His energy and power of production are considerably less, and he becomes much more easily fatigued than usual."

The reports from maternity hospitals showed that the weights of babies born in 1916 were less than the average of infants born before the war. There was a great diminution in the birth-rate compared with the average of some years before the war. The birth-rate had fallen in 1916: In Brussels, 48 per cent.; in Antwerp, 41 per cent.; in Louvain, 41 per cent.; in Namur, 42 per cent.; in Liège, 41 per cent. "The lowered vitality of the women due to under-nutrition may be accepted as the chief factor." The one bright fact was that the infant mortality had fallen since the beginning of the war. Dr. Lucas's report well showed in the cold language of science the disastrous effects of war and enemy rule on the Belgian people.

"If it had not been for you, we should have starved to death," was a common phrase, said thousands upon thousands of times by the Belgians to the American workers. Mr. Hoover and his band of enthusiastic assistants did a work that will go down in the history of the world as a model for all times. Its magnitude, its efficiency, its application of the most modern methods of business to charity, and its practical qualities were almost beyond

#### Business skill of the Commission

praise. One fact alone may serve to show the business skill behind the Commission. The costs of administration for the year 1914-15 amounted to £101,994 14s. 10d., or three-fourths of 1 per cent. on the total value of the supplies handled.

The Commission, however, took shrewd advantage of variations in the rate of exchange, in handling the large sums remitted between the different branches, and it actually earned a profit in exchange—in excess of the average bankers' rates—of £106,189. In other words, its profits on exchange more than covered the whole cost of administration. The extent of its work can be judged from the fact that from November, 1914, to October, 1915, it purchased provisions to the value of over twelve and a





GENERAL DE WITTE.

[French official photograph.]

The distinguished cavalry commander of the Belgian Army in Flanders.

half million pounds, and its operations in all amounted to £17,257,591.

In endeavouring to obtain a complete idea of the food situation in Belgium, it is necessary, however, to go beyond the work of the Commission, although this body became more and more, as time went on, the feeding agent of the Belgian people. At first it imported about one-third of the food necessary for the whole nation. By the autumn of 1916 it was sending about four-fifths of the total supplies, and about six million people were receiving food on the *carte de ménage*. What of the supplies produced in Belgium itself? The townspeople complained very bitterly of the conduct of the peasants and small farmers who forced prices up to the utmost limit. "They demand our last halfpenny," cried the people of Louvain. In July it was said in Brussels that there were houses in which people

had not potatoes even for six weeks.

**Increasing cost of commodities** Butter fetched 7s. 6d. a pound; veal, mutton, or pork 4s. 2d. a pound. Coffee was 5s. per pound, eggs cost 3d. each.

In many places no coffee was to be had, and the real bean was replaced by a substitute, Kneipp Malt, which sold for about 5d. per lb.

Butter and fats were extremely rare. Meat was only issued in many places as a ration of three and a half ounces for each adult a week. Sugar was very scarce. Powdered sugar fetched one shilling and sixpence a pound. Soap sold at nearly half a crown a pound. St. Nicolas reported that the chief misery was among the middle class, who actually suffered more than the working people, for the latter received relief from committees. Clothing was at almost impossible prices. Ordinary shoes cost from 28s. to 30s., while the best quality of shoes cost as much as £2 8s. to £3.

In Liège, where there were large numbers of unemployed, many demonstrations were organised against the high cost of living. The demonstrators were particularly furious with the farmers and the milkmen. Guards waited at the various entrances to the city, seized the milkmen as they came in and compelled them to sign an undertaking to sell their milk at a reasonable price. A butter merchant who refused to sell butter to the people found himself the centre of very unpleasant demonstrations, and was burnt in effigy. In the few shops where milk was sold policemen had to be stationed to control the crowds of people who flocked to them. On July 15th it was announced, "There is no more milk."

In September and October, 1916, the condition of affairs, so far from getting better, was worse than ever. "Life is insupportable for the middle classes," was the common complaint. "The countrymen

#### Belgian Army's renaissance

enrich themselves by exploiting the people of moderate means who are unable to go to the relief committees," was another complaint. Butter was generally unobtainable except in small contraband supplies, which fetched from three shillings to four shillings per pound; although, in some communal stores, small quantities were to be had at two shillings and twopence per pound. Meat varied in price. In some parts, like Bruges, it was as low as from three shillings to three shillings and sixpence per pound; at Charleroi it was priced at four shillings and sixpence to five shillings; in one other part the price was given as high as five shillings and sixpence per pound. Potatoes in many towns were as high as fourpence a pound. Tea and coffee were eleven shillings per pound. There were no more haricot beans in many places, either white or brown.

In some towns like Ghent a weekly ration of potatoes was given of two pounds per head. "The very dog is transformed into sausages," one writer complained, "and then we have to pay three shillings per pound for him."

At Louvain it was reported that the number of sick was very great. At Antwerp there was a procession of women and children carrying black flags to the Town Hall, to protest against the insufficient ration of bread and against abuses in the distribution of soup. The price of clothing and shoes grew higher and higher. Generally they were treble their old price.

The renaissance of the Belgian Army has been described in some detail in an earlier chapter. Yet one may be pardoned for recalling here some of the main facts. After the great Battle of the Yser, in which forty-eight thousand wearied Belgian infantrymen, fresh from the terrible experiences of the Siege of Antwerp, made their last despairing stand against the hitherto triumphant German divisions, men realised that the old Belgian Army had virtually done its work. It had fought from August, 1914, until November, 1914, against the greatest military Power in Europe. It had fought almost alone, because its Allies had been unable to help it in many a stricken field.

Many Belgian soldiers and officers heard Mr. Winston Churchill at Antwerp promise that if the Belgians would hold on, adequate British aid would come to them. "You must hold on to Antwerp," he told them. "We are sending help." And the Belgians saw the help that came—the boys of the Naval Brigade, untrained sailors many of them, lads brave to the point of rashness, but some of them scarcely able to handle a gun. They counted their numbers—quite inadequate for the task.

The promise of the British statesman had caused them greater loss than they otherwise would have suffered. They recalled, too, how the strong French forces that were to have reached Namur never came at the critical moment, and how the French divisions, badly led, had broken and abandoned their naturally strong positions on the Meuse heights under the German attack.

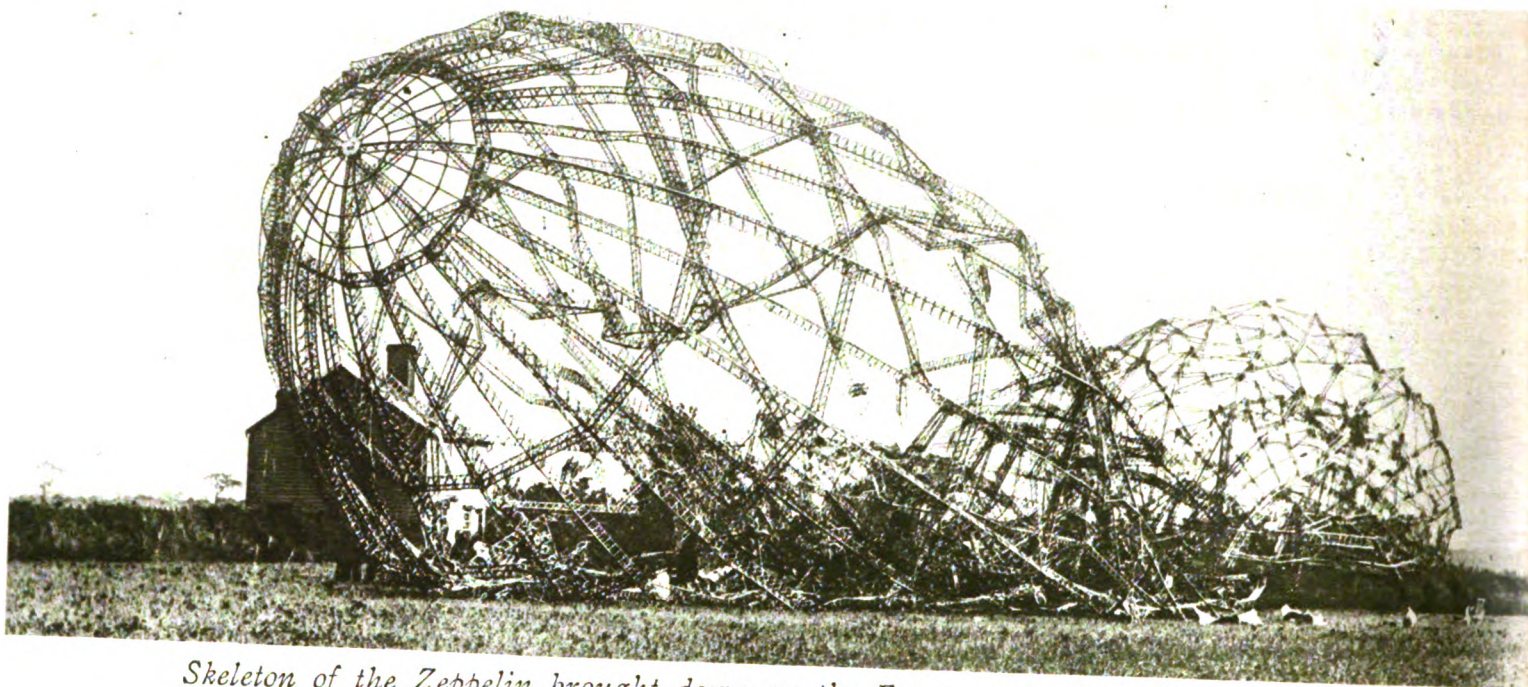
The Belgians recalled these things without bitterness, but it would be a mistake in attempting to estimate their





*New Northern Lights wherewith the Navy sought the enemy that flew by night.*



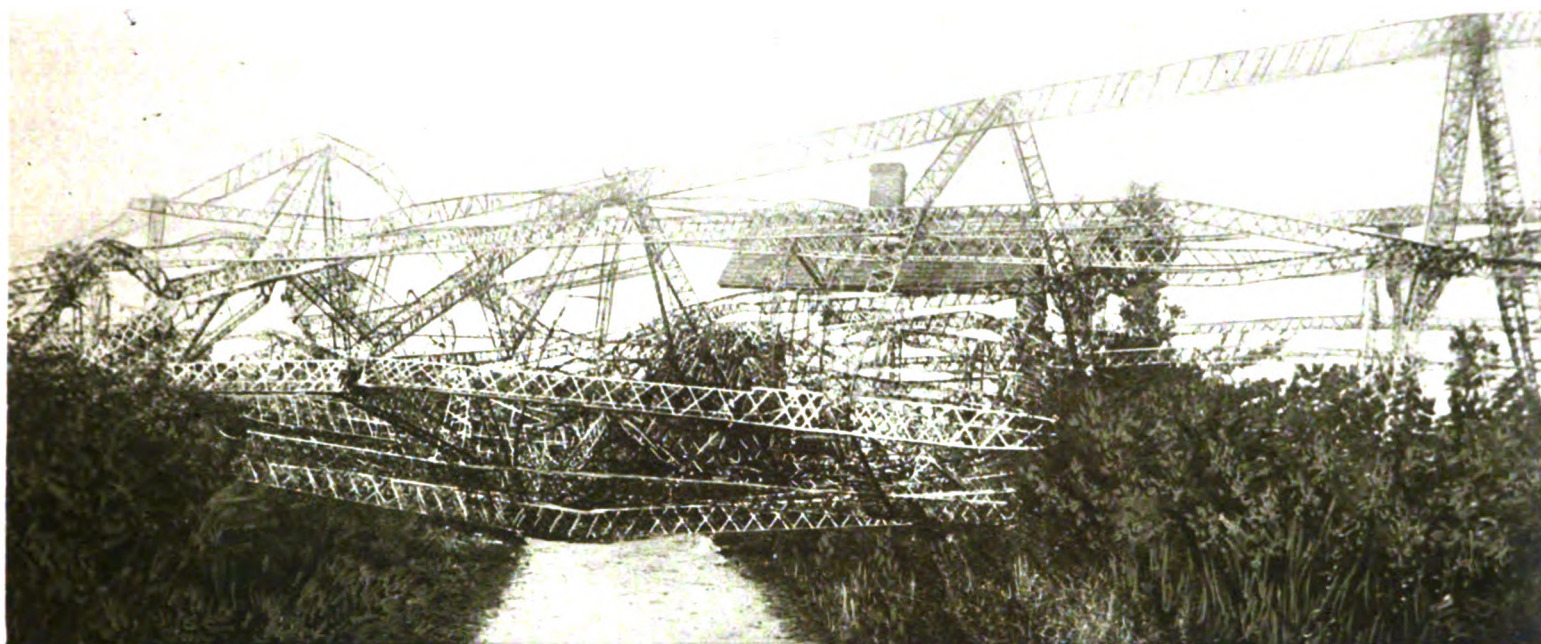


*Skeleton of the Zeppelin brought down on the Essex coast, September 24th, 1916.*



*Gondolas and propellers of the Zeppelin destroyed in South Essex, September 24th, 1916.*





*The broken Titan lay outstretched across two fields and over an Essex by=road.*



*After the crash: Smashed framework and twisted lattice of heat=corroded aluminium.*





*The crowning mercy, Cuffley, September 3rd, 1916: All that was left at dawn of the night-raiding Zeppelin.*



attitude to believe that they forgot them. They remembered as well how one gallant British division had advanced beyond Ghent to aid them, and how the French people later on had done much to atone for the failure at the beginning. If the result of it all had been that the Belgian Army had been smashed in its attempt to keep back the German flood and in its final effort which ended in the holding up of the Germans on the banks of the Yser, the cruellest punishments of all had been suffered.

The Belgian generals and statesmen surveyed the field in the days immediately after the Battle of the Yser. They

**Beginning the  
great work**

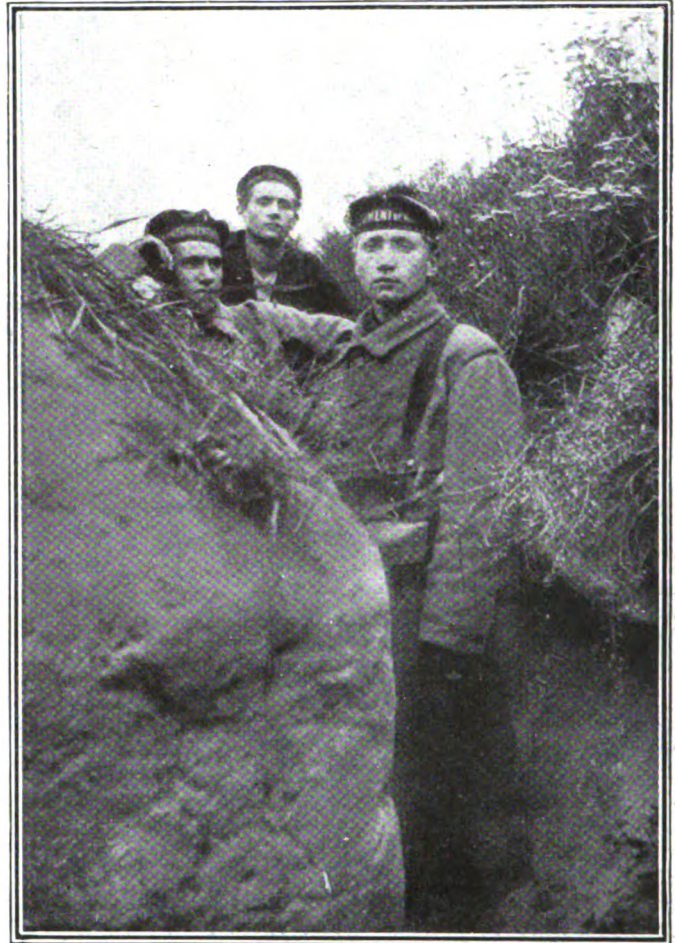
frankly recognised that they themselves had been none too well prepared for their task. The reorganisation of their Army had been delayed too long. Essential measures for defence had been emasculated, because Parliament at one stage had refused to vote the necessary supplies. The arms and equipment of the Army were out of date, the uniforms were many of them Napoleonic. The organisation needed recasting. What Belgium must have, if she was to help to recover her own territory, was a modern force, trained, drilled, dressed, equipped as were the Armies of its Allies. And so the great work of military reconstruction began.

The Belgians were fortunate in having a very solid substratum to build upon. A number of officers still survived, officers who were veterans in experience of actual warfare. Their numbers were sadly diminished. Out of 3,000 officers at the beginning of the war, four hundred and thirteen had fallen in August, 1914, and four hundred and thirty-nine in September, without counting the wounded and a very large number killed in October on the Yser. The effective Army had been reduced to 32,000 men, and even this pitifully small group was largely composed of men who had been worn out in the months of fierce fighting—many of them wounded, many of them ill. A new army had to arise.

The Belgians concentrated on the improvements of their artillery. Their old guns were of very varying type, many quite unsuited for modern warfare. Now they began to accumulate a strong force of new guns, and to train an army of artillerymen. The guns of the Belgians soon became noted among the Allies, and in the short front of the Belgian Army the Germans were often quiet lest the big guns, the "soixante-quinze," and the trench-mortars of the Belgians should open out on them and deal cruel punishment.

It was determined that the new Army should be as far as possible of young men. Here came one great difficulty in recruiting. The vast majority of the young men of Belgium were in territory occupied by the Germans, who naturally did not intend to let them out to fight them. There were considerable numbers of Belgians in England and in France. These, with the soldiers of the old Army, formed a nucleus, and thousands of young men broke through the frontier barriers between Belgium and Holland, and from Holland made their way to England to serve their King. Fresh conscription laws were passed, but for large numbers of the Belgians no conscription was necessary. The man who allowed his sons to remain in safety in neutral lands when Belgium was calling for them was looked upon by his fellows as little better than an outcast.

One well-to-do Belgian visited a general at the front, an old friend of his, whom he had not seen for many years, to ask his help in securing permission to see his two sons. "Certainly," the general replied. "Tell me which regiment they are in, and I will see that you get through to them at once." The man stammered, hesitated, and blushed. "They are not in the Army," he murmured. "I wanted permission from the authorities to go to Switzerland, where they are, to see them." The general's eyes flamed with sudden wrath. He rose to his feet, stretched out his hand threateningly. "Get out of here!" he shouted. "Don't pollute this office by remaining in it! I give you



BELGIAN MARINES IN THE TRENCHES.

Belgium has no navy, and her Marines, like those of Holland and Austria, are a military organisation of infantry and artillery used chiefly in garrison work and not as complements of sea-going ships.

one minute to leave, and if you don't quit you will be thrown out! The Belgian whose sons are resting in Switzerland has no place here. Go!"

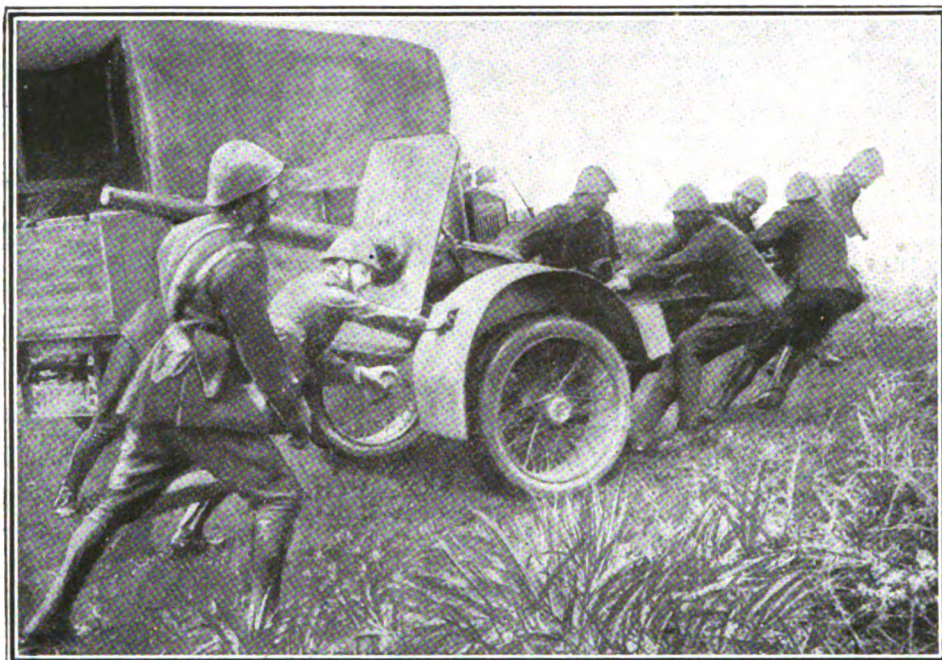
And so the new Belgian Army came into being with the glorious traditions of the old and with the methods of the new. It adopted the familiar khaki uniform, with certain little decorations which the Belgians love. Its equipment was in every way admirable; from the most efficient form of gas-helmet to machine-guns nothing was lacking. It was the boast of the Belgians that they had more machine-guns to a regiment than any other part of the Allies. Their cavalry still retained its ancient fire.

The Belgian cavalry have ever been noted as splendid horsemen, and the squadrons that rode along behind the lines in the waiting days of 1916 were as fine as any Belgium had ever seen. In the earlier days of the war the Belgians had done well with their armoured-car corps. They still retained their armoured-car companies; they even sent a corps of them to help the Russians. Many of the officers who had done good work in the earlier fighting were still at the head of them, and they were looking forward for the moment when they might advance on to the foe.

One of the greatest improvements made by the Belgians in their new organisation was on the medical side. In the early fighting of 1914 the Belgian Medical Department had been overwhelmed. A considerable amount of help, notably from England, and especially from the British field hospital at Furnes, had been afforded, but it was inadequate to meet the needs. There were hospitals without supplies, hospitals with doctors who had no real surgical experience, hospitals insufficient to hold one-tenth

**Improvement on  
the medical side**





[Belgian official photograph.]

## TYPE OF BELGIAN ARMOURD-MOTOR GUN.

Armoured motor-cars were used effectively by the Belgian troops and the British naval force in Belgium in the early stages of the war. The service was greatly developed in the reconstructed Army.

of the wounded that were sent to them. The Belgians lost in the early days 11,685 officers and men killed. In three days alone, in October, 1914, 9,050 wounded men were taken back to temporary hospitals. The suffering among the troops at that time was fearful, and much of it might have been avoided had there been an adequate medical service.

## Sufferings of the soldiers

With the memories of these ghastly days fresh in their minds, the Belgians began to transform their service. What was their position at the start? One Belgian official account may well be quoted :

In October, 1914, at the front, there stretched an immense watery expanse, in which could be seen floating about the decomposing bodies of men and animals. In the rear the accumulated floods from the heavy rains, having no other way to escape, again covered the ground in many places which had been formerly wrested from the sea with much painful toil. The estuary of the Yser thus became again the marsh of the epoch of the Menapians.

The position of the Army lay thus between the drier and more healthy regions which were occupied by the Allies, with the dunes of the coast on the one side and the undulating country of Poperinghe on the other.

The inevitable depression of spirit which comes after days of violent action, the exigencies of the service which required the same work, the same duties in the same regiment from men of different ages and of considerably different physical capacity (our military reorganisation was not then complete, and its rapid mobilisation had somewhat rushed things); the innumerable difficulties of housing, provisioning, and accommodation in a part of the country which was not suitable for maintaining armies through a winter campaign; the special mentality of the soldier who had not yet had much discipline in the direction of the preventive treatment of contagious diseases; the prolonged stay in the damp trenches, often filled with the water of the Yser; the rain, the wind, the cold at the beginning of December; all these conditions together were more than enough to ensure an outbreak of winter complaints, or of epidemic diseases.

The Battle of the Yser ended just at the beginning of the winter season. Nothing had been prepared for a stay in this inhospitable region.

The soldiers had but little shelter from the rain and the mud. They had only a very small number of separate tents, each made of a piece of impermeable canvas, over a yard square. The normal population of the region was less than 30,000; it was now more than quadrupled, first by the Army and then by the influx of the inhabitants who had fled before the invasion.

If the provision of food and ammunition was satisfactory, the replacing of equipment gave rise to many vexations. A change of linen was often wanted in the months of November and December, 1914. The shoes, worn out by the incessant marching of September

and October, did not keep out the slimy mud of the polders, mud so tenacious that, in order to reduce cartage to a minimum, the farms of the neighbourhood are built in the centre of the fields which are under cultivation.

Good drinking water was lacking, the wells were contaminated, and the cisterns did not hold enough.

The number of sick admitted to the hospital increased considerably. In December, 1914, the proportion reached 1.78 per cent. of the effective troops, in January, 1915, 2.55 per cent.

It was a dreadful time. But the authorities acted energetically.

Out of five hundred and fifty doctors in the service, fifteen had been killed and fifty-five wounded.

A series of fresh hospitals was erected, sanitary conditions were revolutionised, a whole system of hospitals in the rear was planned to which the wounded could be



[Belgian official photograph.]

## TWO OF BELGIUM'S NEW IRONCLAD LANDSHIPS.

Another type of armoured car, with a fleet of which the Belgians were provided. The flat plains of Flanders, when free from inundation, were admirably adapted for the use of these engines.

sent quickly, the ambulance service was reorganised, and a number of ambulances sent from England and elsewhere were employed. Thus, under the new system, there came a series of fixed hospitals at the front. The Belgian field hospital at Furnes had 100 beds; a large hospital at La Panne was opened in November, 1914, with 800 beds; a third hospital near Adinkerke, known as the *Hospitale Cabour*, was opened at the end of April, 1915. It was of special interest to the outside world because the Radiograph Department was under the control of Madame Curie, the famous French woman scientist. A fourth hospital was opened four months afterwards at Bourbourg. These hospitals, one and all, were equipped in the most modern and efficient way. They were staffed, in part, by famous specialists from all parts of the world, who had volunteered their services. They not only carried on the work of healing, but also maintained research laboratories.

## Modern hospitals and ambulances

Twenty-eight ambulances were actively engaged in conveying the wounded as soon as possible from the hospitals at the front to the base at Calais, where various special hospitals had been organised. Experience had shown that it was not wise, however, to centralise the wounded too much around Calais, and so a large hospital





RUSSIAN STAFF OFFICERS' VISIT TO THE BELGIAN FLYING CORPS.

The officers inspecting various kinds of air-bombs are from left to right: Captain Perviano, Russian Attache to the Belgian Headquarters Staff; Colonel Koudatcheff, General Romanowsky, Major van Crombrughe, Chief of the Belgian Flying Corps; Colonel Loganoff, Flight-Captain d'Heudecourt, Flight-Lieutenant Coomans, and Commander de Haon, of the Belgian Headquarters Staff.

district was created at Rennes, in France, with thirty-one hospitals and 5,000 beds. Here also a series of hospitals for convalescents, for the mentally affected, for nervous breakdowns, and for the tuberculous were established, with a total of over 2,000 beds. Several hospital trains were built for conveying the men there.

A number of Belgian doctors arrived in England in November, 1914, to arrange for the housing of the wounded here. They went first to the Salvation Army, which was of the greatest service to them at the beginning. Then Belgian general hospitals, three in number, were created, under the general name of King Albert Hospitals.

The chief of these was at Staffordshire House, Store Street, Tottenham Court Road, which the Belgians obtained, thanks to the generosity of Messrs. Bourne & Hollingsworth, the well-known drapers.

The Belgian Army, as re-created, did not immediately attempt a great offensive against the Germans. There was abundant reason for this. It was in the highest degree desirable that the Belgians should have an effective military force ready to hand when the moment came for the reoccupation of their own territory. Had they attempted to take a leading place in the fighting of 1915-16 their little Army would have been virtually wiped out. They had created, it is true, an effective force more than equal to their original Army at the outbreak of the war, but that would have counted for comparatively little in battles where the men on either side were numbered by the million.

It must not be imagined, however, that the Belgian Army during the months of waiting did nothing. It held one section of the allied line from immediately

north of Ypres to Nieuport by the sea. During 1915 and 1916 it was frequently attacked by the Germans, and it made counter-attacks in response. Such fighting was never much more than skirmishing, but it was enough to keep in touch with the realities of war, and the Belgian Army looked forward eagerly, passionately, to the hour for revenge. Every officer, nearly every soldier, had tragic and bitter memories of the horrors of the early days. They could tell tales of brutal outrages, often to their own kith and kin, that would have seemed incredible to the outsider. Numbers of them had never seen their wives and children for two years and more, for wives and children were still in Belgium, under German rule, and any attempt to write to them was made a crime by the Germans, a crime bringing quick punishment on the women in their power.

In the days before the war the Germans had quietly and secretly attempted to promote hostility between the two great branches of the Belgian people—the Flemings and the Walloons. The Flemings had certain racial attributes in common with the Germans. German writers claimed that they were of Low German race, and could adapt themselves readily to the German nature. To the disappointment of the Germans, however, the Flemings were as fierce against them when the war broke out as were the rest of their countrymen. The greatest insult that could be inflicted on a Fleming was to suggest that he had any likeness to a German.

After the occupation of the country the Germans,



BEER CELLAR OF A TRENCH CANTENEN NEAR THE YSER.

Quite apart from any other justification for the supply of beer to the Belgian troops as part of their provisioning, good drinking water was lacking in Belgium, for the wells were contaminated and the cisterns did not hold enough.





(Belgian official photograph.)

## FIELD-TELEPHONE OPERATOR AT WORK.

Portable telephones played an inestimable part in the Great War. They were indispensable, indeed, for their only possible supplanter—portable wireless transmitting and receiving apparatus—had not been brought to practicable perfection.

however, renewed their Flemish campaign. In the prison camps in Germany the Flemish prisoners were separated from the others and treated differently. A mysterious propaganda arose, and numerous pamphlets were issued attempting to split the nation. The Flemings were offered privileges. Towns were renamed in Flemish. Public notices in various parts had to be written in German or Flemish, and not in French; and, finally, as a crowning bribe, it was announced that a Flemish university was about to be founded at Ghent. For years the Flemings had desired this, and had striven to secure its establishment. And now they were offered it as a free gift from Germany. Leading Flemings were approached with splendid offers of professorships. Every possible inducement was offered to the Flemish families to send their sons. Men who had made themselves prominent in opposing the scheme were summarily punished, and two noted Belgian scholars, Professor Pirenne and Professor Frederieff, were sentenced to a long term of penal servitude for their unfriendly attitude. But the bribe failed. Only a few men of second and third rate standing consented to serve as teachers. The Flemings, as a whole, would have nothing to do with the university. To them Belgium was one.

Between August and November, 1914, many Belgian people fled from the advancing Germans and found refuge in England. Their numbers were probably not less than 250,000. Certain towns, such as Folkestone, were for the moment almost flooded with the Belgians. These people, many of them formerly in easy circumstances, arrived usually with nothing but what they stood up in, and even the clothes they wore were often the first garments that had been snatched up as they hastily rose to escape from the German troops. Organisations were quickly improvised in England to deal with the Belgians, and large numbers of British families offered hospitality.

At first the British Government proposed that these Belgians should be treated as the guests of the nation. It

was feared that we ourselves were in for a period of considerable unemployment, and it was not deemed wise to allow friendly aliens to rob our own people of work that was wanted. So numerous regulations were passed the real purpose of which was to prevent the Belgians from obtaining employment here. We should feed them, house them, clothe them, and do our best to provide comfortably for them, but they must not undersell our own people or undercut them in the labour market.

Before many months it was realised that this line of policy was a very great mistake. It was bad for the Belgians and bad for ourselves. **The refugees in England** No people can live for months in unaccustomed idleness without some deterioration, and the Belgians were no exception to the rule.

Many of the refugees did not settle down easily in British families; their ways of life were different, and there came, with the best of will on both sides, a clashing of customs. In the distribution of the refugees among families some mistakes were inevitable. There were cases where Belgian peasants were sent as guests to wealthy homes, and found themselves suddenly surrounded by luxuries, and expected to observe social conventions totally alien from their lives.



## ARMY SIGNALLER AT WORK IN FLANDERS.

The enormous development of field-telephone and telegraph systems naturally largely replaced the method of visual army signalling by means of flags or semaphores, but for distances up to four miles the flagging method remained in constant use.

The Belgian woman, used to regard fresh air as little better than poison, found herself in the home of some fresh-air enthusiast who regarded windows as parts of the house made only to be left open. Some of the Belgians came here with bitterness in their heart for the Allies, who they thought had betrayed them—bitterness which they did not hesitate to reveal. They might well have been pardoned when it was remembered that they had lost homes and often their dearest ones in the great retreat.

It was found further that so far from Britain experiencing a growth of unemployment because of the war, there was a great scarcity of labour, thanks to the enormous demands for war supplies. Now the Belgian labour was wanted. King Albert urgently appealed to Britain not to pauperise his people by supplying their wants without letting them work. The result of all this was to bring us to the second stage of the Belgian influx, when every effort



was made to find work for the Belgians, and to enable them to maintain homes of their own in England where they could live as they had been accustomed to. Large numbers of them quickly found employment in armament works, in mines, and on the land. Others were absorbed in the motor trade and in the woollen industry.

Belgian women were employed in very large numbers in munition factories, earning wages in many cases far beyond what they had ever dreamed possible. There were still a certain number of people utterly unsuitable for work here. For them provision had to be made. There was also a certain group of undesirables whose presence caused much perplexity both to the British and the Belgian authorities.

Just as in the seventeenth century the Huguenots, driven from France, founded their colonies here, colonies which left their distinctive mark on England for centuries to come, so did the Belgians of the early twentieth century. The Huguenots arrived to settle permanently among us. The Belgians came with the intention of returning as soon as possible to their own land. But as the months passed on and extended into years they found their hold on life in England growing closer and closer. With their own Press, their own amusements, and their own life, they soon became recognised as a distinctive part of London. Belgian pastry-cooks in Oxford Street and Piccadilly and elsewhere soon became noted. Belgian cafés arose by the dozen in the little streets around Tottenham Court Road, the Liégoise, the Belgique Libre, and the like. Apparently these cafés had few English customers; they were the little meeting-places of the Belgians themselves. Belgian dress-makers, after a time, modified what Englishwomen at first thought their somewhat extreme modes to British requirements, and obtained a comfortable clientèle.

The Belgians cannot be said to have introduced many new industries as the Huguenots did. One somewhat curious feature of their coming was the establishment over London of various houses for the sale of horse-flesh. To the Englishman the display of horse-flesh as a food seems repulsive. The Belgian has no such feeling. One firm alone had by the autumn of 1916 seven shops in and around West London for the vending of such luxuries as "Les filets d'Anvers," "Les Saucissons de Boulogne," "Les Saucissons de Ménage," etc. English people, truth to tell, looked somewhat askance at the bright and clean shops where the sausages and neatly rolled ribs and clean-cut fillets of horse were displayed.

What was to be the future of Belgium? That was anxiously asked by many of the Belgians themselves. What would happen when the allied armies succeeded in advancing and the Germans were driven back from point to point in Belgium itself? Was the field of Waterloo once more to be the battleground on which the fate of Europe should be decided, and were the Germans to wreak their vengeance in the hour of defeat on the Belgian people? Was it likely that they would, as they retired, leave nothing but ruins behind them, and that the fall of Germany should be preceded by the burning of Brussels, the destruction of Ghent, and the obliteration of Bruges? These were questions to which no answer could be given. Everyone recognised that Belgium had not yet reached the end of her era of suffering. There was yet a long and painful road over which the martyred nation of Europe must travel.

Among the people of Britain one feeling predominated. Britain realised that Belgium by her splendid response in the early days of the war had saved the Continent of Europe

from German domination. The feeling of the nation was well expressed by Mr. Asquith when he said "Belgium has deserved well of the world. She has placed us under an obligation which as a nation we shall not forget. We assure her to-day in the name of this United Kingdom and of the whole Empire that she may count to the end on our whole-hearted and unfailing support."

Lord Curzon expressed our sentiments still more eloquently:

Belgium by her conduct, and still more by her example, has rendered a priceless service to humanity, for she has once more taught the world the sublime truth that national honour is preferable to national security; and that, though the body may be destroyed, the spirit is immortal. For the moment a crown of thorns has been pressed down upon her temples, but Europe—nay the civilised world—will see to it that she is healed of her grievous wounds; and some day, let us hope before long, she will live again in the recovered prosperity of her people and the admiring gratitude of mankind.

Amid the varying fortunes of the war the British people never forgot their debt of gratitude. "We shall never sheathe the sword," said Mr. Asquith, "until Belgium recovers in full measure more than all that she has sacrificed." In the summer of 1916 the German Government tried indirectly to induce the Belgian King and the Belgian Government to cease their hostility. It was intimated to them that much would be done to conciliate them. Germany would withdraw her armies from Belgian soil as soon as military conditions permitted, and she would even compensate Belgium liberally as an ally for the damage that Germany had done to her territory as a foe. Belgium might even remain a separate unit in the German world-State!

German diplomacy attempted to hold before the King's eyes the glittering vision of himself back again at Brussels, in his palace, enthroned afresh in the hearts of his people, the man who brought them relief from the horrors of war and freedom from military rule. The tempting bait was offered in vain. The Belgian people had tasted to the full the harshness and inhumanity of German methods. It knew too well the value of German promises. It had pledged its troth to the Allies. Its sons had fought side by side with the Allies as comrades, and were fighting side by side still. Between them and Germany lay a great and impassable barrier of ruined homes, of murdered old men and women and children, and of endless agony. Thousands of Belgians in German prisons were alone a barrier against improved relations. What Germany had done was not to be forgiven. No bribes could atone.

And as Belgian statesmen looked forward to the future they realised that the prospect was not altogether black. When Germany was defeated Belgium was to be restored. The rebuilding of her ruined houses and the restoration of her stolen treasures would alone ensure for her a period of great industrial prosperity in the years immediately following the war. Belgium still retained the mass of her manhood uninjured. The losses in the early fighting, heavy as they seemed at the time, had been small compared with the losses other nations incurred.

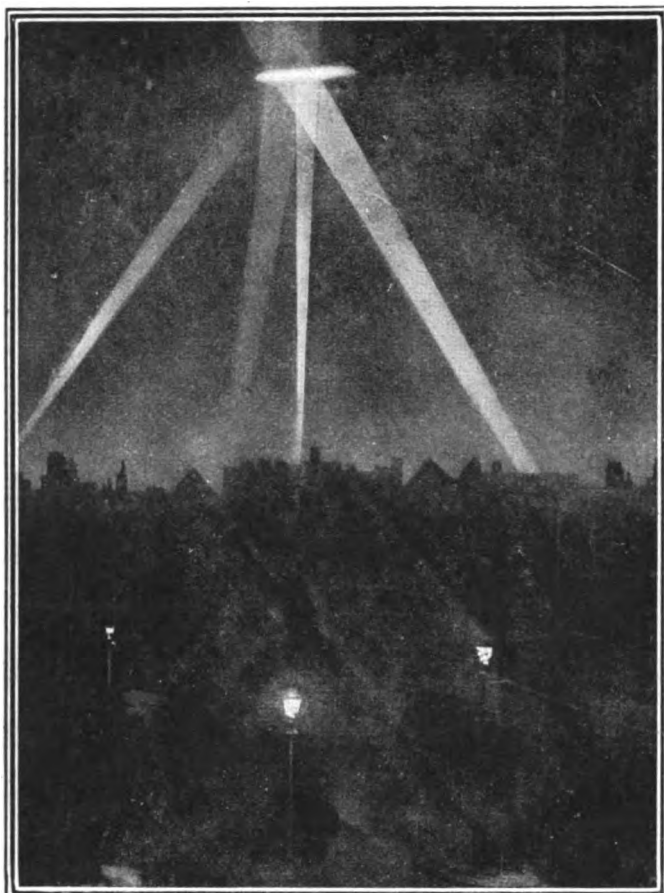
Belgium, with a compact community of between seven and eight million people, occupying one of the best geographical sites in Europe, knit by ties of blood and sympathy to her fellow-conquerors, might well start out on a long period of sustained well-being. The bitter memories of the early years of the war could never be effaced. But even bitter memories would be softened as time went on, and would be illuminated by the unforgettable tale of the brave men and women who had shed on Belgium's record an imperishable glory.



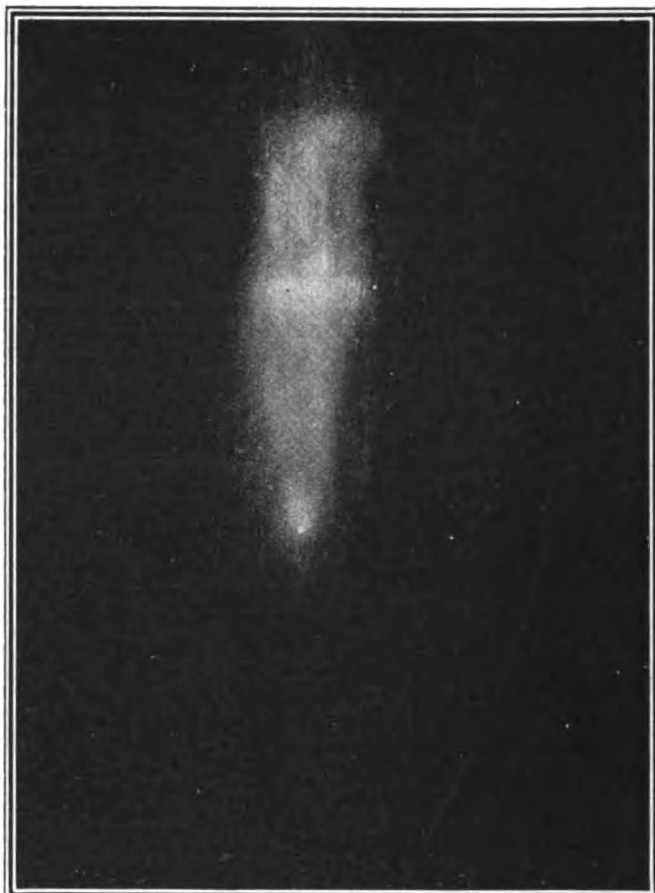
MR. HERBERT HOOVER  
Chairman and active Managing Director of  
the Commission for Relief in Belgium.

Looking to the  
future

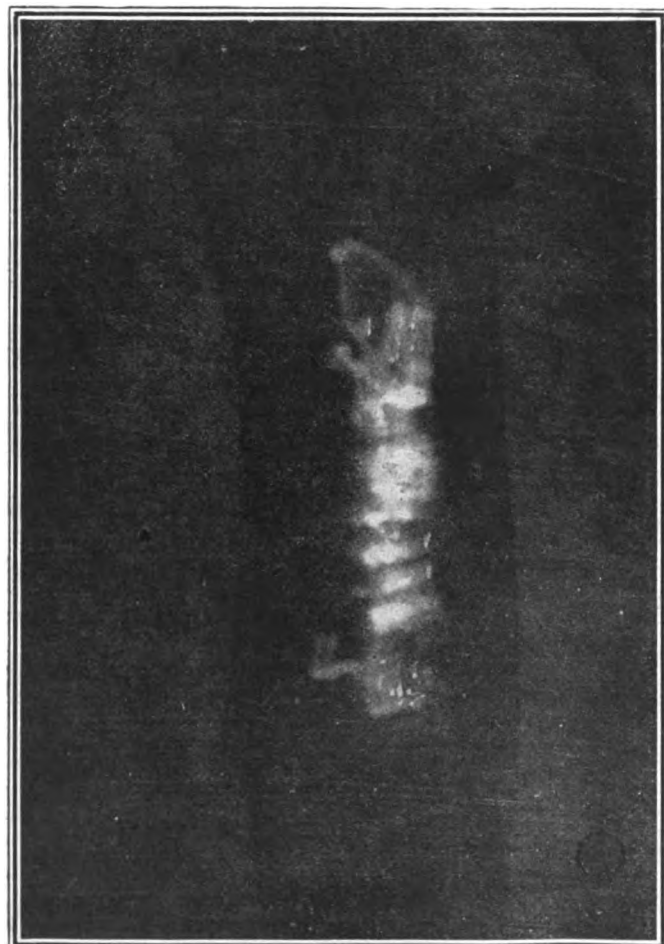




Immediately the searchlights found her, shells burst near the Zeppelin, and soon afterwards her outline became visible in a white glow.



When she was aglow from end to end she tilted, gradually became perpendicular, and began her awful plunge down to the earth.



During her fall a large section of the airship seemed to break away, and fell almost vertically, still burning fiercely.



The flaming gold-and-ruby mass came down swiftly with a roar, shooting out showers of sparks as it fell.

THE END OF THE RAIDER: POTTER'S BAR, OCTOBER 1st, 1916.





SKELETON OF THE ZEPPELIN

## CHAPTER CLVII.

DESTROYED SEPTEMBER 24TH, 1916.

# THE AIRSHIP RAIDS OF 1916 AND HOW BRITISH AIRMEN MASTERED THE SUPER-ZEPPELIN.

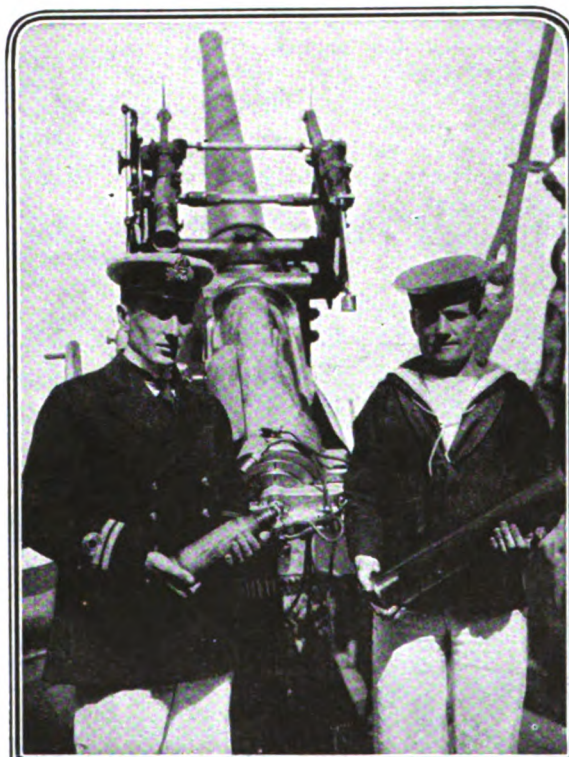
By H. W. Wilson.

Construction of Super-Zeppelins in 1916 Specifically for the Destruction of London—Systematisation and Organisation of Defence—Forced Landing of L33 in Essex, September 24th—Details of Construction of its Hull, Gondolas, and Machinery—Size and Horsepower of the Earlier Naval Zeppelins—L15 Brought Down near the Mouth of the Thames, March 31st—L20 Grounded on the Norwegian Coast, and Destroyed by the Norwegian Government, May 3rd—L7 Destroyed by British Submarine E31, May 4th—LZ85 Destroyed by British Battleship near Salonika, May 5th—L11 Damaged, August 2nd—Military Zeppelin Destroyed by Lieut. W. L. Robinson, at Cuffley, September 2nd—L32 Destroyed by Lieuts. Sowrey and Brandon, and L33 by its Own Crew when Forced to Land, September 23rd—German Chagrin and Fury—L31 Destroyed by Lieut. Tempest, October 1st—Super-Zeppelin Destroyed by Lieut. Pyott off the Durham Coast, and Another by Lieut. Cadbury and Sub-Lieuts. Pulling and Fane off the Norfolk Coast, November 27th-28th—Ruin of the Prestige of the German Zeppelin Fleet—Tables of Airship Raids and German Airship Losses in 1916.



OWARDS the close of the spring of 1916 reports began to appear in the German and the Swiss Press of a new type of Zeppelin surpassing in size and power everything that up to that date had been constructed. The new airships, it was said, were being specially built, from Count Zeppelin's designs, for the destruction of London. They were to carry an increased armament of guns and a heavier cargo of bombs. Their peculiar virtue lay in a far larger displacement, which enabled them to reach and hold much higher altitudes in the air, and in a greatly enhanced speed. There were tales that their gondolas would be armoured and would be so built as to serve as boats if they should by any chance have to descend at sea. As for their range of action it was to be such as to bring the whole area of the British Isles within their power of attack, and even to enable them in fine weather or with a favourable wind to cross the Atlantic.

These great engines actually existed, and were no mere figment of the imagination. Their capacity for mischief was immense had the British anti-aircraft



THE MEN WHO HIT LZ85.

Control officer and gunlayer who sighted and laid the British battleship's anti-aircraft gun that brought down the LZ85 in the marshes of the Vardar, near Salonika, May 5th, 1916.

service remained sunk in the torpor and indolence of "darkness and composure" which had been the air defence policy in 1915. Fortunately, throughout the spring the British military authorities—who had now been put in complete control of the arrangements for meeting Zeppelin attack inland—were working, too, though they talked very little indeed. The organisation which they were creating was not perfected for many months. The problem of defeating Zeppelin attack was now studied seriously for the first time, new devices were tested, and the methods were thought out which were ultimately to be successful, and which, had they only been applied in early 1915 might have saved hundreds of British lives and grave loss of prestige. It was a close race. To obtain satisfactory means of combating the Zeppelins and keeping them off the great British munition-making centres was indispensable for the success of British arms, and there were moments in early 1916 when it almost seemed as if the enemy aircraft had the game in their hands.

The special methods introduced by Lord French and the Royal Flying Corps were necessarily kept secret if only because they



promised a plentiful harvest of blazing airships did the Zeppelins persist in continuing their raids. This much could safely be said at the end of 1916: The arrangements for defence were systematised and organised. The enemy gradually began to feel that he was under the constant observation of an invisible eye, such as that with which the Mormon "destroying angels" followed their victims. He might be in mist or hovering over remote fenland districts, almost out of touch with man, and yet this uncanny surveillance followed him. Where there was surveillance there was always the unnerving possibility of attack by the British defence forces. The bombing of British women and children had been an enjoyable enough pastime in 1915—with the sole interlude of Lieutenant Warneford's heroic and successful attack upon a returning Zeppelin. In 1916 it began to grow risky, and towards the close of the year it had become infinitely perilous to the assassins of the air. It was a distinct triumph of British skill and ingenuity that means were found to conquer the super-Zeppelin and to rob it entirely of its menace. The elimination of the Zeppelins was a correspondingly severe blow to the Germans, who placed the most extravagant hopes in these ships.

From time to time the new airships were seen exercising over Lake Constance, carrying out trial trips from Count Zeppelin's yard at Friedrichshafen on that lake. Neutral observers noted

their immense size, the large number of gondolas, the extraordinary speed with which they moved. It was not till the autumn of 1916, when one of these mysterious giants, intact but for its outer covering and the material

of its gasbags, fell into the hands of the British forces, that the exact details of its construction could be ascertained. They will be of intense interest to posterity which may never see a Zeppelin. The airship in question, L33, was one of the very largest type built by the enemy. It was compelled by the British artillery fire to make a forced landing in Essex, where the crew, after setting it alight, surrendered, and where its hull, gondolas, and machinery could be studied at leisure, and were examined by the writer.

The super-Zeppelin was of immense bulk, little inferior in size to a Lusitania. It displaced fifty tons weight of air and contained 2,000,000 cubic feet of gas. Its outer surface was not of gold-beaters' skin, which in the past was commonly employed for airships, but of finely-woven Manchester cotton. On this cotton delicate wavy lines were printed in black or dark-blue. The colour effect of the envelope seen from a distance was grey; closely examined it looked like newspaper covered with very fine print of a microscopic fount. This material was perhaps adopted to render the airship less visible, though it is also possible that the lines may have been printed to make the fabric resemble



THE MEN WHO HIT LZ77.

Adjutant Gramling, who directed the fire, and (left) Private Pennetier, who laid and fired the shot that brought down the military airship LZ77 near Révigny, February 21st, 1916.



DAMAGE DONE IN PARIS BY AN ELUSIVE AND SHY NIGHT-RAIDER.

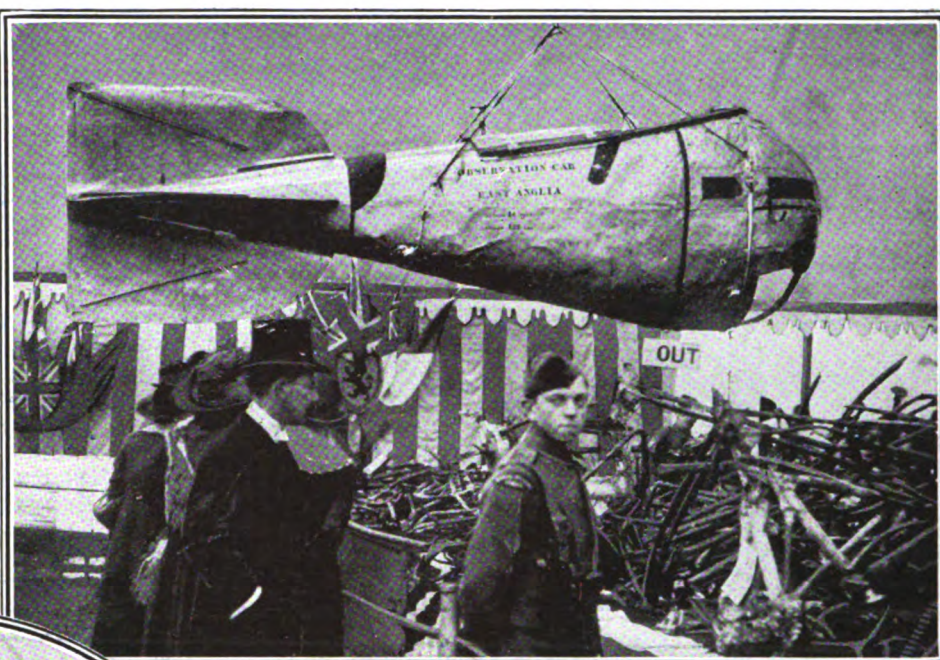
A Zeppelin raid was made on Paris, January 29th, 1916, resulting in fifty-seven casualties, of whom twenty-six were killed. No military purpose was achieved but some material damage was done, as shown in

these two photographs. Another raid was made the following night, but thereafter the air defences of Paris were so well developed that the French capital was left unassailed by Zeppelins.



shirting and enable it to pass the blockade. It was not varnished or treated in any way, except, it may be, by a solution for rendering it non-inflammable. It played in the airship the same part as the thin outer steel plating of a seafaring vessel. It was tough and very hard to tear, while it would offer no resistance to artillery projectiles unless these had extremely sensitive fuses.

As the outer steel plating of a sea-going vessel is carried on frames, so was this cotton covering of the airship. But whereas the frames in a sea-going vessel are of steel and are ponderous, in the airship they were of the lightest metal available, an alloy of aluminium, and of lattice-work design, with an air of extraordinary



INTERESTING EXHIBIT AT FINSBURY.

In the course of one of the air raids over East Anglia a Zeppelin jettisoned, or lost, her observation-car, which was found, with some hundreds of yards of the connecting wire, by a farmer next morning.



LONDON'S LORD MAYOR VIEWS LONDON'S ENEMY.

The remains of the Zeppelin which was brought down at Cuffley by Lieut. Robinson, V.C., September 2nd, 1916, were placed on exhibition at the Honourable Artillery Company's Headquarters, Finsbury. Sir Charles Wakefield opening the exhibition.

fragility about them that made them seem almost fantastic. Besides these frames there were similar longitudinal girders running the length of the ship. The enormous skeleton of metal, six hundred and eighty feet long and seventy-two feet in beam, covered over an acre of ground and looked as large as a fairy-like but shattered Crystal Palace. In shape the hull was stream-lined, which means that the forward end

#### Form of the Super-Zeppelin

was comparatively blunt and was larger in diameter than the amidships portion. Astern it tapered down and terminated in a fine point at the tail. The general shape of the hull was that of a huge cigar with twenty-five sides. In this respect it differed markedly from the earlier Zeppelins, which were not stream-lined, but had the bow shaped similar to the stern, and had only seventeen or eighteen sides. The super-Zeppelin's hull was far more favourable to a high speed. It seems possible that she may have attained eighty miles an hour in fine weather conditions, though her average speed would not be more than fifty miles an hour.

Within the great cigar-shaped hull were twenty-four gasbags made of a silk fabric, coated with indiarubber varnish, and gas-proof. Each bag was shaped like a Cheddar cheese, and probably each was fitted with two valves, one of which was hand-operated and opened at the top of the airship, while the other, an automatic valve for releasing the gas when the pressure rose dangerously, was placed at the side of the hull. Passing through the gasbags by a gas-tight valve, and running from end to end of the hull, was a great wire hawser. From this radial wires were carried to each aluminium transverse frame, as the spokes of a cycle-wheel run from the hub to the rim of the wheel. These radial wires kept the gasbags apart, and when the great central cable was tightened—for which a very simple device was fitted—the tension on them was tautened, too, and the whole framework of the ship was braced, exactly as the masts of a sailing ship are braced at sea by tightening the stays and rigging. The great cable, the existence of which no one in this country had suspected, thus served to keep the hull of the ship together and to relieve the strain on it when it was exposed to gun fire or to wind.

#### Use of the central cable

On the top of the hull forward was a small platform on which two 5 in. guns, firing a little shell of nearly a pound weight, were mounted, entirely isolated from the rest of the crew. Right astern, not far from the apex of the tail, was another station for a single 5 in. gun, in a yet lonelier and more dangerous position. These were the weapons to which the designers of the super-Zeppelin trusted for repelling aeroplane attack. These remote stations in the great rustling hull were reached by a ladder or by climbing the aluminium lattice-work girders from the "cat-walk," which ran along the keel. This walk gave a means of passing from end to end of the hull, but it was so perilously narrow that to use it must have severely strained any but the steadiest nerves. The width of the gangway was only nine inches of the thinnest three-ply wood, laid directly on the girder framing. If a man missed his footing he would shoot through the flimsy cotton cover and fall to certain death, though there was a handhold, in the form of a rope, to enable him to grope his way in the darkness of the ship's interior.





LUCKY SURVIVORS OF L20.

The crew of the Zeppelin, fortunate in having escaped with their lives, were brought ashore by Norwegian officers.

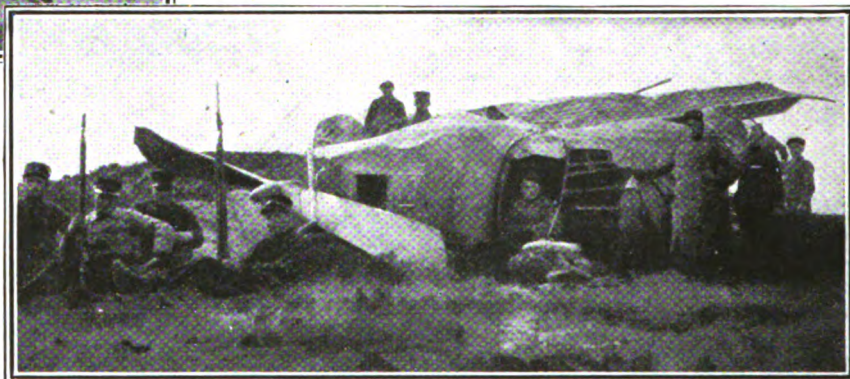
In this dim alley-way, abaft the forward gondola, was the bomb-chamber, where were hooks for sixty bombs, which may have weighed one and a half tons or more. The hooks were operated electrically by sixty buttons on the murder-keyboard, which was placed in the forward gondola. In form the buttons resembled electric bell-pushes. When the button was pressed the hook released the bomb; a lever was previously moved which opened a sliding shutter, allowing the bomb to fall. This device was the crudest possible, and it made accurate aiming out of the question. Anyone who examined it would understand why Zeppelins never hit their target. A lavatory was also placed in the "cat-walk," but there were no arrangements for cooking.

#### Arrangement of the gondolas

The gondolas were four in number. Two of these were like large boats, about fifty feet long, placed forward and astern in the centre line. The two others were much smaller, and were placed abreast on either side of the hull, nearer the centre of the ship. The forward one contained the captain's cabin, with wheels controlling the two rudders for vertical and horizontal movement, and other controls for the petrol tanks and the water ballast. The gondolas were covered in with fabric but had non-inflammable celluloid windows. Abaft the captain's cabin was the wireless-room, which was little more than a cupboard, six feet by four feet, and abaft that again was a 240 h.p. Mercédès-Maybach engine with a dynamo and two machine-guns. The engine drove a propeller immediately behind the gondola and underneath the hull. The two small amidships gondolas each contained a similar engine driving a similar propeller, with a dynamo and a machine-gun. The large gondola astern carried three engines, two of which drove propellers at the side of the airship by bevel gearing, and the third a propeller astern of the gondola and underneath the hull. Each engine was fitted with a dynamo, and in the gondola there were two machine-guns. Thus there were six engines each of 240 h.p., totalling 1,440 h.p. in all, six dynamos, six propellers (four under the airship and two at its sides), and six machine-guns, besides the three 5 in. weapons at the bow and stern.

The earlier naval Zeppelins were of one-third the size and horse-power, with screws at the side and engines of rather under 500 h.p. The petrol tanks of the super-Zeppelin carried 2,000 gallons, and were all placed in or near the "cat-walk," so as to keep them well away from the engines. There were many ingenious contrivances, among them an apparatus for releasing the mooring-ropes by the pressure of a button. The exhaust from the engines appeared to be carried up through the hull of the airship so as to keep the gas warm when cruising in the frightful cold of the upper air. A smoke-producing apparatus was fitted. Like other Zeppelins, this airship was probably equipped with a small observation-car capable of containing one man, which could be lowered 1,000 yards, and was connected with the airship by a telephone cable. One of these cars was jettisoned by the enemy in East Anglia, and if none was found in L33 it was perhaps because she had thrown her car overboard at sea before she grounded.

The report that the gondolas were armoured was explained by the appearance of the aluminium of which they were made, and which looked like burnished steel. The metal was a very tough sheeting, about a fifth of an



RUINED CAR OF L20 IN CUSTODY OF SOLDIERS.

On the night of May 2nd, 1916, the L20, returning from a raid on Scotland, in the course of which she had almost certainly been crippled by shell fire, fell into the sea near Stavanger. The wreckage was seized by the Norwegian Government and placed under military guard.

inch thick, and was strongly stayed. The gondolas appeared watertight, and would probably have floated but for the heavy weights which they contained.

The crew numbered twenty-three, men of all sizes and not chosen for their lightness. They wore very heavy and warm clothing, and many of them had a special knowledge of East Anglia—indeed, one had worked in Colchester.

The engines were fitted with silencers outside the gondolas, but, notwithstanding these, the noise which they made was very great and was noticed all over the district where the airship landed. Such were these super-Zeppelins, of which the first seems to have been completed in June. L33 on her tanks bore the mark "H 14 7 16," which probably stood for "Herbst (summer) 14th day, 7th month (July), 1916."

German hopes of these ships ran high, and were not daunted by a series of misadventures to the old type of Zeppelin in the spring. On March 31st five Zeppelins raided the Eastern Counties, and one of the five, L15, was hit by the British anti-aircraft guns and was finally compelled to descend near the mouth of the Thames, where it was attacked by three British patrol vessels. The men on board were rescued, but not before they had set fire to the gas and destroyed the ship. Little more than a month later, on May 3rd, L20, which was probably returning from a raid on the Scottish coast, was caught by a storm and swept towards Stavanger, in Norway. Her petrol ran out, and owing to the failure of her engines she could not be kept under control. She struck the Norwegian coast with great violence, and was badly

#### Some intercepted raiders



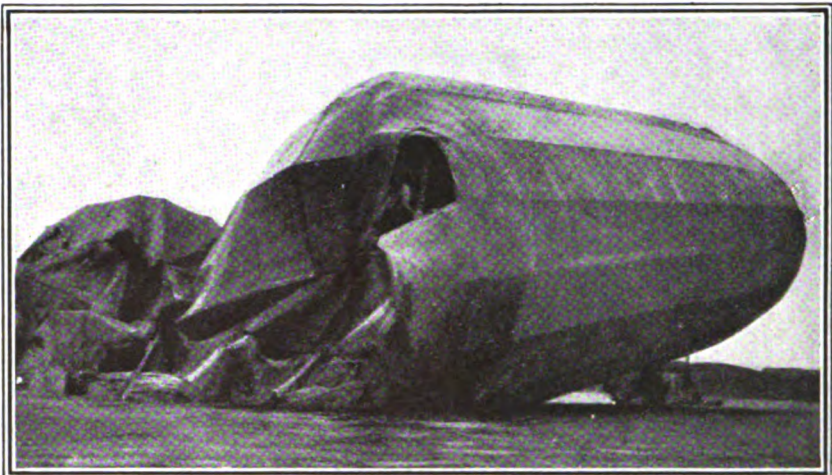
damaged, though nearly all her crew escaped with their lives. As she became a danger to navigation and there was risk of the Germans carrying off the hull, the Norwegian Government ordered her destruction. On the following day a number of British light cruisers in the Bight of Heligoland sighted L7, which was apparently watching their movements, and at once attacked her. They hit her with gun fire and damaged her badly. She hovered low down near the water, not far from the enemy coast, in an area within which it was perilous for British surface ships to venture. At this juncture a British submarine, E31, suddenly rose from the sea, fired several rounds into the airship's wreck, setting it on fire and completing its destruction, and took off seven of the crew. The others presumably perished.

On the following day, May 5th, at the other end of the battle-front, near Salonika, yet another Zeppelin was destroyed. This craft,

**Beginning of  
the raids**

LZ85, was a military airship of the very latest design, but was much smaller than the German naval Zeppelins. She had for some weeks been stationed on the eastern front, and used to raid the allied lines and depots at Salonika. On this particular date she ventured too close, within range of the allied warships. They opened a sharp fire on her and struck her several times, the first hit being claimed by a British battleship. She dropped, disabled, in the marshes near Salonika, where her crew set her on fire. Most of them were captured, but one or two succeeded in making their way to the Bulgarian lines. After this affair enemy airships gave Salonika a wide berth. LZ85, when examined, proved to be almost identical with LZ77, which the French had shot down in flames on February 20th-21st near Verdun, after three hits with their incendiary shell. She had two gondolas, five propellers driven by five engines, and bombs of three sizes, weighing 220 lb., 175 lb., and 110 lb.

In July the new super-Zeppelins began their flights over England. Between May



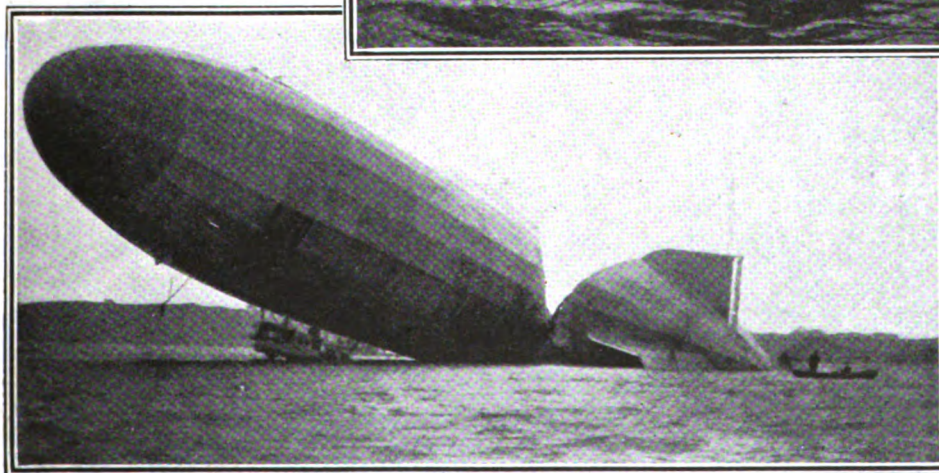
UNGAINLY WRECKAGE OF THE WONDER SHIP.

After the L20 got away from the English coast she seems to have gone adrift in a storm until, depleted of gas, she dropped into the sea, where she broke in half.

2nd and July 28th there was a long interval during which the enemy airships attempted no raids, possibly because the shortness of the nights, in view of the growing efficiency of the British anti-aircraft artillery, made the Germans chary of taking risks. On the night of July 28th, however, in very warm and fine weather, three airships crossed the coast and travelled over Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. These three may have been L31, L32, and L33, all of the super-Zeppelin type. They did no damage, and the object of their visit was a little difficult at the time to understand. What was taken for a raid may have been only a trial run.

On the 31st six or seven Zeppelins crossed the coast at various points and cruised over no fewer than seven of the Eastern Counties. They flew at enormous heights and dropped bombs at random in the oddest places. But again they did no damage beyond burning a haystack. On August 2nd they reappeared, when eight Zeppelins, two of which, according to the enemy, were of super-Zeppelin type, dropped bombs in the Eastern Counties, again causing only trifling damage and injuring no human being. They were heavily fired at, and after this raid L11 was seen steering in very damaged condition over Dutch territory, where she ought to have been shot down.

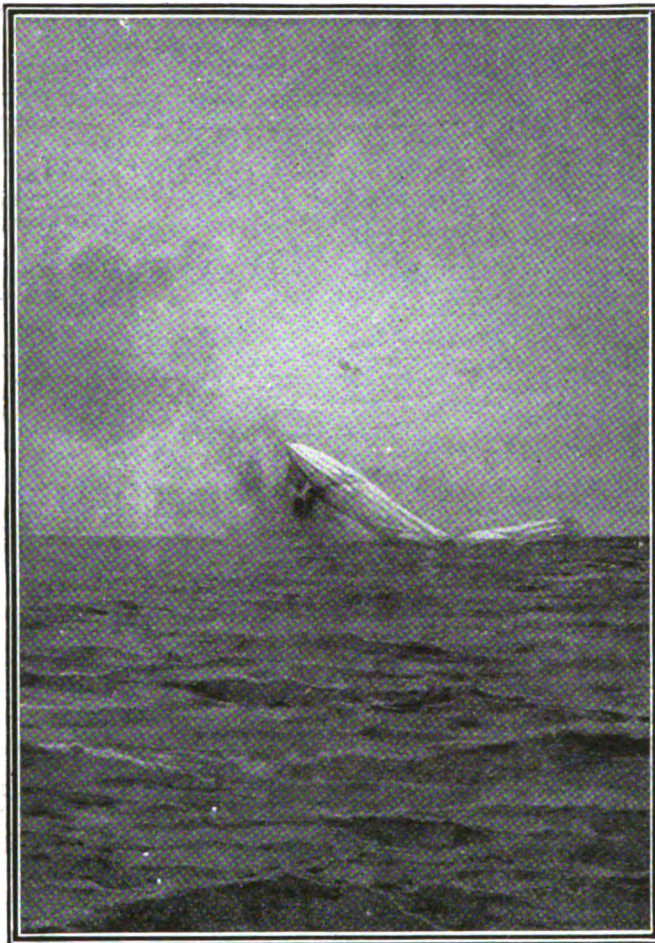
She was attacked with musketry by the Dutch, but was not hit. The enemy had now adopted a practice of regularly crossing Dutch territory, but although his callous breach of neutrality was resented he was very rarely effectively attacked during these acts of trespass. On August 9th there was another raid by a large number of airships, in which South-Eastern Scotland was visited and twenty-seven casualties were inflicted. On August 23rd a solitary airship, probably reconnoitring, crossed the coast, but, though she dropped many bombs, she did no damage whatever.



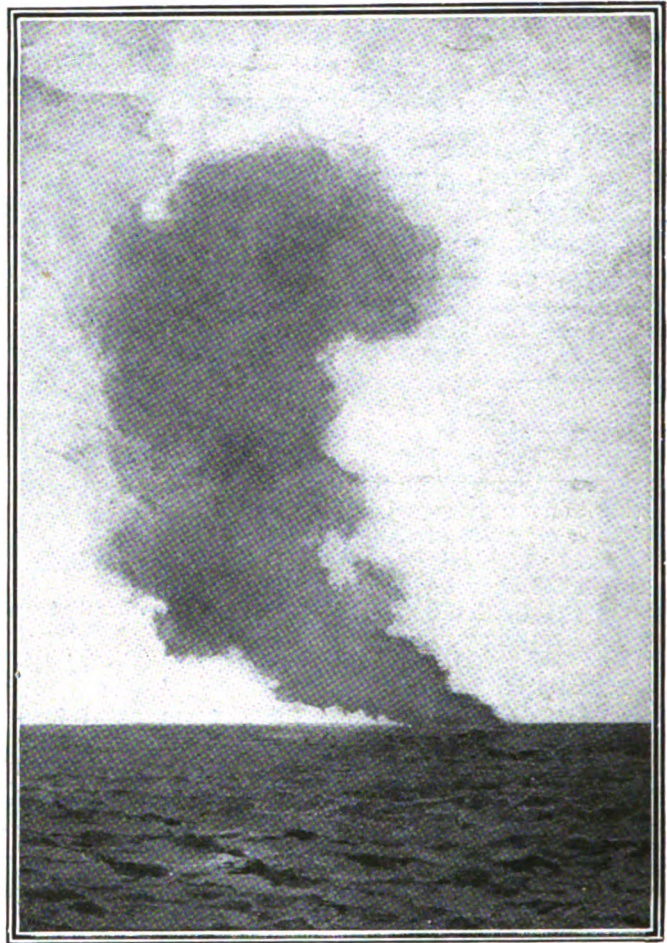
THE DOOMED LEVIATHAN WRITHING ON THE WAVES.

Another view of the broken-backed leviathan, its hinder half almost submerged. Above: Having got quite close to shore the Zeppelin was visited by many people, who rowed out to see the wreckage before it was finally destroyed by the Norwegian authorities.

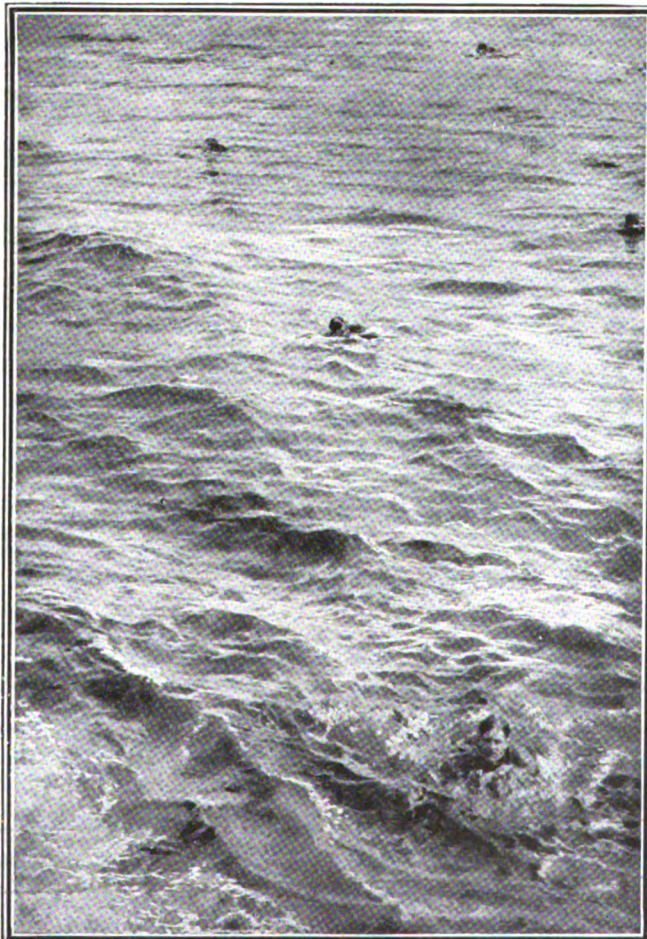




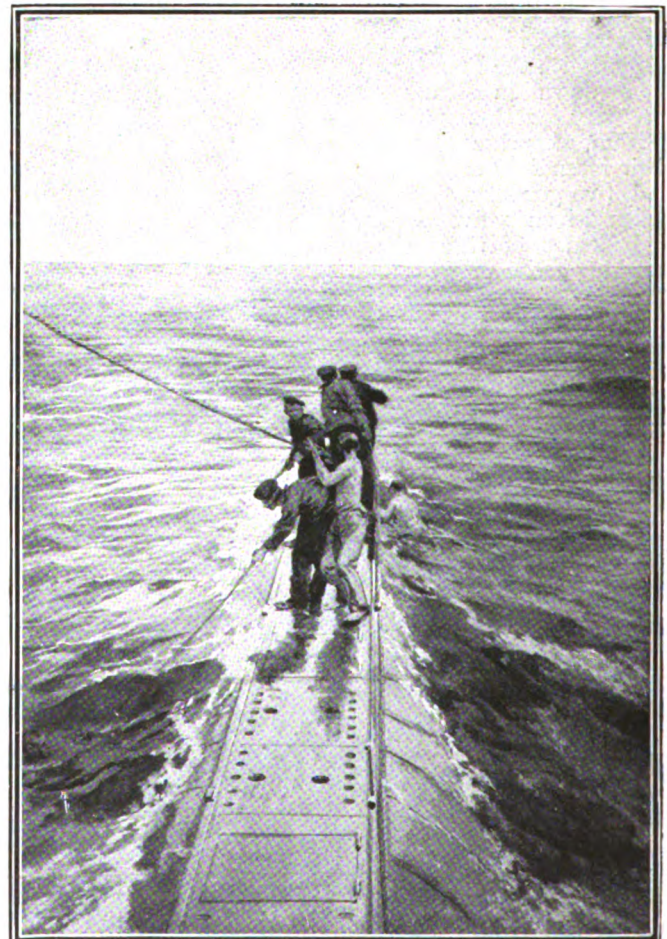
In May, 1916, the German Admiralty reported that one of a party of raiding airships had failed to return. This was why.



L7 had been hit by gun fire from H.M. cruisers *Phaeton* and *Galatea* and finally brought down by a British submarine.



While her broken, blazing hull was disappearing in the waves, her crew swam to the submarine which had dealt the knock-out blow.



They were hauled aboard the submarine and, thankful to be alive, insisted on shaking hands warmly with their humane captors.

#### DESTRUCTION OF L7 NEAR HORN REEF IN MAY, 1916.



The Germans, in fact, now fought shy of points where they knew anti-aircraft artillery was mounted, while they found it increasingly difficult to discover their own whereabouts. The darkening of all lights had been so effectively enforced, after long and inexcusable delay, that the largest city might be quite invisible from above. In the early raids they could steer straight for the glare of London, which shone before them like a beacon. Now that glare had disappeared. And as they groped and felt their way they must have often heard the humming of British aeroplanes and known that they were being watched and followed by the invisible eye.

An effort to attack, however, was made on August 24th, when some six Zeppelins raided the East and South-East Counties.

made. All Germany was agog with anticipation. Three super-Zeppelins, at least seven other Zeppelins of the naval pattern, and three military rigid airships took part in this invasion, which was to lay London in ruins and attack most of the great manufacturing centres of the Midlands. It ended in the most grotesque failure. In the Eastern and South-Eastern Counties the airships wandered about, lost in the upper air, evidently quite uncertain of their position, and dropped a large number of bombs at random, with so little result that only fifteen casualties were reported.

Two of the airships were hit by the British artillery, but were not, unluckily, set on fire. One of them threw overboard many objects, including an observation car and portions of her machinery and armament. On the following



FLIGHT-LIEUT. E. CADBURY, D.S.O.,

R.N.A.S. One of the airmen who brought down the Zeppelin off the coast of Norfolk, November 27-28th, 1916.

One of these, seemingly a super-Zeppelin, reached outer London, and there dropped incendiary and explosive bombs, damaging an engineering works and a power station, the latter very slightly. Forty-four persons were killed and injured, and the raiders escaped unhurt. This apparent failure on the part of the defence forces was severely criticised, and defects were removed. From this date the raids began to be increasingly disastrous to the enemy.

On September 2nd the greatest raid yet planned was



THREE HEROES OF THE R.F.C.  
From left to right: Lieut. W. L. Robinson, V.C., Lieut. W. J. Tempest, D.S.O., Sec.-Lieut. F. Sowrey, D.S.O.



SUB-LIEUT. E. L. PULLING, D.S.O.,

R.N.A.S. Who assisted in the destruction of the Zeppelin off the coast of Norfolk, November 27-28th, 1916.

day this airship was seen by the Dutch passing their coast and going very slowly, while her crew could be discerned jettisoning various objects to get away.

The squadron of military airships was less fortunate. Two of the three were driven off London by the fire of the anti-aircraft guns. The third airship attempted to attack by the east. About 2.20 a.m. of the 3rd, which was a very clear starlit night, though with cloudy patches here and there, the enemy was plainly seen by spectators over a vast area near London. Pencils of light swept across the



LIEUT. I. V. PYOTT, D.S.O., R.F.C. Who brought down the Zeppelin off the coast of Durham, November 27th, 1916.



LIEUT. A. DE B. BRANDON, D.S.O., R.F.C. Who brought down the Zeppelin L32 in Essex, September 24th, 1916.



SUB-LIEUT. G. W. R. FANE, D.S.O., R.N.A.S. Who assisted in the destruction of the Zeppelin off the coast of Norfolk, November 27-28th, 1916.



sky; the searchlights of the defence forces caught the German airship in their beams, and presently lights were made out twinkling near it. For some moments the spectators, 9,000 feet below, took these flashes for the bursts of the shrapnel. While tens of thousands waited and watched the struggle—so near and yet so immensely remote—a faint glow of red, altogether different in hue from the pallid sheen of the cover under the glare of the searchlights, showed towards the stern of the airship; it spread with great speed and deepened into a crimson glow, and the whole huge structure began to fall, slowly at first, but gathering momentum and blazing more fiercely as it approached the earth, when it lighted up the whole sky with a blaze that was seen for fifty miles. As the flaming airship fell, high overhead showed other lights from a solitary aeroplane. It was the conqueror in such a battle as before him no man had ever fought, disclosing his presence in the high air. Not the least astonishing fact about this first encounter in which an airship was brought down on English ground was that the issue of it was simultaneously known over an area of a thousand square miles, and that the sound of cheering rose in every direction,

like the roar of a stormy sea, before the final crash of the fall was heard.

The victor in this fight was Lieutenant W. L. Robinson, of the Royal Flying Corps. He had been patrolling for several hours at a great height when he discovered and attacked the airship. He caught no glimpse of his human antagonists on board her, in this fierce struggle of the upper air, though flashes from the hull showed that the Germans were firing at him. When the flames began to run along the fabric of the airship's cover, and he knew that she was doomed, he seemed to be caught up to unimaginable heights of exultation. Like David, he had slain his Goliath, and the victory was of lasting importance, as it once and for ever abolished the menace of the airship. It is simple to repeat a feat which has actually been performed; to Lieutenant Robinson belongs the glory of the pioneer. Lieutenant Warneford's attack was made by day, Lieutenant Robinson had to land at night, which is always a matter of danger, and was then the more perilous because the aerodrome arrangements had not been perfected. The annals of our Air Services will one day show how many brave men have lost their lives in coming to earth at night while protecting British women and children.

#### Lieutenant Robinson's exploit

Lieutenant Robinson dropped swiftly and easily to the landing-point, half-dead with cold and exhaustion, but was not too exhausted to proceed by motor-car to the wreck of the burning airship, which had fallen at Cuffley. There he was seen, recognised, and hailed as victor by some sixty thousand of his countrymen. They streamed out to Cuffley by every conceivable route from London. There lay the thing which had attempted to bring death to the women and children of England, a mass of red-hot wire, splinters of wood and wreckage of every kind. The bodies of the crew lay about; some had evidently leapt out or been flung out as the airship fell, others had come down in her gondolas and met a fearful death in the flames. In the midst of the blazing mass, as on a funeral pyre, lay the corpse of the commander.

For his great deed Lieutenant Robinson received the Victoria Cross and large amounts in money, which had been offered to the British airman who first brought down a German airship. The enemy did not attempt to conceal the loss. Probably imagining that the destruction of the vessel had been due rather to luck than to consummate courage employing proper methods, the Germans, like Pharaoh of old, hardened their hearts, and determined to continue their policy of murder.

On the night of September 23rd another raid was made with twelve airships. Ten of these ranged over the South-Eastern, Eastern, and East Midland Counties; two coming from the south-east attacked London. The night



POETIC JUSTICE: FRIGHTFUL END OF EMISSARIES OF "FRIGHTFULNESS."

At daybreak of November 28th, 1916, a Zeppelin was detected over the coast of Norfolk. Four aeroplanes of the R.N.A.S. engaged her, three hitting her repeatedly till she plunged flaming into the sea. Thousands witnessed the spectacle, including the crew of an armed trawler which took part in the engagement.









LIEUT. F. SOWREY, D.S.O.



CAPTAIN  
W. LEEFFE ROBINSON, V.C.



LIEUT. W. J. TEMPEST, D.S.O.

PRESENTED WITH THE GREAT WAR PART 121

# Three Famous Heroes of the Royal Flying Corps



was calm and starlit, with patches of cloud. Two of the airships actually reached London and dropped many bombs there, in the southern and south-east district, killing twenty-eight persons and injuring ninety-nine. Though several small houses were demolished and a few fires were caused, no military damage was inflicted and no munition works were hit. It is possible that these raiders escaped. In the country there were fifteen casualties, while a railway-station in one Midland town was injured. Against this the enemy suffered very serious loss. One of the super-Zeppelins, L32, was attacked east of London by two British fighting aeroplanes, brilliantly piloted by Lieutenants Sowrey and Brandon, both of the Royal Flying Corps.

Again enormous crowds over a vast area witnessed a thrilling combat in mid-air. Again they suddenly saw a glow like that of a red-hot cigar appear at one end of the Zeppelin. For a few seconds the vast mass of the airship remained aflame at a height of about 8,000 feet; then, as in the case of the vessel destroyed by Lieutenant Robinson, it plunged swiftly to the ground, lighting up the whole sky with a crimson glare. Again all on board perished. Some of the crew were flung out, probably the men manning the guns on the platforms on the top of the hull and at its tail; others remained in her to the end and perished by the most appalling of deaths in the blaze which swept them to earth.

Earlier in the night British anti-aircraft guns struck another Zeppelin of the giant type, L33, attempting to reach London. She seems to have been hit on her petrol tanks, some of which showed dents when she was captured, and also on the bevel gearing of one of her wing propellers, which was shot off. She was seen at many points in Essex travelling low down and in evident difficulties. Eluding the British aeroplanes which hunted her furiously to complete her destruction, she passed over the Essex coast,

#### Fate of the L33

steering to sea. It was noticed that her engines made an unusually loud noise and seemed to be running very badly; moreover, she was flying so low that she was evidently all but helpless.

The airship proceeded about a couple of miles out to sea when her crew, presumably realising that the fate of the men in L19 awaited them if they persisted in any attempt to cross the North Sea, returned shoreward with the engines thundering like those of a dozen goods trains running up-hill. The great vessel came gliding in at low speed, almost touching the surface of the water, and took the land safely not far from the coast. As it came down it cut a deep furrow, and finally came to rest



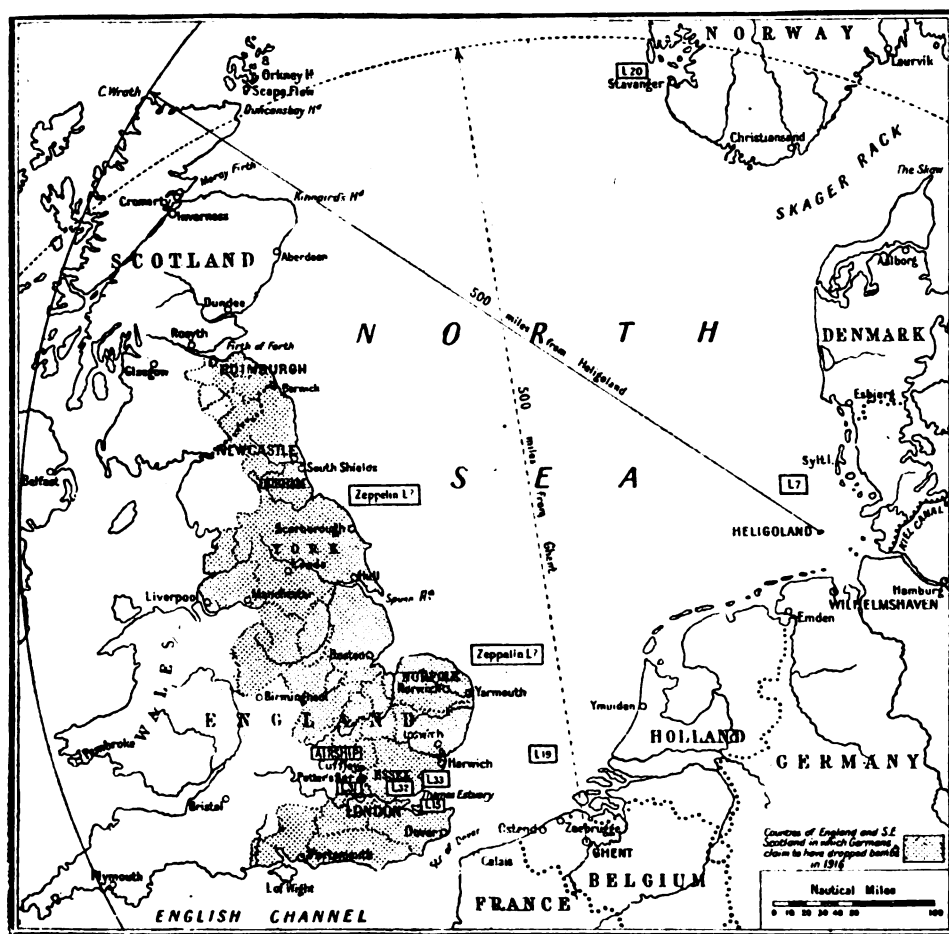
PLACED ON THE PINNACLE AND VERY THRONE OF PERIL.

On the top of the hull of the super-Zeppelin was a small platform, nine feet square, fenced in with a light wire railing, on which were two 5 in. guns, firing a one-pound shell, for repelling aeroplane attacks. Imagination cannot conceive a more perilous post for any gunners to occupy.

twenty yards from a wooden cottage. The Germans on board, who numbered twenty-two, shouted a warning to the people in this cottage, who were frightened out of their wits by the sudden apparition of this grey, colossal monster at their very doors, and perhaps imagined that the nightmare of an invasion by airship was at last being realised. After the warning the Germans set fire to the airship. It burnt with four sharp puffs of flame, emitting such heat that the paint on the cottage was badly scorched. No bombs, of the explosive kind appear to have been on board when L33 came down, but there were incendiary bombs, which were used to injure the structure and render the vessel incapable of repair.

The little body of Germans, one of whom had been slightly injured when the ship grounded, collected, seemingly in great terror of attack by the people, who certainly had no cause to be merciful to these offenders against the laws of war. They marched off on the road to Colchester, which one of them knew well. They threw





THE RANGE AND THE GRAVES OF THE SUPER-ZEPPELINS.

Chart showing the five-hundred-mile radius of operation of Zeppelins over the British Isles, and the approximate points at which Zeppelins were brought down during the course of 1916; five in the North Sea, one in the Thames estuary, and four on the land. The centres of the five-hundred-mile radius taken are Heligoland and Ghent respectively, and the distance is calculated in nautical miles.

away their weapons, and presently meeting a special constable made their formal surrender to him.

Both the airmen concerned in the destruction of L32 received honours and rewards for their splendid work. They were awarded the D.S.O., apparently because the British authorities were of opinion that, with the better methods which had been introduced, the destruction of Zeppelins was a relatively simple business. Yet some idea of the strain to which they were exposed may be gathered from the fact that Lieutenant Sowrey fainted from exhaustion and cold when he made his landing.

The loss of these two magnificent airships caused intense chagrin and dismay in Germany, so much so indeed that it offset the really important successes which the German armies were gaining against the Rumanians. The official report spoke of the "extraordinarily heavy fire with incendiary shells" which had destroyed the two airships. Yet a third Zeppelin sustained some damage. It was seen off the Danish coast, heavily down

Germany's  
fantastic tales

by the stern, with German destroyers accompanying it, and, according to fishermen's statements, which may or may not have been true, it sank in the Bight of Heligoland. In any case, the loss of this vessel was not acknowledged by the enemy.

The German Government was now in a most difficult position. It had led the German people to suppose that British towns could be attacked and laid in ruins by German airships. The false and fantastic tales which it had published of the airships' exploits had given a totally misleading impression of the effect produced by haphazard bomb-dropping. The German authorities had also

assiduously preached "hate" against Great Britain. They had created a passion for aimless outrage and wanton murder, and had convinced the German nation that Zeppelins were perfect instruments for this campaign of terror and cruelty. And now Germans generally demanded that the raids should continue, and indeed blamed the airship crews because they were not sufficiently active or sufficiently merciless. To abandon the raids altogether would be to admit that the large capital and immense amount of labour sunk in the Zeppelin had been wasted. British estimates, after a study of L33, gave the cost of such a vessel at something between £250,000 and £500,000, and the time required to build her at six months. And there was not only the actual structure of the airship to be taken into account, there were the enormous sheds needed for sheltering it and the hydrogen factories for supplying it with gas.

It was true that the Zeppelin had proved of the highest value for naval scouting, which was its proper sphere of action, within which it was most serviceable so long as it was not resolutely attacked by aeroplanes from aeroplane-carrying ships. But in view of Germany's position, not more than a dozen large airships were needed for this special business. The others

represented so much material wasted, and Germany was now beginning to run short of material.

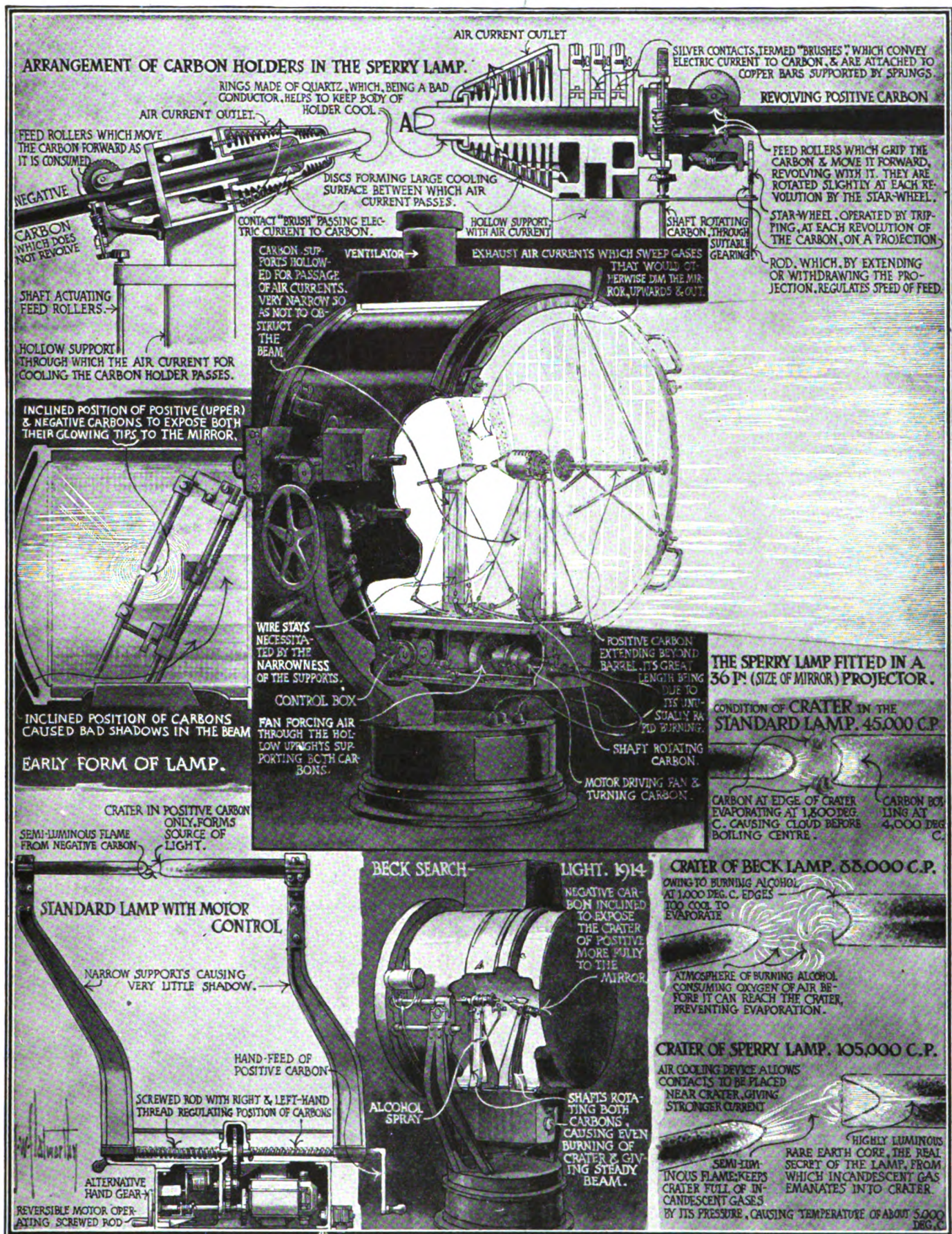
German opinion was summed up by the Munich "Neueste Nachrichten," which wrote: "The glorious German aerial engines of war penetrate to England's heart, and London trembles before their attacks, which it is hoped will be more frequent in future." And on September 25th the airships were ordered once more

Renewed raiding  
activity

to attack. On this occasion seven Zeppelins crossed the coast (the dwindling number showed that Germany had not anything like the force available which she was commonly supposed to possess). They attacked the South Coast, East Coast, North-East Coast, and North Midlands. No damage was done to factories or works, but several small cottages and houses were wrecked, and thirty-six persons were wantonly killed and twenty-seven injured. The enemy falsely claimed to have bombed Leeds, Lincoln, Derby, Portsmouth, and York. On this occasion, perhaps owing to mist, no airship was brought down. The attacks were made on residential districts where working-class people lived.

On October 1st ten Zeppelins crossed the British coast, striking at London, the Eastern Counties, and Lincolnshire. It was a very clear, dark night, and quite early in its course the London anti-aircraft defences came into action. A further great advance had been made since the raid of September 23rd, and this time two large Zeppelins which endeavoured to reach London found every attempt to penetrate the line of defences frustrated by the guns and searchlights. While they were engaged in endeavours to break through, one of them was attacked by an aeroplane



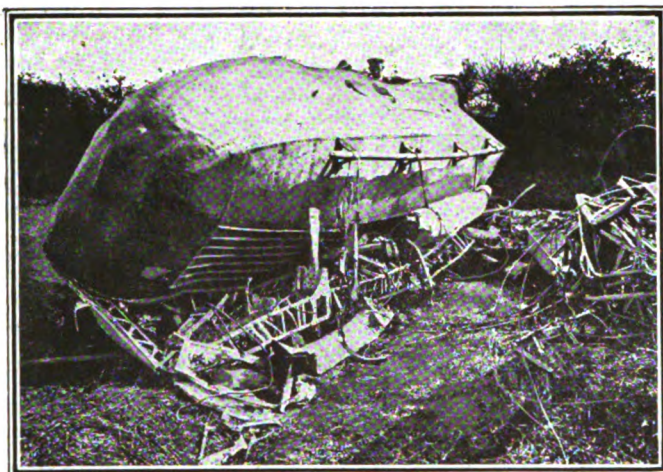


### SUPER-SEARCHLIGHT USED AGAINST SUPER-ZEPPELINS.

Exchanging new lamps for old is an enterprise in which some of the wizards of science are ever engaged, and during the sporadic attempts of the Germans to rouse civilian alarm in Britain by indiscriminate "frightfulness" from the air, steady attempts were made at improvements in the searchlights employed for finding the whereabouts of high-flying raiders. These graphic diagrams give details of the Sperry lamp, an American invention, and compare them with the details of other lamps. The Sperry, it was claimed, was greatly superior in effectiveness and brilliancy to all earlier lights. In the country of its origin it was

stated that the highest brilliancy of the crater of the positive carbon of the Sperry lamp was about two-thirds of that of the sun. Although necessarily somewhat technical, the descriptions given serve to indicate some of the important ways in which this light differed from those that it was designed to supplement or supersede. The light from the crater of the positive carbon thrown on to the mirror at the back of the projector and thence reflected in the intense beam of light not only enabled the watchers of the skies to pick out the aircraft sailing high overhead at night-time, but also served to confuse those navigating the raider.





[British official photograph.]

## GONDOLA OF A WRECKED RAIDER.

Although it had turned turtle amid the wreckage, both the size and shape of the gondola of a Zeppelin are well shown in this photograph.

piloted by Lieutenant Tempest, of the Royal Flying Corps. The crowds below now knew what to expect, and watched eagerly. A little before midnight a bright glow was seen on the tip of one Zeppelin, cruising at an enormous height; the airship capsized with the glowing tip pointing downwards, righted itself, then, with the glow spreading, broke into two flaming balls, which were probably the two ends with the two heavy gondolas, held together by the cable, and finally fell as one big pear-shaped mass of crimson fire to the ground at Potter's Bar, where it lay, a blazing heap of metal, cotton, and wood of the size of a large house. A cordon of troops swiftly encircled it.

This Zeppelin was speedily identified from the wreckage as L31, the first of the super-Zeppelins, and the third of that type destroyed by the British forces in this country. For its destruction Lieutenant Tempest received the D.S.O. He was injured, but not seriously, in making his landing after putting the airship out of action. All the crew of L31 perished. Her captain was the ablest and most experienced airship officer in the German Navy, Lieutenant-Commander

German officer's  
mythical narrative

Mathy. He had escaped death in the first two German naval airships, L1 and L2, which were destroyed by accident previous to the war, by the curious chance

that in each case he happened to be ill, though he had been told off to take part in the trials. He commanded the airship which bombed London in September and October, 1915, on each occasion killing and wounding a large number of non-combatants, with no military aim. He was apparently so much pleased with his exploits that he gave a largely mythical account of the September raid to an American correspondent, which has this historic value that it affords some idea of what an airship crew feel and observe during an attack.

"London," he said, "is darkened, but sufficiently lighted to enable me to see its reflected glow in the sky nearly forty miles away." (This applies to September, 1915, and was afterwards entirely changed.) "A large city, seen at night from a great height, is a fairylike picture. There is no sign of life, except in the distance a moving light, probably from a railway train. As in the twinkling of an eye all this changes. A sudden flash and a narrow beam of brilliant light reaches out from below and begins to feel around the sky. A second, third, fourth, and fifth come out, and soon there are more than a score of criss-crossing ribbons—tentacles seeking to drag us to destruction. Now from below comes an ominous sound that penetrates the noise of the engines. There are little red flashes and short bursts of fire. Above the Bank of England I shouted through the speaking-tube connecting me with my lieutenant at the firing apparatus, 'Fire

slowly!' Mingling with the dim thunder from the guns below came the explosions and bursting flames of our bombs. Over Holborn Viaduct, in the vicinity of Holborn Station, we dropped several bombs. From the Bank of England to the Tower—a short distance—I tried to hit the bridge, and believe I was successful. Arriving directly over Liverpool Street Station, I shouted 'Rapid fire!' and bombs rained down. I could see that I hit well, and apparently did great damage.

"I am not afraid of aeroplanes, and think I could make it interesting for them, unless, perhaps, there was a regular swarm. It takes some time for an aeroplane to climb as high as a Zeppelin, and by the time it gets there the airship would be gone. Then, too, it is most difficult for an aeroplane to land at night, while a Zeppelin can stay up all night."

In the raid in which the super-Zeppelin was destroyed at Potter's Bar very trifling damage was done, and only two casualties were inflicted. The airship crews seem to have been unnerved by the losses they had suffered, and except in the case of the two ships which tried to reach London were careful to keep out of reach of the British defences. Though many bombs were dropped, only four houses were damaged, in addition to some greenhouses. The Germans professed that the raid had been successful, and that London and the mouth of the Humber had been bombed.

Airship crews  
unnerved

For some weeks after this the weather remained very unfavourable, and no raids were possible. On the night of November 27th the Zeppelin crews were again driven out to attack the British coast. The number of airships engaged is not officially stated, but seems to have been about five, for the total of effective vessels which the Germans had available was steadily falling. Four of these appear to have attacked the North-East Coast and dropped bombs in Durham and Yorkshire, doing very little damage beyond hurting a few innocent women and children. One of them was engaged by an aeroplane, piloted by Lieutenant I. V. Pyott, of the Royal Flying Corps, off the Durham coast. The airship, after a short engagement, took fire, and the flames spread along her till she began to fall. Her end was witnessed by large crowds over a great area. It came in the same fashion as with the other Zeppelins, except that the blazing mass fell into the sea. Boats put off from the shore, but when day broke there was nothing to be seen on the water but a thick, oily scum. The number of this airship has not been published.

While this was happening in the North, another large airship had crossed the East Coast and pushed inland towards the North Midlands, where she dropped various bombs at random. So far she had not been attacked, but



EXAMINING A ZEPPELIN ENGINE.

Men of the Royal Flying Corps showed considerable interest in all that remained of the engines of the airships that were brought down.



on her return journey she began to feel the bite of the strengthened British defences. Aeroplanes chased her; guns opened on her. It seems certain that she sustained some damage, as she travelled very slowly, and may, indeed, have stopped for some time not far from the Norfolk coast, where she evidently succeeded in making temporary repairs. Day was at hand when she was seen, now at a great height and travelling fast, voyaging towards the sea. She passed through a zone of gun fire, where the gunners claim to have inflicted on her at least one hit, and then stood out to sea—not alone, however, but followed by a number of aeroplanes, piloted by officers of the Royal Naval Air Service, who stuck to her in the most determined fashion, and showed that they were resolved not to let her go. In the grey light her gunners must have seen her assailants plainly, but were unable to beat them off. The people on the coast watched the thrilling battle in the sky at a height of 8,000 feet. Four aeroplanes were in action, supported by an armed trawler. The aeroplanes again had the upper hand. Lieutenant Egbert Cadbury and Sub-Lieutenants E. L. Pulling and G. W. R. Fane drew closest to her and hit her repeatedly, till the flames swept along her side, and she, too, plunged a hissing mass into the sea.

The officers concerned in the destruction of these two Zeppelins received the D.S.O., which they had so gloriously earned. The name of the second Zeppelin has not been published; her destruction was important, as this was the first occasion on which a Zeppelin on its homeward way was caught by the British forces and brought down. The feat, moreover, was accomplished by the R.N.A.S., which had previously shown great courage in attacking enemy airships, but for want of proper armament and organisation had not been able to bring them down. The record of the two flying branches for 1916 now stood at four destroyed by Army airmen and one by Navy airmen. The British casualties in this raid were seventeen, the German would be at least forty-four, as twenty-two officers and men formed the crew of a Zeppelin.

**Thrilling battle in the sky** Later in the morning on which the Norfolk Zeppelin had been destroyed (November 28th) a German aeroplane made a pointless attack on London. It

appeared over the capital about noon, and dropped six bombs from a height so great that the occupants of the machine could not have taken any proper aim. This wanton piece of mischief caused only the slightest damage, but inflicted injury on nine persons, one of whom was seriously hurt. The aeroplane, on its return journey, was brought down by the French at Dunkirk, when it proved to be manned by two

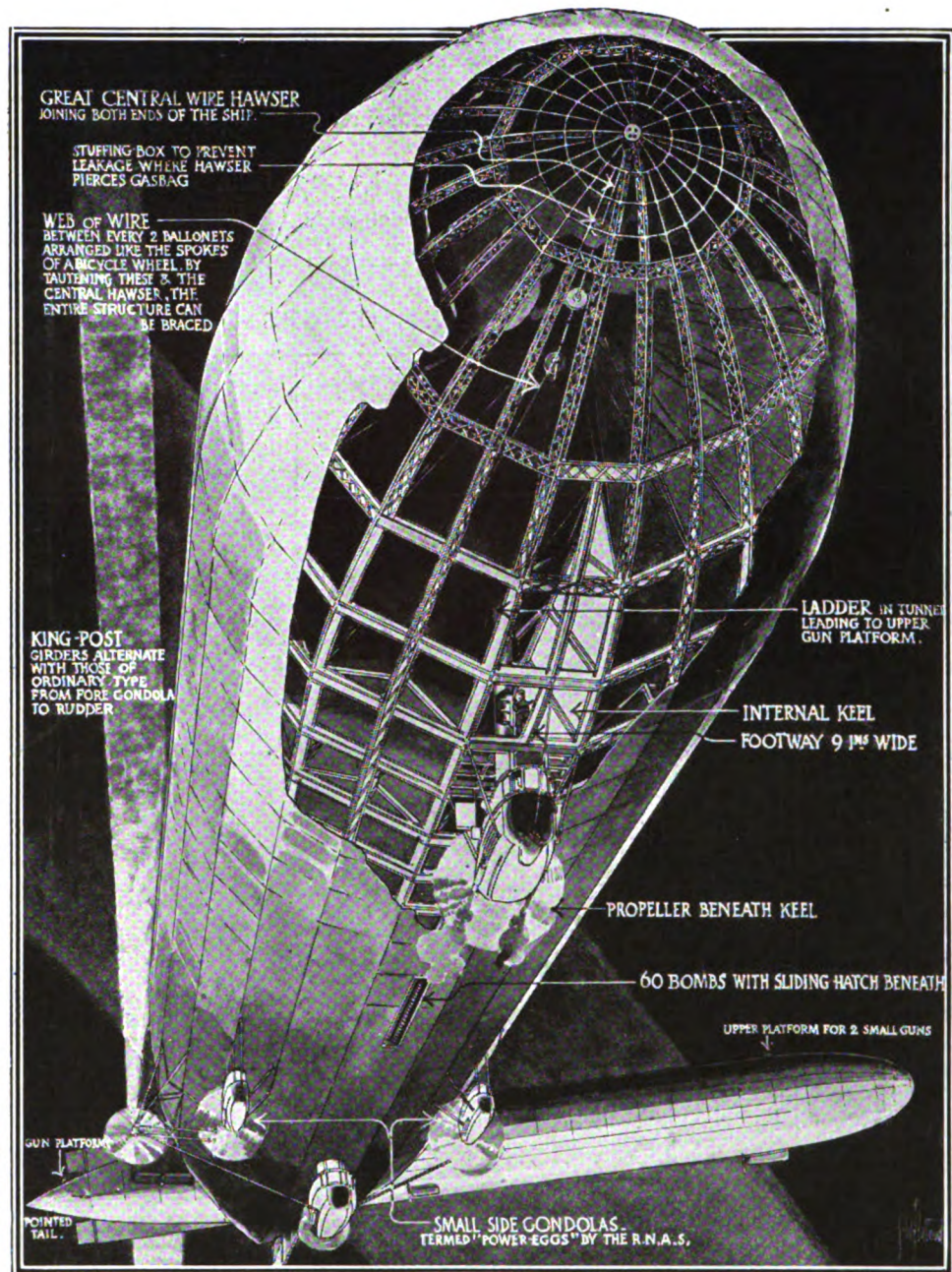


DIAGRAM OF THE STRUCTURE OF A SUPER-ZEPPELIN.

This diagram, by Mr. S. W. Clatsworthy, illustrates the notable features of a super-Zeppelin, as described in this chapter by Mr. H. W. Wilson, after his examination of the L33, brought down in Essex. The type appears to have been standardised, and it included all the best points of airship construction which German ingenuity had devised up to the end of 1916.

naval lieutenants. This affair, though in itself of the extremest insignificance, was important as indicating the real danger which threatened Britain from the air—that of aeroplane attack on the great cities. The sole effective protection against this was the certainty that such attacks would be followed by British reprisals, as neither machines nor guns could prevent enemy aeroplanes, which fly very high—at 10,000 or even 15,000 feet—from reaching towns and dropping bombs on them.

The close of the year saw the effective German Zeppelin fleet reduced to somewhere about twenty airships, and entirely shorn of its prestige. It could no longer frighten women and children in isolated villages and remote little towns; in the last five raids it had suffered far more damage than it inflicted. It had tried every stratagem—attacks in mass, attacks isolated, attacks on London simultaneously delivered from several directions, attacks avoiding London and the growing power of the



metropolitan defences. All had failed. The prime instrument of "frightfulness" was useless on land; the dream of laying London in ruins by Zeppelin bombs had for ever vanished. There remained the motives, which were set forth by Captain Persius in the "Berliner Tageblatt":

The measures of (air) defence taken in England demand a considerable personnel and much matériel. Numberless defence stations have been created which require the attention of many thousands of officers and men, including the crews needed for handling the guns and manipulating the searchlights. These need

very careful and highly-trained men. Guns, munitions, searchlights, aeroplanes, have all to be provided for this special purpose. There are other consequences. When the alarm of an attack is raised, everything has to be darkened, causing not inconsiderable disturbance and delay of railway and harbour traffic.

So far as these were sound arguments they amounted to an indictment of the Asquith Coalition Government for failing to take reprisals, and thus permitting Germany to immobilise a large force of men and guns in this country, while leaving the enemy free to send every man and gun to the two fronts for the attack on the Allies.

#### AIRSHIP RAIDS ON GREAT BRITAIN IN 1916.

No.	1916.	Area Attacked.	Number of Airships.	Number of Airships Destroyed by British in these Raids.	Killed.	Injured.	Barometer and Weather Conditions in London.*
1	Jan. 31	Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincs, Leicestershire, Staffs, Derbyshire	6 or 7	0	67	117	30.2; slight rain and fog.
2	Mar. 5	Yorks, Lincs, Rutland, Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Essex, Kent	3	0	18	52	L19 wrecked on return 29.7; snow in north, squally
3	Mar. 31	E. and N.E. Counties	5	1	43	66	30.2; dull
4	Apr. 1	N.E. Coast	5	0	16	100	30.1; clear
5	Apr. 2	S.E. Counties of Scotland; N. and S.E. Counties of England	?	0	11	11	29.9; clear
6	Apr. 5	N.E. Coast	3	0	1	8	29.8; clear
7	Apr. 24	Norfolk and Suffolk	4	0	0	1	30.0; moon rose 2.5 a.m., sky overcast. Enemy reconnoitring for German battle-cruisers
8	Apr. 25	Essex and Kent	?	0	0	0	30.1; clear, moon rose 2.27 a.m.
9	Apr. 26	E. Kent	3	0	0	0	30.3; misty, moon rose 2.43 a.m.
10	May 3	N.E. Coast England and E. Coast Scotland	5	0	9	27	29.9; gusty, uncertain weather L20 wrecked on return
11	July 29	Yorks and Lincs	3	0	0	0	30.3; very fine and warm
12	July 31	Kent, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincs, Cambridge, Hunts	7	0	0	0	30.2; very fine and warm
13	Aug. 3	Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent	8	0	0	0	30.3; fine
14	Aug. 9	E. Coast England; S.E. Coast Scotland	7 to 10	0	8	30	30.3; clear and warm
15	Aug. 23	E. Coast	1	0	0	0	29.9; windy
16	Aug. 25	E. and S.E. Coasts; outskirts of London	6	0	8	21	29.8; stiff wind S.W.
17	Sept. 2	E. Counties and outskirts of London	13	1	3	12	30.0; overcast
18	Sept. 23	London, S.E., E., E. Midlands, and Lincs	12	2	38	125	30.0; clear, with ground mist
19	Sept. 25	N. Midlands, E., N.E., and S. Coast	7	0	36	27	30.0; clear, with ground mist
20	Oct. 1	London, E. Counties, Lincs	10	1	1	1	30.1; very clear, dark night
21	Nov. 27-8	N.E. and E. Coast	?	2	4	37	30.2; clear, frosty; fog later
Add in 1915 . . .			Over 103	7	203	641	
Total Casualties 1915-16 . . .					171	454	
					434	1,095	

\* No moon, and wind light or calm unless otherwise stated.

#### GERMAN AIRSHIP LOSSES IN 1916.

German rigid airships positively known to have been destroyed by the Allies or wrecked in 1916, and the loss of which was acknowledged by the enemy. [These were in addition to other losses which were not reported.]

No.	Date.	Name of Airship	By what Nation Destroyed.	How Destroyed.	Where Destroyed.	Fate of Crew.
1	Feb. 2	L19	—	Wrecked, after being hit by Dutch fire	North Sea	Killed
2	Feb. 21	*LZ77	French	Gun fire	Révigny	Burnt to death
3	Mar. 31	L15	British	Gun fire	Thames	Most taken prisoners
4	May 3	L20	—	Wrecked	Norwegian Coast	Saved
5	May 4	L7	British	Gun fire of fleet	North Sea	A few taken prisoners
6	May 5	*LZ85	Allies	Gun fire of fleet	Salonika	Prisoners
7	Sept. 3	*Rigid Airship	British	Aeroplane	Cuffley	Burnt to death
8	Sept. 24	L32	British	Aeroplane	Essex	Burnt to death
9	Sept. 24	L33	British	Gun fire	Essex	Prisoners
10	Oct. 1	L31	British	Aeroplane	Potter's Bar	Burnt to death
11	Nov. 27	Zeppelin L?	British	Aeroplane	N.E. Coast	Burnt to death
12	Nov. 28	Zeppelin L?	British	Aeroplane	E. Coast	Burnt to death

\* Army Airships.





LANCERS ON THE MOVE

## CHAPTER CLVIII.

ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

### SIR DOUGLAS HAIG'S VIEWS OF THE SOMME BATTLE.

**EDITORIAL NOTE.**—Without unduly swelling the bulk of this history, it is impossible to reprint within its pages the historic documents published by the various Governments, much as the Editors would have liked to include them. Readers, however, can find such documents easily available in other cheap forms, and have the advantage of knowing that the essence of them all is introduced with care by the writers of *THE GREAT WAR* into their orderly and more pithy narratives. The most important of the British despatches published up to the end of 1916 was the long and convincing document which Sir Douglas Haig had finished under date December 23rd, and which the alertness of the new Government issued at the psychological moment when the German peace bluff was still occupying the minds of neutrals. This despatch came as an inspiration to further effort, as a message of good cheer to the Allies, and readers of *THE GREAT WAR* who take the pains to re-peruse the series of brilliant chapters on the Battles of the Somme, by Mr. Edward Wright, may be surprised to notice how closely his deductions tally with the statements of Sir Douglas Haig. The historic importance of the despatch, however, has made it desirable to add a chapter to *THE GREAT WAR* in which the whole is analysed in about one-third the space of the original, and presented to the reader in a manner probably calling for less study of detail, without losing anything vital which the British Commander-in-Chief had thought fit to communicate to his Government for publication.



In the middle of December, 1916, Hindenburg's lieutenant, General von Ludendorff, began to support Bethmann-Hollweg's intrigue for a German peace by a great Press campaign throughout the Central Empires and all neutral States. He asserted that the Somme campaign had been a German victory, and public opinion in some neutral countries inclined to the German view of the great battle, owing to the fact that operations had been brought to a temporary standstill by the wet winter weather. A large body of American opinion appeared to be strongly influenced by the claims set before the public in the United States by German agencies of many kinds, so that there was danger of the most powerful neutral State adopting the view that the war had been fought to a stalemate, and that a negotiated peace was inevitable.

The new Government of Great Britain was too alert to allow the enemy to win a military Press campaign in regard to the Somme, similar to the naval Press campaign he had won in regard to the Jutland

Bank action. The British Commander-in-Chief, Sir Douglas Haig, wrote out his despatch on December 23rd, 1916, and its rapid publication, under the new Secretary of State for War, at once defeated the enemy's design to regain with the pen the prestige he had lost with the sword.

Throughout the war Great Britain had been the only belligerent that regularly published despatches from her Commanders-in-Chief after every important campaign.

Even the details of the disasters in the Gallipoli Peninsula and the Kut-el-Amara region had been related in British official despatches, while the German Staff kept back the official history of the first campaign on the Sambre and Marne. The continual contrast between the frankness of British military authorities and the reticence of German military authorities served to inspire confidence in Great Britain, more particularly as the despatches of Viscount French and Sir John Jellicoe were written in clear and telling language, enabling all the world to understand and judge the evidence set before them. A despatch from a British Commander-in-Chief tended



DAWN OF THE DAY OF BATTLE, JULY 1ST, 1916.

A British general officer with his Staff on the morning of the first attack. On July 1st, at 7.30 a.m., after a final hour of exceptionally heavy bombardment, our infantry assault was launched along the Somme.

*[British official photograph.]*





[British official photograph.]

**GIVE-AND-TAKE IN TRENCH WARFARE.**

Bomb section of the Seaforth Highlanders firing a trench-mortar, the bomb clearly visible in its flight. The range of these mortars varied considerably, but they all proved immensely effective in the trench warfare.

to inspire, in neutrals as well as in Allies, trust in its veracity. Thus, Sir Douglas Haig inherited a splendid fund of prestige when he sat down to describe the character and result of the Somme Battle, and defeat thereby one of the most subtle German intrigues for the establishment, through the pressure of American opinion, of an enemy peace.

In sober, professional, lucid diction the great Scotsman draws an outline sketch of the greatest battle in the history of the world; and though, by reason of the millions of men engaged, he cannot follow the example of Viscount French of Ypres and give particulars of the deeds of British units, his long despatch is in many ways the most interesting document of the war. He reveals the fact that Marshal Joffre in person and himself first discussed all possible alternatives of action on the western front, and came to a complete agreement as to the most promising

**Deciding on the great push** enemy sectors for a combined British and French offensive. There was a serious British difficulty in that a large proportion of officers and men of the

New Army were far from being fully trained, and every week they could be held back for further training increased their numbers and enabled them to obtain a larger supply of munitions. But as the Germans continued to press their attacks at Verdun, and the Austrian offensive made ground in the Trentino, the common interests of all the Allies compelled Sir Douglas Haig to move before he had gathered his full strength.

As the strain on Verdun continued to increase, Sir Douglas Haig agreed with Marshal Joffre to launch an offensive by the end of June, 1916. Three objects were aimed at by the British commander. He intended first to relieve the pressure on Verdun; second, to assist the Italians and the Russians, by stopping all transfer of German troops from the western front; and third, to wear down the enemy forces opposed to him. No attempt to break through was therefore designed. But, within the limits of the British commander's plan, great successes were gained in three directions, in any one of which success would have justified the operations. Verdun was relieved. The main German forces were held on the western front,

and a great campaign against Russia prevented. Finally, the enemy strength was weakened in a very serious manner. Four-fifths of the total number of German divisions in the principal theatre of war were thrown one after another into the Somme Battle. Some of these forces were used up twice; some of them were used up thrice, and the outcome was such, Sir Douglas Haig suggests, that if the weather had not broken at the end of the campaign and interrupted the operations, a grand decision would have been obtained. "There is sufficient evidence to place it beyond doubt that the enemy's losses in men and material have been very considerably higher than those of the Allies, while morally the advantage on our side is still greater."

Sir Douglas Haig goes on to point out that these results were largely obtained against veteran enemy forces by British troops mainly raised during the war. Many Britons counted their service by months, and gained in the Somme Battle their **Beginning of the battle** first experience of warfare. We were compelled to use untrained officers and men, or else to defer the offensive until we had trained them. If this had been the case, we should have failed our Allies, says the British commander, and he proudly remarks that the achievement of his troops, under such conditions, against an Army and nation whose chief concern for years had been to prepare for war, constitutes a feat without parallel in history.

After describing the difficult downland country and the great strength of the enemy fortifications, Sir Douglas Haig distinguishes three phases in the operations. The first phase opened with the attack of July 1st, the force of which surprised the enemy and threw him into considerable confusion. The Fourth British Army, consisting of five army corps, under the command of General Sir Henry Rawlinson, attacked on the line from Maricourt to



[British official photograph.]

**A ROLAND FOR AN OLIVER.**

In reply to the message of death and defiance sent as shown in the photograph in the left-hand column, the Germans fired a shell which burst immediately in front of the gallant Seaforths' trench.





*(British official photograph.)*

#### A HALT FOR HOT COFFEE.

Behind the lines on the western front were roadside places where passing soldiers could always get hot coffee and biscuits to cheer them on their way.

Serre. Then troops from another army, commanded by General Sir E. H. H. Allenby, attacked at Gommecourt as part of a subsidiary operation. Sir Douglas Haig states that he expected no results of importance in the actions above the Ancre, from Gommecourt to Beaumont-Hamel. The aim in this sector was to hold up the enemy's reserves and occupy his artillery while his line was being broken south of the Ancre.

The British troops advanced to the attack with perfect steadiness, and, in spite of a very heavy barrage from the enemy's guns, met with immediate success on their right. They carried Montauban, and, forcing their way over open ground into Mametz, pressed the enemy on three sides at Fricourt and reached their objective in the valley. Farther north, the villages of La Boisselle and Ovillers were prepared for capture by the achievements of British troops, who drove deeply into the German lines on the flanks of these strongholds. But at Thiepval, and along the valley of the Ancre, and on the Serre plateau,

#### Striking early successes

there was a series of striking early successes that could not be developed. British troops penetrated into the defences of Grandcourt and fought into Thiepval and Serre. The enemy's resistance at Beaumont-Hamel and Thiepval made it impossible to forward reinforcements and ammunition, so that the gallant attackers were compelled to retire at night to their own lines. The troops that assailed Gommecourt also forced their way into enemy positions and, having fulfilled the object of their subsidiary attack, drew back.

At the close of the day Sir Douglas Haig decided to follow



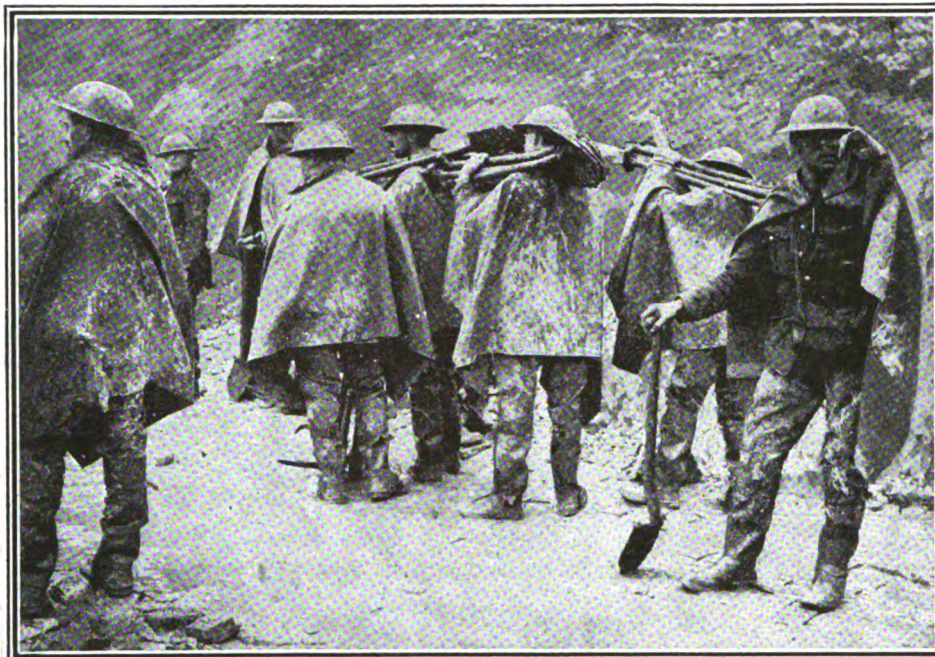
#### IN THE GRIP OF WINTER BEHIND THE WESTERN FRONT.

Peaceful scene at a railway supply depot in France, where varied transport vehicles gathered to get hay and straw for conveyance for use at the front. The state of the snowy roads may be gauged by the clogged wheels of the familiar van on the left.

up his great successes south of the Ancre, while holding the enemy north of the river. A brilliant New Army commander, General Sir Hubert de la Poer Gough, came forward with the Fifth British Army, to which the two northern corps from the Fourth Army were attached. General Gough was placed in charge of the operations from Serre to La Boisselle, with orders to maintain a steady pressure on the German front, and act as a pivot for the swinging line of the Fourth Army under General Rawlinson. Meanwhile, the Fourth Army continued its advance and captured Fricourt and Fricourt Wood, and then in four days' fighting, on a front of over six miles, swept over the enemy's first and strongest system of defences, drove him back for more than a mile, and stormed four of his great village strongholds.

It became necessary on the sixth day to relieve the fatigued troops and bring forward both the light and the heavy artillery to prepare the way for another successful





WELL EQUIPPED FOR BAD-WEATHER WORK.

Typical working-party on the Western Front. They set out with waders for the wet places, waterproof sheets for body covering against the heavy rain, and trench-helmets against shrapnel. The mud on the shovels shows the kind of ground in which they had to work.

assault. Local actions were continued meanwhile, and the ground cleared towards the enemy's second line of defences. At dawn on July 14th the Fourth Army made its second great leap forward, after the most extraordinary nocturnal manoeuvre of any modern army. The story of this manoeuvre forms one of the revelations of the historic despatch. In the darkness the troops moved out over open country, for a distance of nearly a mile, and lined up near the enemy's trenches without being observed by any hostile patrols. The mechanical perfection of this uncontested advance was attained, as Sir Douglas Haig emphatically repeats, by an army the bulk of which was raised after the beginning of the war. In both magnitude and precision the operation was a classic example of Staff work, and its success was largely due to the fact that many battalion, brigade, and divisional commanders went out themselves to study the ground over which they intended noiselessly to work their troops in the darkness.

Just as the dawn began to glimmer over the crest, enabling the men to distinguish friend from foe at a short range, the assault was delivered, with crashing surprise effect along a front of three miles, from Longueval to Bazentin-le-Petit Wood. As a result of the amazing nocturnal advance General Rawlinson's army had reduced the distances between it and the enemy from 1,300 and 1,900 yards to 300 and 500 yards. It transformed conditions of annihilation into conditions of victory. The enemy's first trenches were rapidly stormed, and some of his troops thrown into a state of demoralisation. Trônes Wood was taken early in the morning, and nearly all the defences of Longueval were overrun by the afternoon. In the centre the village and wood of

Bazentin-le-Grand were gained, and higher up the ridge Bazentin-le-Petit and its wood were taken. Then it was that the German soldiers began to break without waiting to be attacked, and General Rawlinson, who had foreseen this event and brought up cavalry to profit by it, threw out horsemen and infantry and cleared nearly the whole of High Wood. This was the great testing day of the new national forces of Great Britain, and they triumphed over their veteran enemy in a manner that marked a new era in the history of Continental Europe.

Thus ended the first phase of the Somme Battle. The enemy's second main system of defences had been captured on a front of over three miles. He had been forced back another mile, and had lost 6,000 yards of the main ridge and four more of his village strongholds. At one point his third system of defences had been penetrated. The skill, daring, persistence, and determination of the new British soldier had been

shown in a magnificent manner, and Sir Henry Rawlinson clearly emerged as a commander of genius. Despite the shaken condition of the German troops, the great strength and depth of their defences enabled them to win time to bring up mighty reserves.

#### Second phase of the battle

There then opened the second phase of the Battle of the Somme. This phase lasted many weeks. Having found his strongest defences unavailing, and being fully alive to his danger, the German commander put forth all his efforts to maintain his hold upon the main ridge. The result was a prolonged struggle between the contending armies, in which by slow and difficult progress the British troops won, in the words of Sir Douglas Haig, "a fighting superiority that left its mark on the enemy." Their conquest of the ridge became the visible symbol of the moral fact that they were proving themselves the better men.



PRIMITIVE BRIDGE ACROSS THE ANCRE.

Where one of the bare boles which represented what had been a wood had fallen across a narrow part of the river, soldiers found a convenient means of crossing. The shell which had felled the tree had built a bridge.





*(Sale & Polden.)*

*Lieut.-General Sir Hubert de la Poer Gough, K.C.B.*  
Commander of the Fifth Army on the Somme.

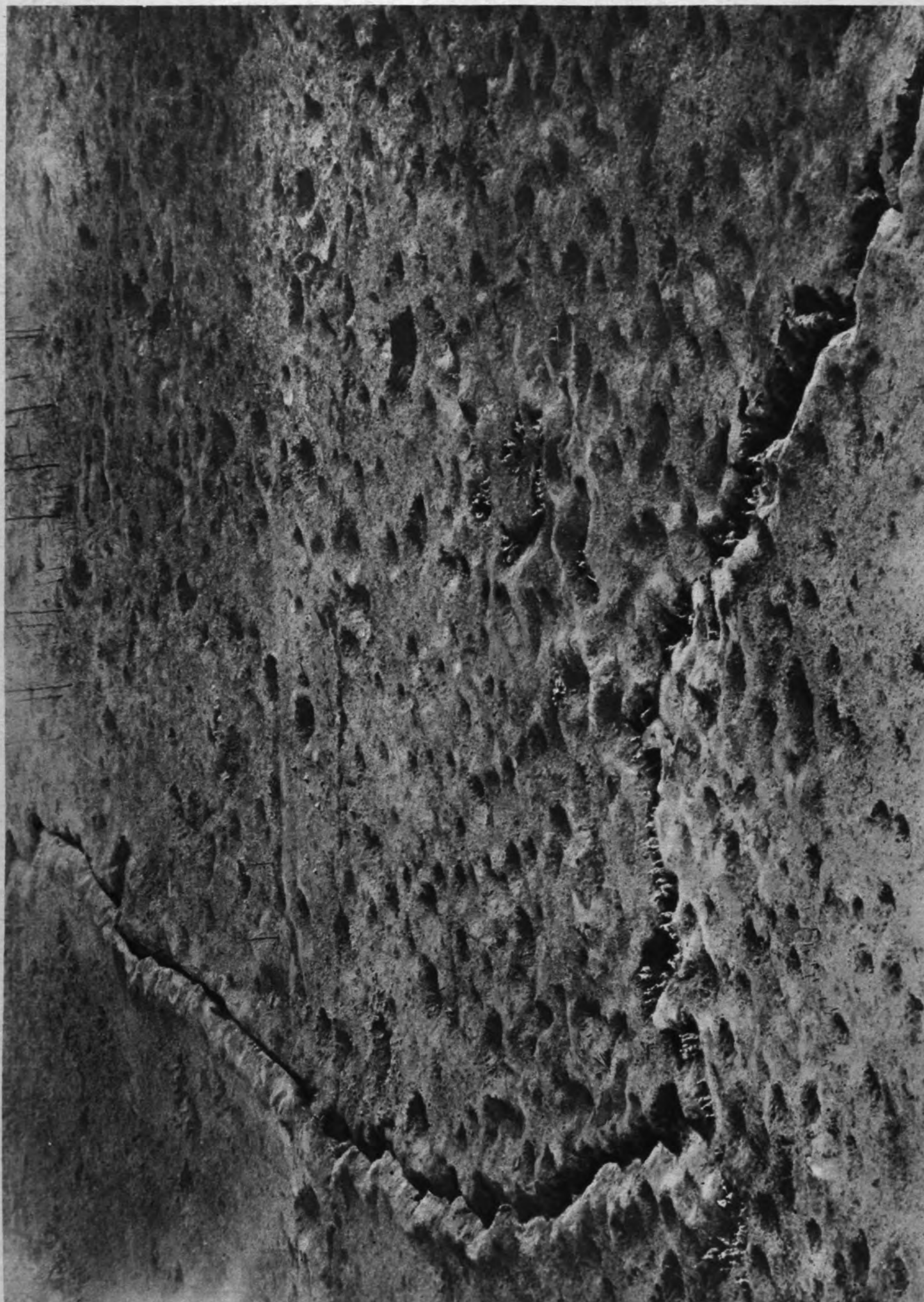




[French official photograph]

*Flight of Germans before a gas attack on the Somme as seen from the air.*





[French official photograph.]

*Airman's view of the advance of French infantry after a bombardment on the Somme.*





*Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir Julian Byng, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., M.V.O.*  
Commander of the Canadian Army Corps on the Somme.

*Bessie no.*



In this decisive trial of moral strength, that lasted from July 17th to September 9th, Sir Douglas Haig remarks that unfavourable weather increased the difficulties of Sir Henry Rawlinson. Direct observation of our artillery fire was limited by the nature of the ground, and we greatly depended upon observation from the air. But though the British pilots were masters of the air, they could not for several weeks get the clear atmosphere they needed. Rain fell in unusual quantities in July and August, and when there was no rain there was an almost constant haze with frequent low clouds. Although the weather thus helped the enemy by mitigating his defeat in the air and his lack of artillery concentration, the Fifth British Army maintained its methodical step-by-step advance around Pozières and Thiepval. Along the right flank, held by the Fourth Army, where the British lines formed the sharp salient at Delville Wood and Longueval, Sir Douglas Haig judged that the situation called for stronger measures. The enemy was able to bring a concentric artillery fire to bear upon the salient and upon the narrow space

behind it, where great numbers of British and French guns, ammunition heaps, and supplies were crowded together. Sir Douglas Haig admits that the position of things in and around the salient was such as should have made any commander very anxious. For if the enemy had been able to drive in the salient, and so gain direct observation on the ground behind, he could have thrust a knife into the junction of the British and French armies.

Sir Douglas Haig says that he had "good grounds for confidence that the enemy was not able to drive from this position troops who had shown that they were able to wrest it from him." So he ordered the Fourth Army to hang on to the salient while he was arranging to swing his right flank into line with his centre. In order to do this he had to capture first the Guillemont line, and secondly the Ginchy line, and the enemy recognised the importance of retaining these two lines. They were naturally very strong, and had been elaborately fortified. But the German commander was not content with them. He had lost trust in his defences, and after digging and wiring many new trenches both before and behind his original lines, he brought up fresh troops for another great test of strength.

After a short pause to enable his tired troops to be relieved and his guns moved forward, Sir Douglas Haig prepared for his swing against Guillemont. But before he could strike there came the expected German counter-attack against Delville Wood and Longueval. By sheer weight of numbers the Germans forced their way through a large part of the wood and into the northern part of the village. The British commander retaliated by ordering his Fourth Army, on July 23rd, to thrust forward on a wide front from Guillemont to Pozières. At the same time the Fifth Army, under General Gough, moved directly against Pozières, and by the morning of July 25th the whole of the village was carried.

The entrance of the Fifth Army into violent battle greatly relieved the Fourth Army, and by the end of July



[British official photograph.]

#### WINTRY AMENITIES ON THE SOMME.

Companions in difficulties. A typical example of the cold and slushy ways that led from the rear to the flooded trenches. Through a morass of snow and mud, an Army Service man, with the aid of a patient pony, is seen conveying a supply of much-needed waders to his comrades, who were holding their own in even worse conditions in the front line.

all the critical salient of Delville Wood and Longueval was recovered, after incessant, desperate fighting. This served not only to achieve the immediate object, but to shake once more the enemy's nerve. Then, after a fortnight of terrible wearing-down attack and counter-attack, Sir Douglas Haig's original design of swinging his right flank up in line with his centre was undertaken by slow but stubborn pressure. On July 30th the village of Guillemont and the ridge of Falfemont Farm were vainly assailed. One attacking battalion drove through Guillemont, but was obliged to fall back, as the battalions on either flank were checked. On August 7th the British troops again entered Guillemont, and were again compelled to retire owing to checks on their flanks. Sir Douglas Haig states that he then came to the conclusion that Guillemont could not be captured by local attack, except with very heavy loss. He therefore arranged with the French army on his right for a series of combined assaults, delivered in progressive stages, from Maurepas to Ginchy.

The Allies' first attempt to carry out this scheme was made on August 16th, and met with only partial success. Two days later a larger combined attack was undertaken, in which very valuable progress was made, Guillemont railway-station and the outskirts of Guillemont village being occupied. During this period, when the Fourth Army was battering furiously on the right wing, the Fifth Army bombed its way over the crest of the main ridge to Pozières Windmill, and there secured artillery observation over the enemy's lines in front of Bapaume. The way was thereby opened for a large general attack by both British armies, and after laborious preparations lasting for a fortnight a third grand assault was delivered at noon on September 3rd, from the Ancre to Falfemont Farm. On the front attacked by Sir Hubert Gough's army the battle led to no gain of ground of importance. But the enemy was held and badly punished, and prevented from assisting in the defence of his eastern flank. Against this flank Sir Henry Rawlinson's army drove with victorious

Ability of the  
New Armies





AREA OF OPERATIONS COVERED BY SIR DOUGLAS HAIG'S DESPATCH, DECEMBER 23RD, 1916.  
 The district of the Somme from Hébuterne southward to Eclusier and Estrées, showing the position of the Allies' line at dates between July 1st and November 30th, 1916, particularised by Sir Douglas Haig, and also the network of German trenches which then lay to the east of the new advanced line of the Allies.



skill and ardour. Guillemont was stormed and the line around Ginchy broken, and ground was won in Delville Wood and High Wood. Falfemont Farm, after being gained and lost on September 3rd, was occupied piece by piece on the morning of September 5th, and the important position of Leuze Wood was cleared of the enemy on the following day. The barrier which the enemy had maintained for seven weeks was broken. The right of the British line was advanced on a front of about two miles to an average depth of about one mile, and with the fall of Ginchy, September 9th, all the objectives of the assault were permanently attained. In this connection Sir Douglas Haig remarks:



*[British official photograph.]*

**TRENCH MEN AS TRENCHMEN.**  
Feeding the armies on the western front was a triumph of organisation. This shows reserve trench men welcoming the arrival of the bearer of their dinner dixey.



*[French official photograph.]*

**STRETCHER-PARTY READY FOR THEIR WORK ON THE SOMME.**

British ambulance and stretcher parties were frequently bivouacked in the battered French villages and farmsteads behind the Somme front. From such a bivouac this stretcher-party is shown starting for the firing-line to succour the wounded.

The weak salient in the allied line had disappeared, and we had gained the front required for further operations. Still more importance, however, lay in the proof afforded of the ability of our New Armies not only to rush the enemy's strongest defences, as had been accomplished on July 1st and 14th, but also to wear down and break his power of resistance, as they had done during the weeks of this fierce and protracted struggle. The great depth of his system of fortification gave him time to reorganise his defeated troops, and to hurry up numerous fresh divisions and more guns. Yet, in spite of this, he was still pushed back, steadily and continuously. The enemy, it is true, had delayed our advance considerably, but the effort had cost him dear; and the comparative collapse of his resistance in the last few days of the struggle justified the belief that, in the long run, decisive victory would lie with our troops, who had displayed such fine fighting qualities and such indomitable endurance and resolution.

The third phase of the battle opened in the second week of September in an atmosphere of victory. The centre of the British line was excellently placed. Practically all the forward crest of the main ridge had been captured by General Rawlinson's and General Gough's armies. On a line of 9,000 yards, from Delville Wood to Mouquet Farm, the British and overseas troops overlooked the lower slopes held by the enemy, and brought their artillery to bear

had almost as difficult work before it in the direction of Morval. This hamlet rose on the end of a long spur beyond Ginchy and Leuze Wood. The enemy's guns, sited around it, commanded a great field of view and fire in every direction. The nearest British force was at Leuze Wood, 2,000 yards distant, and separated by a broad, deep branch of the Combles valley. Across the valley eastward was the high ground of Sallisel and Salliy-Sallisel, which were to form the objectives of the French attack. The enemy's fire from these eastern heights swept the British way of advance to Morval, and as the guns at Morval also commanded this way of approach, the conditions of the advance were exceedingly difficult. But the advance had to be made, for the British Commander-in-Chief observed that he could not safely swing out from his centre unless the Morval spur were occupied. Otherwise his central thrust down the lower slopes of the main ridge would have been battered from the rear by the hostile guns around Morval.

It was a situation in which unity of command appeared to be essential. A subsidiary sacrificing movement was

**Cordial feeling  
between Allies**





WHERE BRIEF PERIODS OF REST WERE PASSED.

[British official photograph.]

After a spell in the firing-line the troops were relieved, and returned to the rest trenches behind the front; but the rest was rather one from the actual strain of fighting than cessation of work. Though this picture was evidently

taken at a quiet moment, the great heap of trenching implements in the background may be taken as indication of the strenuous duties which frequently accompanied the "resting" spells of the soldiers.

required. But, instead of unity, there was a national division between the British and French attacking forces. It was most necessary for the French to co-operate in the British attack by advancing towards Sailly-Sallisel. In order to do this they had to work forward along a narrow corridor between the vast woodland fortress of St. Pierre Vaast and the branching Combles valley. Yet the cordial

#### Opening of the third phase

good feeling between the allied armies and their earnest desire to assist each other, says Sir Douglas Haig, proved as effective as unity of command. All difficulties were removed by the French commander arranging to divert the enemy and work along the corridor, in support of the British offensive.

The third phase of the Somme Battle was then opened by the Fourth Army swinging up before Morval and descending down the main ridge towards Bapaume. Sir Douglas Haig arranged that if the Morval line was reached by General Rawlinson's men, the Fifth Army under General Gough should use the victory on the right flank as cover for a sudden descent upon the villages of Martinpuich and Courcellette, near the Ancre line. Early in the morning of September 15th General Rawlinson's army swept out and won immediate success on almost all the front it attacked. The new, heavily-armoured British cars, known as "tanks," were brought into action for the first time, and coming as a great surprise to the enemy rank and file, gave valuable help in breaking down his resistance. Two hours and twenty minutes after the assault opened some "tanks" entered the village of Flers and penetrated the enemy's last line of fortification. The troops that followed the "tanks" quickly cleared the village and occupied the enemy's trenches some distance beyond it. High Wood was carried after many hours of very strenuous fighting, and, what was of most importance, the British right flank was advanced against the enemy's strong line of defence from Morval to Gueudecourt, so that preparations for assaulting this line could be carefully and yet speedily organised. This series of remarkable

successes by General Rawlinson's army enabled the battle plan to be modified, and in the afternoon of the same day the waiting Fifth Army under General Gough, which had been cautiously advancing across the northern slopes of the Thiepval ridge, leaped out upon Martinpuich and Courcellette and stormed both villages with extraordinary ease.

Sir Douglas Haig gives it as his judgment that the British victories of the middle of September were of larger scope than any success obtained since the beginning of the campaign. In one day's fighting the troops broke through two of the enemy's main systems of defence and advanced on a front of more than six miles to an average depth of a mile. Three large villages, each powerfully organised for prolonged resistance, were taken, and all this was accomplished with small losses in comparison with the large forces employed.

Owing to the demoralisation of the enemy the Fourth Army was able rapidly to break the Morval-Gueudecourt line and combine with the French Army in capturing in inexpensive fashion the highly important town of Combles. Sir Douglas Haig then remarks that the successes of the Fourth Army were so considerable that he was able to prevent the enemy from recovering from the blow he had received by throwing the Fifth Army forward in fresh vigour against the Thiepval ridge and village. Staggering already from the strokes delivered by General Rawlinson's men, the Germans were in no condition to resist the untired and highly confident forces of General Gough. The enemy's positions on the left

#### Demoralisation of the enemy

were stormed with remarkable ease, and though he resisted in the strong works north of Thiepval and in the secret recesses of Mouquet Farm, he was completely overcome by September 27th. On the same day the Fourth Army captured nearly all the ground in front of Le Sars by walking forward on a front of nearly two miles to a depth of five hundred to six hundred yards. On this sector the main body of German troops fled before the intended action opened. Two days afterwards a



single company carried the key position of Destremont Farm, thus opening the way to the capture of the last portion of the enemy's original defences at Le Sars and Eaucourt l'Abbaye. Three days of incessant rain gave the stricken and disheartened Germans temporary relief. But, in spite of the weather, the British guns were brought forward, and on October 7th the conquest of the last defences on the western flank of Bapaume was completed.

Thereupon, Sir Douglas Haig says, he deliberately stayed the British advance along the southern side of the Ancre toward Bapaume.

I was quite confident of the ability of our troops to clear the enemy entirely from his last positions whenever it should suit my plans to do so. I was therefore well content with the situation on this flank. Along the centre of our line from Gueudecourt to the west of Le Sars similar considerations applied. As we were already well down the forward slopes of the ridge on this front, it was for the time being inadvisable to make any serious advance.

But on the eastern front of Bapaume, where the enemy had a strong system of trenches and was digging fresh works in feverish haste, Sir Douglas Haig remarked a great opportunity.

In this direction we had at last reached a stage at which a successful attack might reasonably be expected to yield much greater results than anything we had yet attained. The resistance

**Weather  
compels a halt**

of the troops opposed to us had seriously weakened in the course of our operations, and there was no reason to suppose that the effort required would not be within our powers.

The British commander states his view of the situation in very modest language. Bapaume was his to take, and in taking it he thought he could easily make a downright rupture of the German front around the village of Le Transloy. But he goes on to say that, unfortunately, very unfavourable weather set in, and continued with scarcely a break until the early part of November. Poor visibility interfered with the observation work of artillery, and constant rain turned the hastily-dug trenches into channels

of deep mud. The ground became almost impassable, making the supply of food stores and ammunition so difficult that Sir Henry Rawlinson found it impossible to exploit the situation with the rapidity necessary to enable him to reap the full benefits of the advantages he had gained.

For these reasons alone the Germans, in their period of extreme weakness, were saved from a decisive defeat that would have thrown them out of a large part of the French and Belgian territory they held. When the weather improved in the second week of November, turning to a dry, cold, misty season that still hindered gunnery action and left the ground very bad in places, Sir Douglas

**Great decision  
postponed**

Haig abandoned the idea of fighting for a great decision. He does not in his despatch repeat his reasons, but we can conclude from the suggestions he makes in previous paragraphs that he correctly foresaw the period of dry weather would be short, and that his guns and supply trains would again be bogged before he could drive the enemy into open country and engage in the great battles of field manoeuvre. Had rain set in when all the German trench-line was ruptured, the enemy would have withdrawn close to his rail-heads, and possessed firm roads and firm ground around and behind his new front. The British armies, on the other hand, would have had to get across the deep stretch of mud on the old battlefield, and as there was not a good road across this sea of mud, the movement of men and animals, motor-vehicles and heavy guns, would have been fatiguing and disastrously slow.

"It was necessary," said Sir Douglas Haig, "to limit the operations to what would be reasonably possible to consolidate under the conditions." Therefore, only the command of the Ancre valley was made the object of the last important operation of the British armies in the winter of 1916. On November 13th, on a gloomy morning dense with fog, part of the Fifth Army under Sir Hubert



PACK-HORSE CAVALCADE CARRYING RATIONS THROUGH A RUINED VILLAGE. [British official photograph.]

Although the modern method of motor transport was largely employed along the western front, there was also here and there reversion to a more primitive manner of conveying rations and other stores to the troops.

Here the amused looks upon the faces of the road-mending squad seem to show that the men saw matter for mirth in the employment of the old-fashioned pack-horse train for bringing up their stores.



Gough attacked the enemy's strongholds on both sides of the Ancre River. The last spur of the Thiepval ridge was captured by an action remarkable for rapidity of execution and lightness of loss. The number of prisoners was greater than that of the attackers. Then the village of St. Pierre Divion was taken by a British division that suffered less than six hundred casualties and made 1,400 prisoners. At Beaumont-Hamel the struggle was more severe, but the great stronghold fell, and the following morning the spur of the Serre plateau was carried and the hamlet of Beaucourt occupied. Serre itself, in the opinion of Sir Douglas Haig, was saved from capture only through the ground there being so muddy that the rain which fell during the attack interrupted the supply of ammunition when the troops had won the enemy's trenches.

Thus ended the third phase of the Battle of the Somme, in which the British Commander-in-Chief completely attained his three main objects, besides bringing Germany desperately close to a defeat that would have probably been a rout. When the struggle closed in November the strength of the enemy forces in the western theatre of war was greater than that strength had been in July. His abandonment of the offensive against Verdun had not released forces for action on the Russian front, but had only provided insufficient reinforcements for the Somme front. So worn down was the enemy's strength

that he had to keep in the autumn more men on the Somme front than he had concentrated in the summer battles. Yet the increased number of men and guns he employed could not prevent the British armies from advancing at any point where the ground was not impassable.

The conclusion of Sir Douglas Haig's despatch is prophetic :

The enemy's power has not yet been broken, nor is it yet possible to form an estimate of the time the war may last before the objects for which the Allies are fighting have been attained. But the Somme Battle has placed beyond doubt the ability of the Allies to gain those objects. The German Army is the mainstay of the Central Powers, and a full half of that Army, despite all the advantages of the defensive, supported by the strongest fortifications, suffered defeat on the Somme this year. Neither the victors nor the vanquished will forget this; and though bad weather has given the enemy a respite, there will undoubtedly be many thousands in his ranks who will begin the new campaign with little confidence in their ability to resist our assaults or to overcome our defence. Our New Armies entered the battle with the determination to win and with confidence in their power to do so. They have proved to themselves, to the enemy, and to the world that this confidence was justified, and in the fierce struggle they have been through they have learned many valuable lessons which will help them in the future.

**A prophetic  
conclusion**

Such was the great answer the new Prime Minister of the United Kingdom made, by the medium of his leading commander, to the intrigues for a German peace, engineered by Bethmann-Hollweg and Hindenburg and their agents and dupes in neutral or pro-German States.

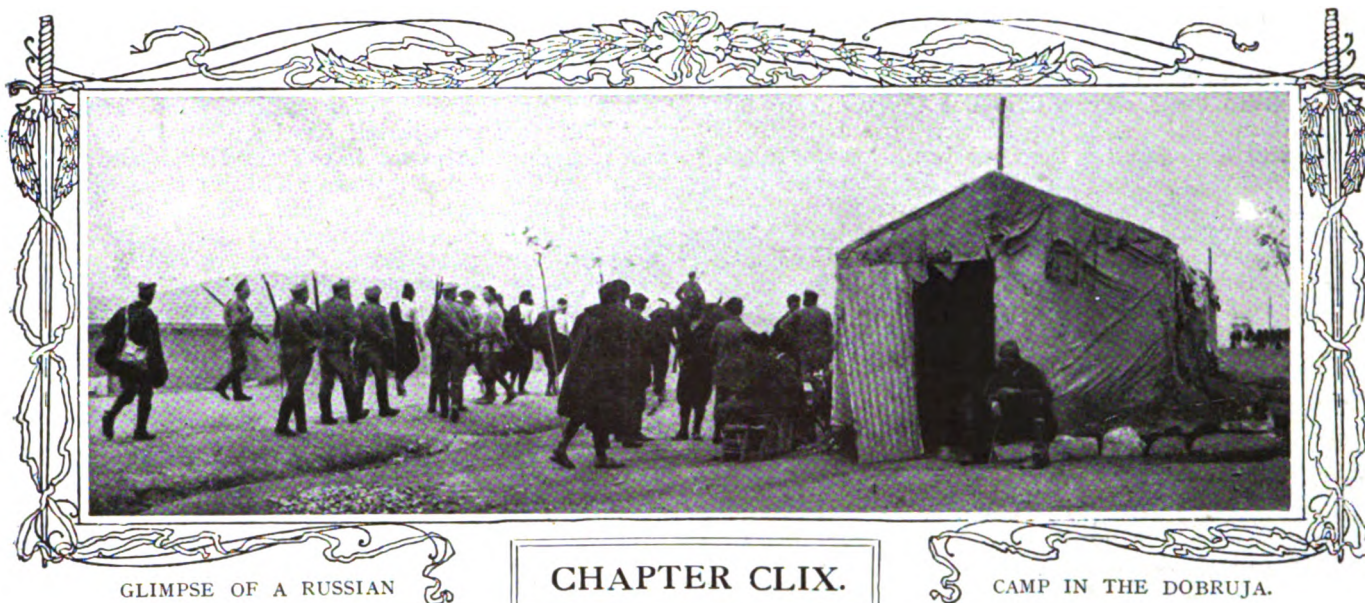


WINTER'S WHITE AND PEACEFUL WEAR: FIRST SNOWFALL IN FLANDERS.

With its covering of freshly-fallen snow this stretch of Flemish fields scarcely suggests that it was near the battleground of the western front, in that small tract of the Belgian kingdom that was kept free from the ruthless

invader. The scene, with its ditch-side rows of pollarded willows, its distant farm buildings, and its cultivated ground showing through the thin covering of snow, suggests rather a typically peaceful countryside.





## THE STRUGGLE IN RUMANIA TO THE FALL OF BUKAREST.

By Robert Machray.

Rumania Hopeful—Circumstances against Her—Two Grave Miscalculations—German Aims—Great Struggle for the Passes—Position at the End of October, 1916—Fine Rumanian Defence—The First Battle of Targu Jiu—Magnificent Rumanian Victory—Bavarians Flee in Disorder—Wounding and Death of the Victorious General—Continued Desperate German Assaults on the Passes—Hindenburg's Plan—Slight German Gains in the North—Fierce Fighting on the Upper Alt—Falkenhayn Strikes Along the Valley of the Jiu—Rumanian Retreat—Germans Win the Second Battle of Targu Jiu—Serious Situation Rapidly Develops for Rumania—Enemy Out of the Mountains Into the Plain—Fall of Craiova—Successes of the Allies in the Dobruja—But Mackensen Crosses the Danube—Situation Growing Worse—Line of the Alt Turned from the South—Retreat of the Rumanians—Orsova Army Cut Off and Captured—Combined German Advance in Wallachia—Heavy Fighting on the Alt—Germans Pressing On—Bukarest in Danger—Capital Transferred to Jassy, in Moldavia—Great Russian Offensive in the Carpathians—Too Late—Battle of the Argesul—Rumanians Overwhelmed after Brave Resistance—Retreat Eastward—Allied Efforts in the Dobruja—British Armoured Cars' Fine Work—Bukarest Doomed—Evacuation and Surrender—Rumania Resolved to Carry On.



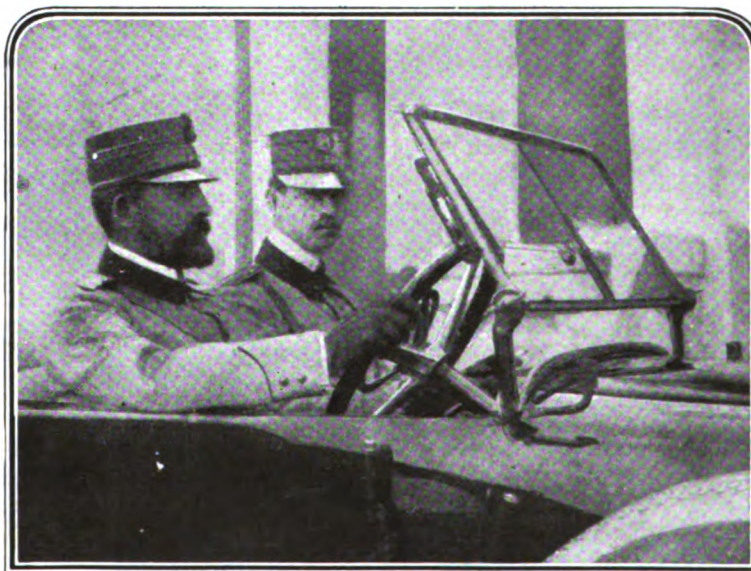
AS part of a general review of the position of affairs in the Balkans from January to September, 1916, Chapter CXLV. recorded the intervention of Rumania on behalf of the Entente, and at the time it was written great expectations were entertained among the Allies of the high importance of the rôle that gallant little country was to play in the stupendous drama of the world-war. The narrative presented in Chapter CXLVII. of the first phases of Rumania's struggle with the Central Empires showed how these expectations, which at the outset seemed destined to be speedily realised, became dulled and clouded as the whole situation gradually assumed an ominous aspect.

Rumania herself had by no means lost hope, and she confronted her perilous position with wonderful courage and resolution. Determined to offer the utmost resistance within her power, and supported by the prospect of receiving adequate help from her Allies, she continued to make an heroic stand against heavy and ever-increasing odds. But the battles in which she had been worsted by the Germans under Falkenhayn in the region of the northern passes, particularly those in the neighbourhood

of Brasso (Kronstadt), had unmistakably demonstrated that she was severely handicapped by being opposed to artillery much superior to her own. The unfortunate issue of her two months' conflict with Mackensen in the Dobruja bore further witness to the same serious deficiency in guns.

Her Army was good, and its spirit was excellent. Her peasant soldiers were brave, and fought with all their heart and soul for their native land, to which they were devoted, but they were hardly a match for veterans. The vast majority of Rumania's officers and men had had no actual experience of war, whereas the forces of the

enemy were composed of picked troops inured to campaigning, and from knowledge acquired in the varying conditions of warfare ready to take full advantage of every opportunity. The contest was one between the skilled soldier and the unskilled soldier, with the scales in any case sharply weighted down against the latter by the better "machinery" of the former. Thus the benefits derived by Rumania from her strong natural defences were more than offset by the preponderant power developed in the German offensive, the success of which was another example of the virtue of "big



KING FERDINAND OF RUMANIA AND HIS HEIR.  
Throughout the fighting in Rumania, King Ferdinand, who enjoyed the absolute devotion of his people, was constantly at the front. He is here seen motoring with the Crown Prince Carol.



battalions" — on twentieth-century lines. Assistance was sent to her by her Allies, but the turn of events, which was little short of tragic, proved it to be insufficient to protect her from disaster. Nor was Russia, from whom alone of the Entente Powers she could anticipate strong immediate support, especially in men, able to place at her disposal in time the large forces, backed by heavy guns, which were necessary in the circumstances. Some people were inclined to suspect the Russians of lukewarmness towards Rumania, and there were whisperings, probably of pro-German origin, even in Bukarest to that effect; but such was not the fact.

M. Take Jonsescu, the eminent Rumanian statesman and patriot, rendered a distinguished service to the common cause when he announced in the most emphatic language, in reply to this calumny, that Russia not only had performed all that had been expected of her by his country, but had done ever so much more.

Prior to her declaration of war Rumania had long been courted both by the Entente Powers and the Central Powers, and when it was known that she had decided to take the field against Austria-Hungary there had been enthusiastic rejoicing, and apparently with good reason, in all the lands of the Allies. In the statement of her case against the Dual Monarchy, which she published to the world on entering on hostilities, Rumania had expressed her belief that her action would shorten the conflict and hasten the overthrow of the enemy. And, outside enemy countries, that was the universal opinion. As the campaign proceeded, however, what occurred plainly indicated that this confident forecast was entirely erroneous, and consequently there was deep disappointment on the one side and corresponding jubilation on the other.

As the days and weeks wore on through November and the first part of December the struggle went more and more deplorably against Rumania, and it was manifest that her plan of campaign had been vitiated from the very start by grave miscalculations. These were twofold.

First, her conception of the strategy of the campaign was faulty, as the progress of events showed only too clearly. Her invasion of Transylvania, coupled with the

neglect of the Dobruja, proved a gigantic mistake that had the most serious consequences. Her Allies had urged her to secure herself on the north by occupying and fortifying the passes into Transylvania, and at the same time to attack Bulgaria with all her strength on the south. But, swayed by political rather than military considerations and hoodwinked by the wily, guileful pretences of Bulgaria, she did not accept and act on this counsel. The Bulgarians were not attacked, and the Dobruja was practically left unprotected against a strong assault, a blunder well-nigh as fatal as that which kept the Serbians from attacking the Bulgarians in the early part of October, 1915 (Chapter XCIII.). The result was that Rumania suffered her first serious check in the loss of Tutrakan (Turtukai) in the second week of the campaign, and that reverse led in its turn to the withdrawal of considerable forces together with her best general, Avarescu, from the north to the south, thus weakening the assault on Austria-Hungary and throwing all her operations out of gear.

With Bulgaria against her, Rumania's strength was greatly beneath what was essential for her long frontiers. She had bargained with Russia to be given two divisions of infantry and a cavalry division in the Dobruja, but this reinforcement, large as it was, was not nearly sufficient to balance the account, far less to turn the whole position to her distinct advantage and ensure success. In other words, Rumania had overestimated her military resources. Further, she had underestimated those of the enemy. This was the second of her grave miscalculations.

**Rumania's grave  
miscalculations**

On her behalf it had to be admitted that in making this huge mistake Rumania did not stand alone among the Allies. Constant reports, which had all the semblance of authority, pictured Germany and her chief supporter, Austria-Hungary, as "exhausted" by reason of the Franco-British, Russian, and Italian victories during the summer on the Somme, in Volhynia and Galicia, and in the Trentino. There was little doubt that Rumania joined in the war just when she did because of these great triumphs of the Entente Powers. The tremendous losses which the Dual Monarchy had sustained under General



CONSTANTSA, THE CHIEF PORT OF RUMANIA, CAPTURED BY THE GERMANS, OCTOBER 22ND, 1916.

Constantza, looking westward from the Black Sea, with the residential quarters on the north, and the harbour, granaries, and oil-tanks on the south (the left of the picture). The loss of the town involved the loss of much grain and oil, and also the cutting of a short line of communication between Bukarest and Odessa by the Black Sea.



Brussiloff's marvellous offensive had had a very direct bearing in bringing about the intervention of Rumania, who was led to believe that Austria-Hungary could do but little against her, and Germany not much more. She was soon undeceived.

By transferring regiments from various parts of her fronts and remaking up divisions, and by utilising Austro-Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Turks, Germany had put into the field against Rumania by the end of September armies approximating to three hundred thousand men, with an abundance of powerful artillery, and this large figure as regards troops was something like doubled by the beginning of November. To a certain extent Germany paid for this accumulation of forces elsewhere, but doubtless she considered that what she achieved thereby in Rumania was bought at a comparatively low price, for the results that she gained by this effort, though not all that she had hoped, were, it had to be acknowledged by the Allies, of very considerable importance.

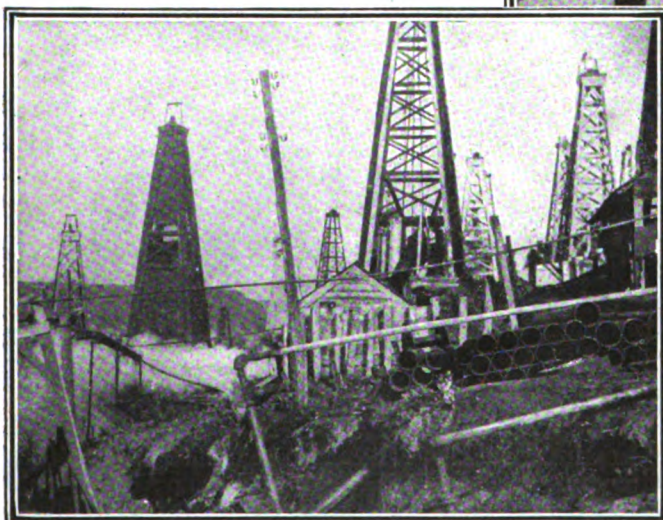
In Chapter CXLVII. it was observed that Germany had three aims or ends in view in her offensive against Rumania, in addition to her determination to "punish" that small country for what she absurdly termed its "disloyalty and treachery" to the Germanic League. The first of these was military in its character, the second political, and the third economic.

As for the first, Western Rumania, or Wallachia, formed a salient jutting out into territories all of which were in the hands of Germany and menacing her whole eastern front; but more particularly it was dangerous to the success of her grand



DISAPPOINTING THE INVADERS' HOPES.

Mackensen's force pushed through the Dobruja, hoping to seize much-needed oil at Constanta. That the Russians and Rumanians before retiring carefully destroyed the extensive oil-tanks the pillar of smoke from the burning oil effectively shows.



OIL-FIELDS—BUT NO OIL FOR THE HUNS.

That the Austro-German sweep into Rumania was partly inspired by the desire to capture oil and corn in bulk was well understood. Fortunately, however, the rich oil-fields were so badly damaged before abandonment that they could not be immediately utilised.

Berlin-Bagdad Railway scheme. By the end of the first week in December she had, in effect, cut off and occupied that salient, and had made her eastern position by that much more secure, thus realising her immediate aim or objective. And with the realisation of this went that of her two other aims, which were to improve the political value of Austria-Hungary, and to obtain new supplies or sources of supply for her own

people. Her defeat of Rumania gave the Dual Monarchy fresh stability, and at the same time put herself in possession of such stores of wheat and petroleum as the retreating Rumanians were unable to remove or destroy, as well as of much potential wealth in the shape of farm and oil-producing lands.

It could not be denied that these results were of very considerable importance, and must lead to the prolongation of the war. On the other hand, in what must have been the enemy's chief aim of all—the destruction or capture of the Rumanian Army—Germany had not succeeded. **Where Germany failed**

The safe withdrawal of the main Rumanian forces after the fortune of war on the Argesul had compelled the evacuation of Bukarest, was made possible by the extraordinarily gallant and effective defence by the Rumanians and the Russians of the passes east of Brasso and on the Moldavian frontier—on most of which the Germans, in spite of the most persevering endeavours, were unable to make any serious impression, but, on the contrary, were checked and even thrown back. It was probable enough that these German efforts on the north-west of Rumania represented a determined attempt to cut across Moldavia, and in that way to pen in the bulk of the Rumanian Army and separate it



from the remainder with its chief Russian supports. But if that was the case, it was completely defeated. In this region Russian assistance was most effective.

Military operations of an offensive nature were far more difficult on the Moldavian frontier, with its lofty mountains and general lack of roads, than on the Wallachian frontier, with its comparatively easy passes and highways, and it was in the latter area that the Germans under Falkenhayn delivered their heaviest blows. Mr. Hamilton Fyfe, the

**Weakness in the  
High Command**

well-known and well-informed special correspondent of the "Daily Mail," in a despatch from Bukarest, dated November 20th, and published by that journal on December 13th, 1916, stated that at the opening of the campaign the hope was very widespread in Rumania that her Army would be able to occupy Transylvania without vigorous opposition, and that, as the invasion met at first with no forcible opposition, the hope grew. Then came Falkenhayn's thrust, forces for which everyone had come to know had been assembling in Hungary. "The Rumanian Headquarters Staff," added Mr. Fyfe, "was not prepared for it, and too much was left to generals on the spot."



TRUTHFUL PRISONERS TAKEN IN THE PREDEAL PASS.

Much stubborn fighting took place in the passes between Hungary and Rumania, and there the heavy pressure of the enemy was long withstood. Before being compelled to retire the Rumanians captured large numbers of prisoners, including many of the Turkish allies of the invading Austro-Germans.

This weakness in the High Command was in itself calamitous. Changes were made in the chief commands, but with no very marked improvement in the field as a whole. Taking everything into account, it unhappily became only too certain that Rumania was inadequately equipped for the tremendous task which she had undertaken. And what was equally apparent was that the Governments of her Allies must also have misjudged the situation, otherwise they would hardly have permitted her to enter the lists when she did. Rumania and the Allies suffered accordingly. Soon it looked as if Rumania—or at least, the larger and richer part of it—would have to endure the dark fate of Serbia, the prodigious victories of the Entente Powers in other areas of the war having been insufficient to ameliorate her position. Even the capture of Monastir by the Allies had no appreciably favourable effect.

The narrative of the campaign given in Chapter CXLVII., concluded with the events which occurred in the closing days of October, 1916. Mackensen had taken, after heavy fighting, the Constanta-Cerna Voda railway in the Dobruja, and the Russo-Rumanian forces were retreating towards the northern part of that province. In

Moldavia the Rumanians generally were holding, and in some cases improving, their positions; but in Wallachia, in the passes south of Hatszeg, Hermannstadt, and Brasso, where the enemy struck most fiercely, they were losing ground, notwithstanding their most valorous struggles to retain it. Whatever had been the want of prevision at Bukarest, whatever were the defects in the equipment of the Rumanian Army, the Rumanian soldiers fought with stubborn courage—as the enemy more than once testified.

From about October 10th, when the Rumanians were compelled to withdraw in Transylvania towards the passes, Falkenhayn had continued to press them back. In the middle of the month he had succeeded in driving them out of the Törzburg and Gyimes Passes, and on the 25th had captured the Vulkan Pass, beginning that advance along the valley of the Jiu which, though encountering defeat at first, was to have such a strangely decisive influence on the fortunes of his whole offensive, of the entire campaign, and of Rumania. Next the Germans took the Predeal Pass and the little town of Predeal. At that time they had a firm foothold on Rumanian soil also at Rucaru and Dragoslavele, the latter just south of the former place, on the south side of the Törzburg, on the road to Campu Lung, as well as at Cainenii, at the southern exit of the Roter Turm, which they had taken as far back as the beginning of the month. Orsova and the Varciorova Pass were still in the possession of Rumania.

Falkenhayn was trying to break the determined and, for a while, not altogether ineffective resistance of the Rumanian forces by one or more of the passes, or the exits from them, along the vast mountainous frontier. He was really feeling for the weakest sector in this long front, and the scouting aeroplanes with which he was well supplied incessantly brought him information as to the positions and movements of the Rumanian troops, and enabled him to make good use of his guns. The Army of Rumania had a serious shortage in aircraft, as in wire-entanglement nippers, field telephones, and other munitions, but both France and Great Britain did something towards making up

the deficiency. A wireless message from Bukarest reported the arrival there of four British aeroplanes from Imbros on October 24th; more British machines came later from Tenedos, and a hundred and twenty French aeroplanes had previously reached the country from General Sarraill at Salonika, or from elsewhere.

In the Carpathians Falkenhayn continued to meet with little or no success, but in the Transylvanian Alps he made progress by violent assaults, backed by his superior artillery, south of Predeal and in the vicinity of Dragoslavele at the foot of the Törzburg, along the two roads which offered the most direct access to Bukarest. The hardy Rumanians clung to their poor entrenchments most tenaciously, and inflicted repeated repulses on him, but they had to yield slightly under the severe pressure which he put upon them. By the 27th the Germans, however, had got no farther south of Predeal than Azuga, five miles nearer the capital, while in the valley of Pravatz, in the Törzburg district, they suffered a decided reverse, the terrain, according to the Rumanian communiqué, being covered with enemy corpses.

**Enemy stubbornly  
opposed**





OVER THE HILLS TOWARDS THE LONGED-FOR PRIZE.

Between their country and Hungary the frontier which the Rumanians had to defend was mainly mountainous, and in parts densely wooded. This striking photograph shows a detachment of troops on the march towards the Transylvanian frontier, impelled by the fervour of their desire to gain freedom for their compatriots under alien rule.



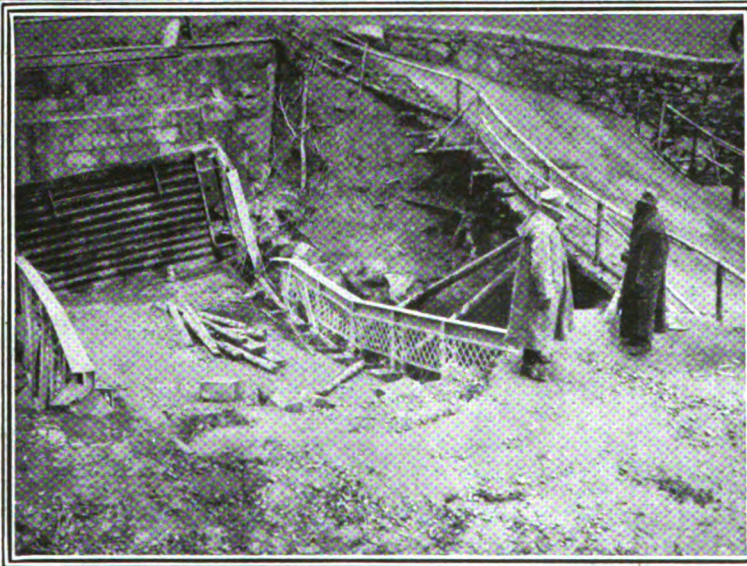
RUMANIANS FIGHTING IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN ALPS.

During the early advance of the Rumanians into Hungarian territory the fighting formed a great contrast with the trench warfare that was being carried on in other parts of Europe. Here among the wooded hills the soldiers had abundance of natural cover as they advanced against the enemy in that brief triumphant forward movement following their entry into the war.





**AWKWARD CORNER ON A RUMANIAN HILLSIDE.**  
In taking the batteries of artillery into the hills, the strong Rumanian ponies proved capable workers, despite the roughly-made tracks, laid "corduroy" fashion with wood, along which the guns had to be dragged.



**WRECKED BRIDGE AND ROUGH SUBSTITUTE.**

When compelled to fall back before the enemy's overwhelming advance, the Rumanians were careful to harass the pursuing enemy by blowing up bridges. On the left is an iron bridge, which they destroyed during their retreat in Transylvania, and on the right the temporary structure which took its place.

The Germans paid a high price for such small gains as they made. The Rumanian withdrawal was slow, and soon stopped. The Russian official statement announced that on the northern frontier of Wallachia the Rumanians had arrested the enemy's offensive and were consolidating their positions. How splendid was the defence of the peasant soldiers of the little kingdom, led in this quarter of it by General Avarescu, and forming part of the Second Rumanian Army, was shown by the fact that it was not till weeks later that the Germans could report something more substantial than trifling, inconsiderable advances on either of these two roads to Bukarest.

South of the Roter Turm, the next great pass west of the Törzburg and the Predeal, Falkenhayn also launched on the Rumanians many desperate assaults, which official telegrams usually described as taking place in the valley or neighbourhood of the Alt (Oltu, or Aluta). This river flowed from Transylvania, past Fogaras, into Rumania, crossing the country from north to south till it reached the Danube, and almost bisecting Wallachia, the western

half being called Oltenia, the eastern Muntenia. In the summer this stream was not a great river, but when swollen by the late autumn and early winter rains and snows it attained such depth and width that it came next in importance to the Danube, the Pruth, and the Sereth in Rumania.

By this time the weather had broken. Heavy rains had swept the plains and much snow had fallen in the mountains; the Alt was becoming a formidable obstacle in the military sense. The storms impeded operations, whether of friend or foe, but did not cause them to cease. East of the river the Germans attacked continuously for several days, and after some checks captured the villages of Rakovitsa and Titesti, both about eleven miles south of the frontier. The Rumanians were afterwards withdrawn a little farther into the interior, and as October closed were holding up the invaders.

Meanwhile, more to the west, the struggle in the Jiu valley, south of the Vulkan Pass, had been maintained, and as it proceeded it developed unexpected and sensational features. In this region Falkenhayn attacked first with the 11th Bavarian Division, composed of hardy highlanders used to life in the mountains under all conditions.

#### **First Battle of Targu Jiu**

On October 24th the Rumanians, who in this sector belonged to the First Rumanian Army, began to retire before it, and continued their withdrawal during the following day. This retirement signified a hostile advance of twenty miles into the country, and the enemy was in sight of Targu Jiu, a town of some ten thousand inhabitants, lying on a high tableland picturesquely surrounded with wooded hills. Many of its people fled, and the military authorities, fearing the worst, gave orders for the evacuation of the rest of the civil population. The Rumanian soldiers, however, held the place, and now occurred one of the most glorious episodes on their side in the entire campaign.



Considered one of the best divisions of the German Army, the 11th Bavarian Division, to which had been added four cavalry regiments and some howitzer batteries, was commanded by General Knesler, and never anticipated anything approaching a defeat. Indeed, only a few days before the Rumanians turned and counter-attacked, General Knesler had received a flattering communication from the German Kaiser, who congratulated his "gallant troops on their success," and the Bavarian leader was so certain of victory that some cavalry of his, who were near Targu Jiu, had orders to take possession of that town on "October 27th at 2 o'clock in the afternoon." Little did the Germans imagine what was about to happen.

In this region the Rumanians were led by General Dragalina, who very shortly before had been placed in command. A fine officer, his rise had been rapid. Only eleven months previously he had been a colonel. When the campaign began he was at the head of a division, soon was given an army corps, and almost immediately afterwards an army. His forces at Targu, wearied by incessant fighting, were inferior to those of the Germans, and his situation was desperate, but having received some much-needed reinforcements he resolved to counter-attack on a bold plan and roll back the tide of invasion. Splitting up his little army into three parts, and regardless of the fact that his projected course of action left the rear on his right exposed, he pushed forward and fell with great impetuosity

on the flank of the enemy, who was completely surprised and broke up in panic. This occurred on October 26th, and the Rumanians pressed home their advantage next day.

An official Bukarest message, dated October 28th, announced the beginning of this brilliant victory in the words: "In the valley of the Jiu the enemy, who had advanced to the west, was vigorously attacked by us and completely vanquished." The communiqué went on to state that four hundred and fifty prisoners, three guns, and sixteen machine-guns with their equipment had been captured, while a thousand Bavarians lay dead on the field. But the Rumanian victory developed into something far bigger, for as their offensive continued they made further important gains. Bukarest reported on the 29th that the Rumanians were progressing and pursuing the enemy, who was retreating into the mountains. The despatch added: "We have captured an additional ten officers and two hundred and fifty Bavarian soldiers. Reserve Sub-Lieutenant Patrascioiu, with the unit under his command, took two howitzer batteries of 105 mm. (4 in.) calibre, belonging to the 21st Regiment of Bavarian Artillery. The guns were immediately put into action against the enemy, and rendered us great service. We have also captured four more machine-guns and many limbers."

Day after day the Rumanians drove on the defeated Bavarians, taking from them many hundreds of additional prisoners and much booty as they fled up the river towards the Vulkan Pass. According to one report, the victory

**General Dragalina's  
victory**

**Rout of the  
Bavarians**



RUMANIANS RECROSSING THE BOUNDARY RIVER AFTER THEIR INCURSION INTO TRANSYLVANIA.

The invasion of Transylvania by the Rumanians at the outset of their campaign was a strategical blunder that had serious consequences. The invasion amounted to little more than a raid quite ineffectual to bring emancipation to their compatriots under Austrian rule.

FF



of the Rumanians was partially due to the use of a ruse which had been employed as far back as the thirteenth century—trees were cut down on the hillsides and hurled into the valley to stem, or at least to hinder, the German retreat, thus increasing the enemy's difficulties and consequently swelling his losses. As a result of the battle—the Battle of Targu Jiu—the Germans lost 2,000 prisoners, an equal number in killed, and thousands of wounded, besides many guns of various types and large quantities of ammunition. And the invaders had been beaten back from the railway, for Targu Jiu was the terminus of the line from Craiova, where it connected with other lines running east and west. All Rumania breathed more freely for this victory.

A striking but sad illustration of the mischances of war



was given in this battle by the wounding and death shortly afterwards of the general who had planned and started this magnificent counter-attack. Four hours from the commencement of the offensive General Dragalina was hit in the shoulder and the arm. While inspecting the positions he had gone too near the German lines, and at three hundred yards range his motor-car came under the fire of a hostile machine-gun. His arm had to be amputated, and this, coupled with his other injuries, so aggravated a disease from which he had suffered for some time that his condition soon was hopeless, and he died in the midst of victory—a great loss to his country. He was succeeded in the command of the First Rumanian Army by General Culcer.

At the opening of November the feelings of apprehension among the Allies and in Rumania itself with respect to the situation had been considerably decreased by the success of the Rumanians in the Jiu valley, and by the stoutness of their resistance at other points on the Wallachian mountain front. On the Moldavian frontier and as far as the Predeal the position remained much the same; since a repulse of the Germans from the Gyimes it had been favourable on the whole for Rumania. But the thrusts of the enemy still were delivered with great force from the Predeal to the Roter Turm; first, in the valley of the Prahova, south of the Predeal, second, in the district round Dragoslavele, south of the Törzburg, and third, in the valley of the Alt, at the exit from the Roter Turm.

Falkenhayn concentrates his efforts

In the first sector Falkenhayn, having failed to penetrate to the plain by the lower defiles, was concentrating his efforts to break through in the mountains near Azuga. But the Rumanians put up a great fight, and repeatedly counter-attacked him. A German communiqué of November 2nd claimed that these counter-attacks had



RETREAT IN GOOD ORDER BY STREAM AND MOUNTAIN PASS.

Rumanians leaving their position in a defile during their retreat before Falkenhayn and Mackensen. Aided by the Russians they retreated in good order, and early in January, 1917, were on the line of the River

Sereth. In circle: Cunningly concealed positions for the defence of the Predeal Pass which, however, was captured at the end of October, 1916, by Falkenhayn, who thus became master of all Wallachia.





AUSTRIAN PRISONERS EN ROUTE FOR INTERNMENT.

In the early stages of their brave struggle the Rumanians captured goodly numbers of prisoners from among the various nationalities concentrated against them. Here Austrian soldiers are seen being marched as captives into the country which they had come to conquer.

failed with sanguinary losses to their opponents, but did not mention any advance of their troops. The same despatch announced, however, some gain of ground in the second sector. But it was in the Alt valley that Falkenhayn with large bodies of troops was attacking incessantly and most heavily.

It was by no means sure that he would succeed anywhere in debouching into the plain, notwithstanding all his tremendous endeavours, but these continued night and day. Bukarest apparently was confident that he would fail, and general opinion in that capital took the view that the mountains, with their defence in good hands, would remain an impenetrable barrier. Furthermore, Russian troops had arrived in the country. North of the Danube they were commanded by General Belaieff, a distinguished Russian general. On November 1st General Sakharoff, the victor of Brody, was in Bukarest, whence soon afterwards he proceeded to take the leadership of the Russo-Rumanian forces in the Dobruja.

The presence of these two eminent soldiers also tended to hearten the Rumanians and to cause them to take an optimistic view of affairs.

#### Arrival of Russian troops

Another circumstance that contributed to their cheerfulness was the weakening of the pressure of Mackensen in the Dobruja, where only encounters between outposts and patrols were now recorded, and General Christescu, the Rumanian commander, was establishing himself on a line some thirty miles north of the lost Constanta-Cerna Voda Railway. Greatly encouraged, too, by the splendid success of the French at Verdun on October 24th, and by that of the Italians on the Carso on November 1st, they looked for fresh relief from some new offensive of the Allies in the west or on some other front.

What the country thought about the campaign as late as the second week of November was expressed by its semi-official journals in a review of the results of Rumania's two months of war. This stated that by maintaining her defensive towards the north Rumania had fully justified the



RED CROSS HELP IN THE FIRING-LINE.

In the Rumanian campaign, as in the west, the Red Cross services were gallantly to the fore. Above is pictured a dramatic little incident just behind the firing-line on the edge of a wood, a wounded Rumanian soldier receiving prompt first-aid from a Red Cross comrade.

correctness of the political considerations which had decided the declaration of war against Austria-Hungary, and at the same time had paid due regard to the military considerations imposed, the considerable extent of Rumania's frontier, and the geographical configuration of the land.

It took the view that the Germano-Bulgarian success in the Dobruja had enabled General Sarraill to defeat the Bulgarians at Florina, while the Rumanian offensive against the Carpathians and Transylvanian Alps had drawn off large numbers of troops from the other fronts, thus facilitating the French victory at Verdun and the Italian victory on the Carso. It maintained that the advantages to the common cause of the intervention of Rumania, even with the enormous sacrifices it had involved, had been clearly demonstrated. It evidently considered that, while it could not be said that all was well, the worst was past, and that brighter and better days were





RACIAL BROTHERS UNITED ON THE BATTLEFIELD.

Conference between French and Rumanian officers. The Rumanians, as their name indicates, are of Roman (Latin) origin. Racially and temperamentally they have much in common with the French, whose allies they became against the combination of Germanic peoples with whom their King was connected by ties of blood.

in store. Hardly had that second week of the month gone by when the situation, which had suddenly undergone a terrible change, proved how mistaken all this hopefulness was.

Hindenburg, in absolute command of all the Germanic armies, saw no chance of a successful offensive on any other front, and being well informed, no doubt, of the military deficiencies of Rumania, thought he perceived his opportunity in that country. By November he had got together large forces in and about the mountains on the north and in the Dobruja. Competent authorities placed the troops at his disposition in these areas as high as thirty divisions, and though this estimate perhaps was excessive, it was not much above the truth. Of these divisions at least twelve were German. According to report, he summoned Mackensen and Falkenhayn to meet him in Belgrade at the beginning of the month, and when he had heard their views gave them his final instructions. His plan was for Falkenhayn to strike deeply into Western Wallachia, or Oltenia, by the Vulkan Pass route, while that general was maintaining overwhelming pressure farther east in Wallachia and holding his front in Moldavia. Mackensen, meanwhile, was to get ready, behind his line in the Dobruja, to force the crossing of the Danube, and join up with Falkenhayn when the passage was effected.

These operations, if successfully carried out, would shorten his front, provide an excellent base for the invasion of the rest of the country, and give him besides the mastery of the Danube, which the Rumanians by their capture of Orsova in the first days of their campaign had taken from him, leaving the Belgrade-Sofia-

Constantinople railway as his only means of communication with Bulgaria and Turkey. What actually occurred proved that he had made no mistake in his calculations. Up to the end of the first week of November it was impossible to say where the German pressure was most severe along the roads leading south from the Predeal, the Törzburg, and the Roter Turm Passes. Obscured by the violent fighting that was going on in these sectors, what was taking place south of the Vulkan passed almost out of sight, and what happened there a week or so later came as a great and intensely painful surprise, not only to the Allies in general but also to the great majority of the Rumanians themselves. Preoccupied, as Hindenburg intended, by the defence of the roads from the central passes, the Rumanian High Command had not a sufficiently strong force to meet his attack from the Vulkan Pass. Hence came swift and irremediable disaster.

South of the Predeal Pass the River Prahova flowed down from the mountains through the rich oil-bearing district to which it gave its name, and farther south joined the Jalomita, one of the tributaries of the Danube. A beautiful country of hills and streams and sylvan glades, much frequented by the Rumanian aristocracy in the summer, it was a region with a railway and good roads. A fine highway passed from the frontier village of Predeal through Sinaia—where King Ferdinand had a residence—Campina, and Ploesti to Bukarest.

In the early days of November the upper valley of the Prahova was the scene of the most furious contests. The Rumanians successfully withstood numerous assaults and repulsed others in the defiles, but on November 5th a



GENERAL AVARESCU: RUMANIA'S MOST TRUSTED GENERAL.

General Avarescu, Commander-in-Chief, under the King, of the Rumanian Army. He received his baptism of fire as a cavalry lieutenant in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, and was Chief of Staff in the Balkan War of 1913. Afterwards Inspector of Cavalry, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in August, 1916.



Berlin communiqué announced that previous German successes south of the Predeal had been completed by the storming of the Globucetu position, which had been specially prepared and was defended with stubbornness. An Austrian telegram added that the Germans, with whom were Austro-Hungarian troops, had vigorously followed up their success by capturing the second Rumanian line of entrenchments beyond. On the 6th the enemy took Mount Omu, 4,356 feet high, six miles south-east of Predeal. Then for the next two or three days there followed a tremendous bombardment by heavy guns of the Rumanian lines, succeeded by continuous, fierce assaults on the Rumanian left wing. The Rumanians replied by sharp counter-attacks on both sides of the road from the pass, but the Germans made progress west of Azuga on the 10th, after sanguinary encounters in which they had heavy losses. On the following day Vienna stated that west of Predeal the Germans stormed six successive positions, which they held against two desperate counter-attacks. Two days later the Rumanians repulsed two enemy assaults in the direction of the Cerburai vale, north-west of Busteni, seven and a half miles south of Predeal, and the starting point of the oil-fields in the district. On the 15th there was comparative calm in this region, the Rumanians maintaining themselves on the ground to which they had withdrawn. Aeroplanes bombed Sinaia on the same day. Up to this date the enemy had not gained much south of the Predeal from the Second Rumanian Army, whose work there was directed by General Avarescu in person.

During these two weeks of November the story of the struggle in the sector south of the Törzburg was less favourable to the Rumanians. There the Germans were already established in the vicinity of Dragoslavele, in the valley of the Rucar, and there was heavy fighting about November 5th in the hilly uplands between the Argesul and Targu valleys north-east of Campu Lung, the enemy claiming gains of ground and the loss to the Rumanians of a thousand killed. In this region Falkenhayn was well supplied with guns, and he battered down the trenches of his opponents. He progressed slowly, however, as he was constantly counter-attacked in difficult country which lent itself to assaults on his flanks. On the 11th he lost some of his trenches, but on the 13th he captured Candesti, a small town close to Campu Lung, and seventeen miles south of the frontier—on that date the farthest point he had reached in the interior of Rumania.

On the 15th Bukarest announced that in "the region of Dragoslavele the enemy has attacked on several occasions,



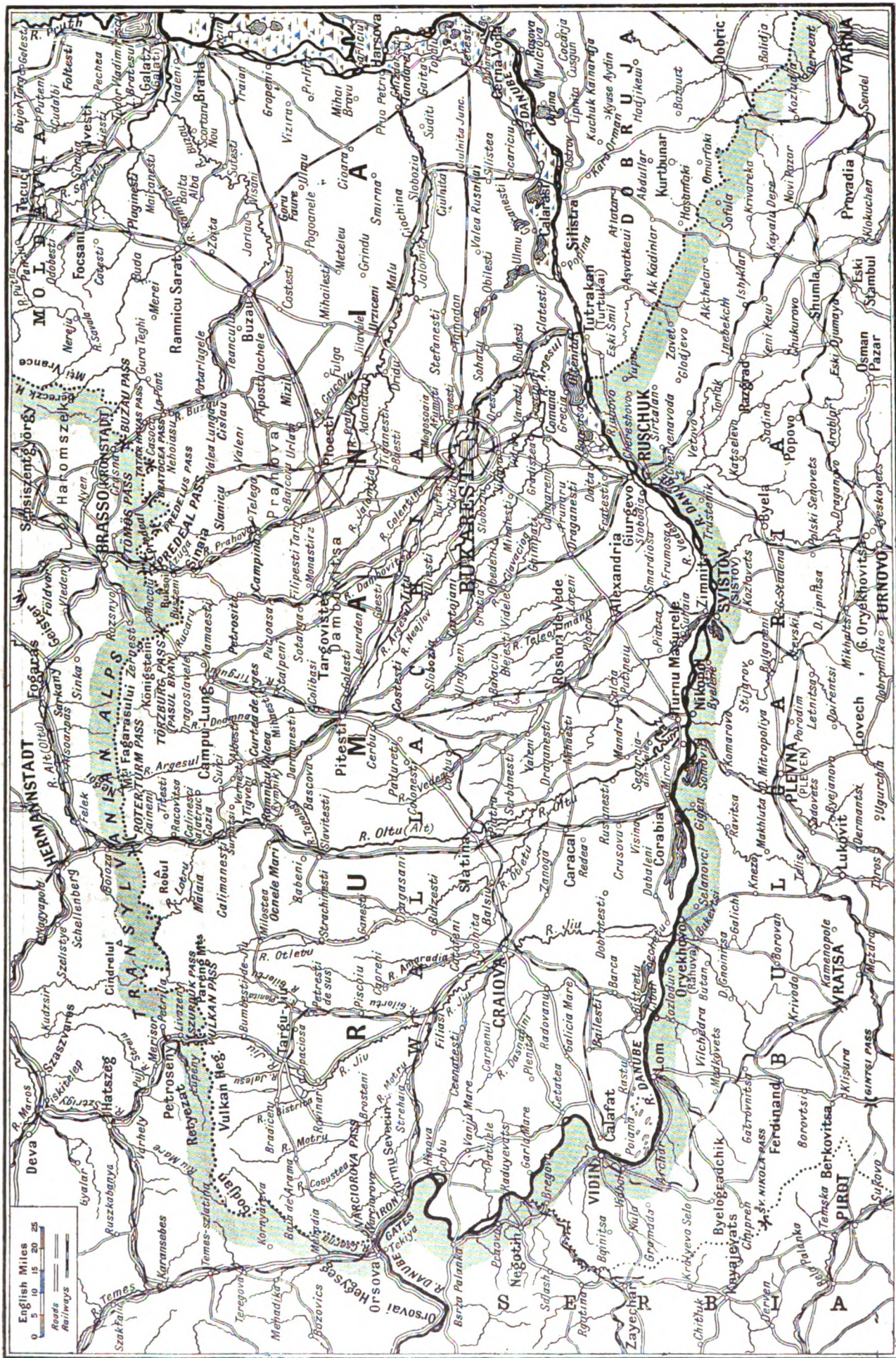
MASCOT OF THE RUMANIAN REGIMENT OF THE WHITE BULL.

Adorned with the national colours—yellow, blue, and red—this magnificent white bull was led at the head of the regiment to which it gave its name. Sent to the army with a herd for conversion into provisions it took the fancy of some infantry officers who bought it for a regimental pet or mascot.

assisted by heavy artillery, but has everywhere been repulsed, our troops maintaining their positions." That day, according to the German account, saw only slight fighting on the whole Transylvanian front; but the Germans had meanwhile made a decided advance, and closely menaced Campu Lung, with its railway to Pitesti and thence south-east to Bukarest and south-west to Slatina and Craiova. Yet a fortnight passed before they were in Campu Lung.

However heavily Falkenhayn struck from the Predeal and the Törzburg, he struck still more heavily from the Roter Turm along the valley of the Alt. There his forces were led by General Kraft von Dellmensingen, the Bavarian commander who was credited with having conducted the successful encircling movement which resulted in the defeat of the Rumanians in the Battle of Hermannstadt. Under him were Bavarian and other German troops, as well as Austro-Hungarians, forming in all an army of considerable strength.





MAP OF RUMANIA SHOWING THE AREA CAPTURED BY THE GERMANIC POWERS UP TO THE END OF 1916.

Rumania formed a huge salient jutting out into the territories in German hands, and thus was exposed to attack by the Austrians on her Transylvanian frontier and on the line of the Danube by the Bulgarians. Disregarding the advice of the Allies she made an incursion into Transylvania, but her plans were thrown out of gear by the enemy's capture of Tuturakan. Mackensen swept from the west and south and Falkenhayn from the Transylvanian Passes, with the result that by the end of 1916 all Rumania was in their hands from the Iron Gates to the River Sereth, comprising notably the rich grain lands round Craiova.



On November 5th and 6th he made violent attacks on the right bank of the river near Racovitsa-Titesti, some eleven miles south of the frontier; and on the 7th, near Spinu, fourteen miles from the head of the pass, drove the Rumanians back with a loss to them, according to the official German message, of over a thousand prisoners. His immediate objective on the east side of the Alt appeared to be Curtea de Arges, with its rail-head, and he had set in motion a formidable body in that direction along the road from Caineni. Two days later he reported that he had crossed the Baiesti sector, fifteen miles south of the frontier, and had captured Sardoiu, sixteen miles south, with the positions on the adjoining heights on both sides, having defeated fierce Rumanian counter-attacks. On the 10th he made a farther advance by "successful fighting in which," it was said, "Bavarian infantry, Austro-Hungarian mountain troops, as well as German Landsturm forces, especially distinguished themselves."

The Rumanians resisted doggedly, and on the 11th were able to state they had made progress on the left bank of the river, recapturing Mount Fruntsi, and had arrested the enemy's march on the right bank at Saracinesci, ten miles from the frontier. But they were not able to hold the Germans, and their communiqué of November 14th admitted that the enemy, by using fresh and superior forces, had driven them back after repeated assaults, in the course of which positions changed hands several times. On the 15th Dellmensingen was close to Salatruc, on the east bank of the Alt, twenty-one miles within the frontier, and near Brezoiu, on the west side of the river, fifteen miles into the interior. The German communiqué of the 16th acknowledged the fine resistance of the Rumanians in this quarter by stating that the peasant soldiers were "stubbornly defending their native soil." In this region the enemy had now deployed on a wide front on both sides of the Alt, thanks to superior numbers and heavier guns.

#### Beginning of the catastrophe

That fortnight's struggle along the roads south of these three central passes of Wallachia ended in loss of ground, but there had been no great victory on the one hand and no grave disaster on the other. The Germans spoke of the taking of large numbers of prisoners, but the previous experience of the Allies had thrown suspicion on all such assertions. The enemy did not dwell on the capture of many guns. His own losses unquestionably were considerable, but he made these good by bringing up fresh forces in strength. He seemed to have no lack of men. The situation had an unpromising appearance for Rumania, but could not be called desperate. It was what took place in the same short period in the region of the Vulkan Pass that precipitated the catastrophe.

On November 6th the Rumanian official telegram announced that the enemy had received reinforcements in the valley of the Jiu, and that the division which had beaten the Bavarians and driven them with great losses back into the Vulkan Pass had discontinued its pursuit. In this sector the Rumanians had only this single division, and after some slight fighting on the 7th the Germans began a new offensive against it on the next day; but they did not develop their attack in great strength till about the 11th of the month. For this effort the Germans outnumbered the Rumanians by more than two to one. The remains of the 11th Bavarian Division, which had been so roughly handled in the first Battle of Targu Jiu, had been withdrawn, and its place had been taken by the 41st Prussian Division. There was besides another German division, with additional troops, mainly cavalry regiments, and extra artillery. The total amounted to about 50,000 men, who were commanded by General Schmidt von Knobelsdorff, an officer of experience, whose name had last been heard of in connection with operations on the Russian front west of Lutsk early in the preceding October.

A correspondent declared that in an Order of the Day

the Kaiser had said to the Prussian division, "We must destroy the enemy." The defeat of the Bavarians, which had enraged him as much as it had encouraged the Rumanians, had to be avenged, and care was taken that there should be no mistake about it. Foreseeing the difficulty, if not impossibility, of coping with such forces, the commander on the Jiu of the division of the First Rumanian Army asked the High Command for substantial reinforcements, but did not receive them. Some battalions indeed were sent to him, but they arrived too late, and in any case were inadequate in the circumstances.

On November 10th the Bukarest official despatch referred to the position in the valley as unchanged, but after mentioning fighting next day on the Moldevis Hill, east of the river, and about five miles south of the frontier, the communiqué of the 12th said that a violent German attack had compelled the Rumanians to retire slightly to the



"SCRAPS OF PAPER" THAT REMOVED BARRIERS.

Representatives of the foreign Press who wished to accompany the Rumanian Army when it took the field had to be well furnished with "scraps of paper" in the shape of credentials. These were closely scrutinised at the barriers before their holders were allowed to pass through.

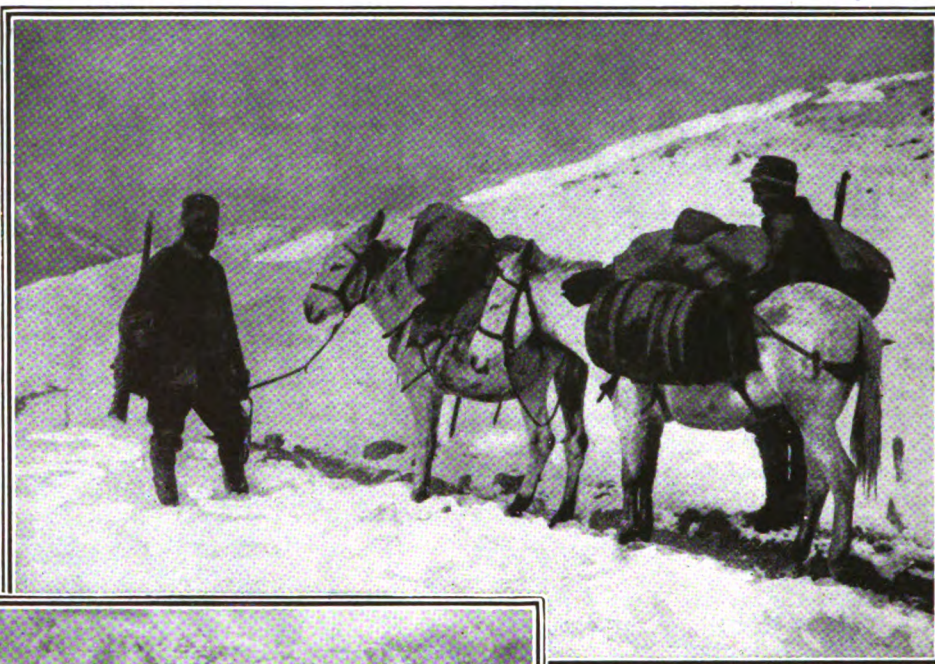
south. Under the pressure of Knobelsdorff, which was augmenting hourly, this withdrawal continued, and by the 14th the Rumanian division, already reduced in numbers, was driven south of Bumbesti, a village thirteen miles within the interior. It then fell back on Targu Jiu, whence roads ran east to the Alt and west to Orsova, which town the left wing of the First Rumanian Army still held. For some time little news had come through with respect to the situation at this important town on the Danube, but on November 12th Berlin spoke of German advanced troops pressing forward there, and on the following day of unsuccessful Rumanian counter-attacks with strong forces to the north of the town. Falkenhayn's strategy was keeping this part of the First Rumanian Army—the part which later was known as the Orsova Army—far too busy for it to send any help to the fiercely assaulted centre in the valley of the Jiu.

Beginning on November 14th the second Battle of Targu



Jiu lasted for three days, and its issue, in a complete victory for the Germans, practically decided the fate of Rumania. There was a tremendous struggle, but the enemy was superior in everything except courage, and their courage, which was never in question, did not avail the Rumanians, who, wildly shouting "Hurrah! Hurrah!" threw themselves on the German ranks with the utmost contempt of death, but were beaten back or mowed down by the overwhelming fire of the enemy's artillery and numerous machine-guns. It was a thoroughly unequal contest, and from the outset of the battle the result was certain.

The first intimation of the Rumanian defeat was contained in a message from Bukarest



AN ENEMY FOOD CONVOY.

Part of a team of laden donkeys whose services were requisitioned by the Austro-Hungarian Army in the task of provisioning their posts in the snow-capped heights of Wallachia.



HALT FOR REFRESHMENT IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN ALPS.

With the advent of winter the task of provisioning the Austro-Hungarian mountain posts became one of exceeding difficulty. Pony and donkey teams had to wend their way up the snow-covered mountain sides. Our photograph shows one such team making a halt for much needed refreshment in the bleak but picturesque surroundings of snow-covered mountain slopes.

dated November 16th, which, after admitting the retirement on the Alt, that had brought the Germans in that quarter twenty-three miles south of the frontier by that date, said: "In the region of the Jiu our troops have also retired in the direction of Copaciosa (south-east of Targu Jiu), and of Carbesti (south of Targu Jiu)," the former twenty-three and the latter twenty-five miles from the Rumanian border in the Vulkan Pass. A telegram of the next day's date gave particulars of a further retreat of five miles to Stafanesti, but suggested that all was not yet lost by stating that the enemy was being attacked on his flanks with heavy losses to him. The reinforcing battalions had come up, and they checked the tide partially, but could not roll it back. The Rumanian front was broken. A Reuter message put it down to the continual fresh troops the Germans were able to fling into the battle-line, and, above all, to their far better guns.

How disastrous was the defeat of the Rumanians was not understood, and then not fully, among the Allies in the west till the publication of the German and Austrian

fresh forces failed. Our troops are in full pursuit of the enemy, and have reached the railway from Orsova to Craiova." It affirmed that the total booty of the Ninth Army, the Germanic force operating in Wallachia, between November 1st and 18th, amounted to 189 officers and 19,338 men, 26 guns, and 72 machine-guns, besides 17 munition cars.

#### Enemy in the Wallachian Plain

Vienna's official telegram gave some additional details. It stated that the southern wing of the forces of the Archduke Charles—who soon afterwards became Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary on the death of the Kaiser Francis Joseph—had met with complete success. As previously mentioned in Chapter CXXXVII., the command of a small part of Germany's eastern front had been entrusted nominally to Austria, on the rearrangement of commands which took place because of General Brussiloff's triumphant offensive during the summer in Volhynia and Galicia, and the Archduke Charles occupied this post. But he was a mere shadow, as Hindenburg was in reality



dictator of all the operations of the Central Powers and their Turkish and Bulgarian friends. This Vienna communiqué said :

"Falkenhayn's army during the last few days in the Battle of Targu Jiu forced an outlet from the mountains, and a column advancing in the valley of the Motra (or Motru, a western tributary of the Jiu, joining the latter near Filiasi) reached the railway from Varciorova (near Orsova) to Craiova. The Rumanian resistance was of the

fiercest nature in many places, finding expression in bitter counter-attacks east and south-east of Targu Jiu which were in vain."

Knobelsdorff was pushing forward quickly with his cavalry and light guns on a wide front, which extended from the Motru on the west to the Gilort, an eastern affluent of the Jiu. With all possible speed he was making for the Orsova-Craiova-Bukarest railway at several points, this being the line of communication with their eastern forces of the Rumanians who were fighting at Orsova and on the Cerna, the stream close to that place, and now in great danger of being isolated, as in fact they soon were. News from Bukarest at this critical time was scanty, and what accounts reached London of all that was happening so unfortunately for the Entente cause came belatedly from Petrograd, which announced the loss of Targu Jiu and the retreat of the Rumanians to Filiasi. Knobelsdorff was not altogether unopposed, for fighting in rearguard actions was reported on his whole way southward, but the Rumanian strength was exhausted, and his progress was very rapid.

Passing through Filiasi, where began the Wallachian Plain, the Germans were in possession of Craiova by noon on November 21st, having marched from Targu Jiu, some sixty miles away, in about four days. There was a short fight in front of the town. According to the German communiqué of the 22nd, this was what occurred : "Quickly breaking the resistance of the defeated enemy by bayonet attacks and assaults, the West and East Prussian Infantry from the north, and squadrons of the Queen's Cuirassier

Regiment from the west, were the first German troops to penetrate into Craiova."

The capital of Oltenia, and the most important Rumanian town west of Bukarest, from which it was distant one hundred and twenty miles, Craiova was a thriving place, with a population of over fifty thousand. Besides being the headquarters of the First Rumanian Army, it was a busy trading centre, with much business in corn and cattle, as it stood in the midst of a rich agricultural district. Its capture by the Germans had some economic significance for them, as, in addition to the stores of supplies in the place, the farmers in the neighbourhood still had on hand considerable stocks of wheat and maize. But its occupation from the military point of view was of even greater importance to the enemy, as it was well in the rear of the Orsova Army, lying seventy-five miles to the west, whose safety was very directly involved.

Two or three days before this army—sometimes known as the Army of the Cerna—had been stated to have made a "slight retirement, but nothing of importance," and from this it was apparent that it had not begun to evacuate its chief positions. This was confirmed by a Berlin telegram of November 22nd, which reported German progress at Orsova. As the railway from Filiasi to Craiova was in the hands of the enemy, the retirement of this force could only take place by the roads in the country between Craiova and the Danube, a somewhat narrow corridor.

In Britain it was hoped that the Rumanians in this area would get away, and for some time there was uncertainty as to their fate, but in the end they fell a prey to the Germans. Meanwhile, the remnants of the gallant division which had fought so stoutly, though unsuccessfully, in the Jiu valley, retired east of Craiova in the direction of the Alt.

**Fate of Army  
of the Cerna**

During these eventful weeks of November events had not exactly stood still in the Dobruja. Indeed, in that area it looked for a while as if the achievements of the Russo-Rumanian troops might be considered as an offset to some extent to Falkenhayn's advance from the



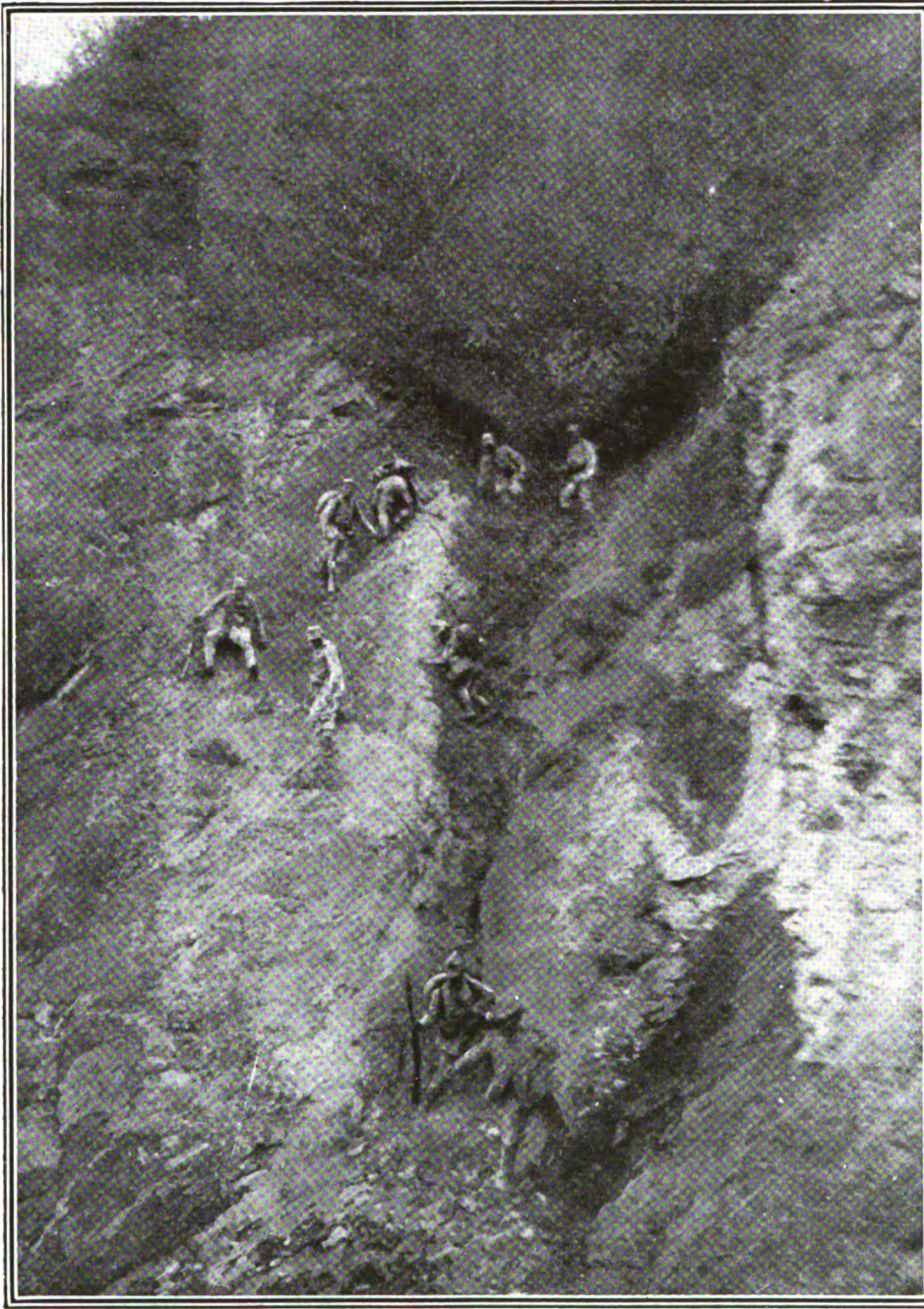
RUSSIAN CAVALRY AND TRANSPORT CAMP IN THE DOBRUJA.

With the force that Russia sent to assist the Rumanians in their too long delayed attempt to repel the strong Germano-Bulgarian invasion of the Dobruja, there was a goodly body of capable cavalry. The enemy had

been given too long a period in which to consolidate his offensive, and the fighting proved a series of delaying actions. Above is a graphic impression of one of the horse and mule lines in the Dobruja.

GG





TICKLISH OUTPOST WORK IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN ALPS.

A vivid idea of the arduous character of warfare on a mountainous frontier may be gathered from this view of a position which the Rumanians held near the Predeal Pass. Men who had been relieved are to be seen scrambling down from their observation post; the precipitous nature of the descent being shown by the different methods adopted by the men negotiating it.

Transylvanian passes. In the beginning of the month the Russian Black Sea Fleet more than once bombarded Constantza and Mangalia, its guns doing great work on the former place, which was set in flames. But these naval operations could have little influence on the campaign in the Dobruja itself. The allied operations in the field in that area were now directed by General Sakharoff, who, in taking command of the combined Russo-Rumanian forces, issued a stirring address in which he exhorted his men always to advance and never retreat. In the early part of this month large Russian reinforcements arrived on this front, and the influence of the new commander was quickly felt. On the 7th and 8th progress was reported along the whole of the allied line, and it was noted that as the Bulgarians retreated under Sakharoff's offensive they systematically set fire to and destroyed the various Rumanian villages and

hamlets which they were forced to abandon.

With the assistance of the Danube Squadron, Harsova was reoccupied on the 9th. At this place, where was one of the few good possible crossings of the Danube, as the left bank of the river was free from those broad marshy tracts which made military movements exceedingly difficult elsewhere on that side, Sakharoff was about twenty-five miles from Cerna Voda. Berlin, in a curious telegram of that date, said that on the front of the army group of Field-Marshal von Mackensen, in the Northern Dobruja, advanced reconnoitring detachments, in accordance with their instructions, "avoided all engagements with the enemy infantry." It was exactly a fortnight before this that Mackensen's forces had reached the Harsova-Casapkioui line.

On November 10th appeared indications of an important new move. Petrograd reported on that day that Russian cavalry and infantry had occupied Dunarea, the Danube station, two miles west of Cerna Voda, and were fighting for possession of the famous bridge, after an engagement in which over two hundred of the enemy had been killed and a number of prisoners, together with a machine-gun, were taken. Two days later the advance of the allied forces had progressed from Harsova to Topalu and Ghisdaresti, on the right bank of the Danube, about twelve miles from the bridge. On the 13th Cerna Voda was shelled from the left bank of the Danube. An attempt was being made on Mackensen's flank, but according to the German account it was unsuccessful from the first. Three days later a Russian communiqué spoke of allied progress south of Topalu in the direction of the bridge, and then there came a calm on this front. Mackensen had fallen back to a line,

which he had strongly fortified, covering the Cerna Voda-Constantza railway, and no very determined effort was made to dislodge him from his well-prepared positions.

On the 21st Cerna Voda was once more bombarded, but by that time it was plain that the Russo-Rumanians were not in sufficient force to drive Mackensen from it.

#### Germans across the Danube

Though his army had been depleted of some troops for the relief of the Bulgarians at Monastir (which General Sarraill captured on November 18th), it had been reinforced by Turkish and other contingents, and was more powerful than ever before. On the 24th the Allies made a slight impression on his centre and left in the Dobruja, but that date was really remarkable for quite another and much more important event, which at once attracted the keenest attention throughout the world. That day Berlin announced that the Danube had been crossed at several



points, and this startling news unfortunately was true. Now was explained the curious German telegram referring to Mackensen's retirement in the Northern Dobruja according to plan. It had been a voluntary, a calculated withdrawal—a screen, as it were—behind which he was concentrating his men and maturing his schemes for forcing the passage of the great river, the formidable natural obstacle that protected the south of Wallachia from him. Perhaps an indication of what was coming was contained in a Bulgarian communiqué, published a fortnight earlier, which reported on November 9th that two German companies, supported by a group of Austrian monitors, had carried out a small raid on the left bank of the Danube above Zimnita, opposite the eastern outlet of the Belen Canal, and had forced the Rumanian guards to beat a retreat—whereupon the raiders took some loot, did a certain amount of damage, and then returned without molestation to their own side of the river.

It was from Sistov, opposite Zimnita, that, helped by a thick fog, a large body of Mackensen's troops crossed, and established themselves at the latter town, the point at which the Russians and Rumanians, going the other way, had crossed the river in 1877 on their march to Plevna. Other of the Field-Marshal's forces gained a passage at Islaz, a few miles farther up the stream. A Berlin message asserted that the "Danube army chosen for operations in Western Rumania" made the crossing to the left bank "in the actual presence of Field-Marshal von Mackensen." A subsequent despatch suggested that a rising of the Danube, owing to a thaw which had set in, had had no effect on the success of the operations. The Rumanians offered a gallant resistance, but they were far outnumbered and outgunned.

The German communiqué, in an exultant tone, declared that in fighting their way across, Mackensen's troops "co-operated excellently," and that "in addition to our brave pioneers, assistance was given by the Imperial Motor Boat Corps, the Austro-Hungarian Danube Flotilla, under the command of Captain Lucich, and the Austro-

Hungarian pioneer detachments of Major-General Gaugl." The passage of the river was preceded by an intense bombardment, which was maintained until the Germans had secured a firm footing on the left bank at the selected points. The mention of the help rendered by the Austrian river craft showed that the enemy was now in control of the river from Orsova downwards. Sofia, in a belated despatch, stated that Bulgarian detachments took part in the capture of Zimnita.

At Islaz, Mackensen was close to the mouth of the Alt, while at Zimnita he was some miles east of it—in other words, he had turned the Alt on the south, and the line of this river was that on which the Rumanians in Wallachia were at the moment making a stand. A Bukarest telegram said that the invaders were being held at both Zimnita and Islaz, but the Rumanian opposition was soon overborne. Marching rapidly from the former town, Mackensen struck up along the River Vedea towards the capital, and on November 26th he was standing before Alexandria, about fifty miles south-west of it. Another column of his, composed mainly of cavalry, pushed up north along the valley of the Alt, and got into touch with the German forces in that area. The crossing of the Danube by Mackensen had made the whole position of the Rumanian Army much worse, and particularly of that portion of it which had retreated east after the fall of Craiova. The outlook for Rumania became gloomy, but she still gamely struggled on.

After Knobelsdorff's troops took Craiova on November 21st, what remained of the division which had been driven out of the valley of the Jiu had, after crossing the Altetsu, retired to the Alt, on the line of which their comrades, taking every advantage of the natural features of their country, continued to offer a strenuous resistance in the face of the heaviest odds. Most of the guns had been got away from Craiova, as well as their ammunition, and the Rumanians made a great stand in this area.

General Berthelot, the head of the French Military Mission, and a soldier who knew what he was talking about



MUNITION TRUCKS SHELL-WRECKED—YET REMAINING ON THE RAILS.

Extraordinary results of explosions were frequently observed, as in this scene, where parts of a Rumanian munition train still kept the rails though shattered to little more than framework, while the neighbouring coach

was blown right over. The force of the explosion may be gauged by the quantity of wreckage which the soldiers were engaged in clearing away from the vicinity of the railway line.



paid a fine tribute to the fighting qualities of the peasant troops. "I myself," he said, "have seen infantrymen and artillerymen who after fifteen days of continual fighting were as fit as on the first day. A regiment of artillery fought in the Prahova valley day and night for about three weeks." But mere courage and endurance could not prevent the Germans, with their larger and fresher forces, backed by superior technical means, from advancing, and towards the end of November the whole line of the Alt was in their possession.

During the third week of that month General von Dellmensingen had kept up the severest pressure in the northern sectors of the Alt. After a prolonged bombardment of the Rumanian positions there, he attacked fiercely at Albesti, five miles north of the rail-head of Curtea de Arges, at Vernesti and Surpatsi, the one three and the other ten miles west of Albesti, at Monastire, and at Cozia, on the west bank of the river. Here, as late as November 22nd,

resistance, and pressed on victoriously. It added that the roads from the river eastwards were encumbered with fleeing supply columns, and that the route of flight was marked by burning villages. The fact was that the line of the Alt, as a strong defensive barrier against the invaders, had lost its value when it was turned by Mackensen on the south from Zimnita, and the Rumanians could not hold it. There would not appear to have been one big Battle of the Alt, but a series of desperate struggles on the north, and in the centre around Slatina, all of which eventually went against the Rumanians. The line of the river had to be abandoned, and this meant that the enemy had already gained possession of territory a hundred miles in width from the extreme western frontier of the little land.

Before this it had become unpleasantly certain that the Rumanian force known as the Orsova (or Cerna) Army had been definitely cut off. An Austrian communiqué of November 23rd said that on the army front of the Archduke Joseph, who had succeeded the new Austrian Emperor in the chief command, the Austro-Germans on the Lower Cerna had set foot on the left bank of the river, and a message of next day's date made it plain that Orsova itself had been captured, as it announced that German and Austro-Hungarian troops had repulsed the Rumanians east of it. On the same day Turnu Severin, on the Danube below the Iron Gates, fell into the enemy's hands. The fate of the Orsova Army was still obscure, but it presently was ascertained from a Berlin telegram that some of its battalions were stubbornly defending themselves in the wooded hills lying north of Turnu Severin.

It was learned from a Russian source that in the meantime these brave soldiers, who must have realised that they were in a hopeless case, turned on some enemy detachments which had been sent to round them up, routed them, and captured two guns. On November 27th they were less successful in an engagement south-east of Turnu Severin, the Germans claiming to have taken from them guns and 1,200 men. Four days later a Berlin message said "they were striking about in all directions, but could not escape from their inevitable fate." Continually followed up by encircling movements, the Orsova Army succeeded in retreating as far east as the Alt, but there it was forced into a decisive action, and obliged to capitulate with 8,000 men. That took place on December 6th, and was the end of an heroic story, little of which came to light, but which could readily be imagined.

Among the results of the capture of Orsova, Turnu Severin, and the reaches of the Danube east of them as far as Ruschuk, was a gain to the Germans or Bulgarians, who had co-operated in the taking of Turnu Severin, of six steamers and eighty barges, "mostly loaded," according to the Berlin account, "with valuable cargo." Besides, the control of the river gave the enemy specially fine facilities for the transport of munitions and all manner of supplies.

With its left flank turned by Mackensen's advance from the Danube, as was narrated above, the Rumanian Army had been unable to make that stand on the Alt which had been anticipated, and it withdrew eastward, across the foot-hills in the north and the plain lying south of them, in the general direction of Bukarest, which was now more or less directly menaced. The forces of the Germans in Wallachia were henceforward divided into two groups; one was the "Ninth Army" under Falkenhayn, and the other was the Danube Army under Mackensen, who shortly afterwards assumed command of both groups.

Following his usual tactical methods, the enemy struck hard at the Rumanian wings. On the north General Dellmensingen drove back the Rumanians behind the sector of the River Topologu, and advanced ten miles east of Rymnik. Some details of the fighting involved



**RUSSO-RUMANIAN RAILWAY COMMUNICATIONS.**  
Deficiency of railway communication with Russia had much to do with the Rumanian disaster. After Constantza was lost only the Czernowitz-Galatz and Odessa-Reni lines remained for transport. All the other lines connecting with Bukarest were in enemy hands.

Bukarest stated that the Rumanians maintained themselves, but being forced southward next day they put up a strong fight at Rymnik, meeting all enemy attacks most tenaciously. But further German forces, under Falkenhayn's general direction, were advancing in strength lower down against the Alt, as Berlin announced on the 24th, by which date their vanguards were actually approaching the river. Rymnik was captured on the 26th, but on the hills north of Curtea de Arges the Rumanians still held on, and fought most stubbornly.

The German official report of that date announced that, in the region of the Lower Alt, German cavalry, under the leadership of Lieut.-General Count von Schmettow, overthrew a Rumanian cavalry division which offered

**Capture of  
Orsova**





*Sighting an enemy airman : French anti-aircraft gun in action.*









*Column of troops accompanied by artillery passing through a Rumanian town.*





*Airman returning at sunset after a successful journey over the enemy lines.*



were given in the Berlin telegram of November 27th, which said: "East of Tigveni (on the Topologu) the Saxon Infantry Regiment No. 182, admirably supported by the Neumark Artillery Regiment No. 54, which, for the purpose of more rapid intervention, advanced close to the enemy, broke through his lines, and took from him ten officers, four hundred men, and seven machine-guns." The numbers given showed, however, that this was merely a local success. On the south, Mackensen's Danube Army on November 27th took Alexandria, a town of 14,000 inhabitants; on the Vedeia, with a considerable trade in grain, and it also occupied Rosiori and Valeni,

**Fall of Alexandria and Giurgevo**

higher up the same river. According to a despatch from Sofia it was the Bulgarians who captured Alexandria, and their booty was said to include a locomotive, one hundred and forty railway waggons, and a "large quantity of provisions."

Petrograd supplied further information with respect to the events of November 27th. After alluding to the retirement to the east of the Rumanians in Western Wallachia, under the unrelenting pressure of the enemy, this communiqué defined the line which the Germans had reached. It ran from Darmanesti, south of Campu Lung, and about eighty miles north-west of Bukarest, to Prunaru, thirty miles south-west of the capital, and thence to Slobodia, a little east of Giurgevo, on the Danube.

The Russian statement added the ominous words that the Germans had advanced along the turnpike road to Calugareni, which was only seventeen miles distant from Bukarest. But this account, bad as it was, did not state the whole truth, which had not reached Petrograd when the communiqué was issued, with respect to the situation on the Danube, for also on November 27th Giurgevo itself was in the hands of the enemy. This well-known river port, which had been bombarded several times, lay about forty miles south of the capital.

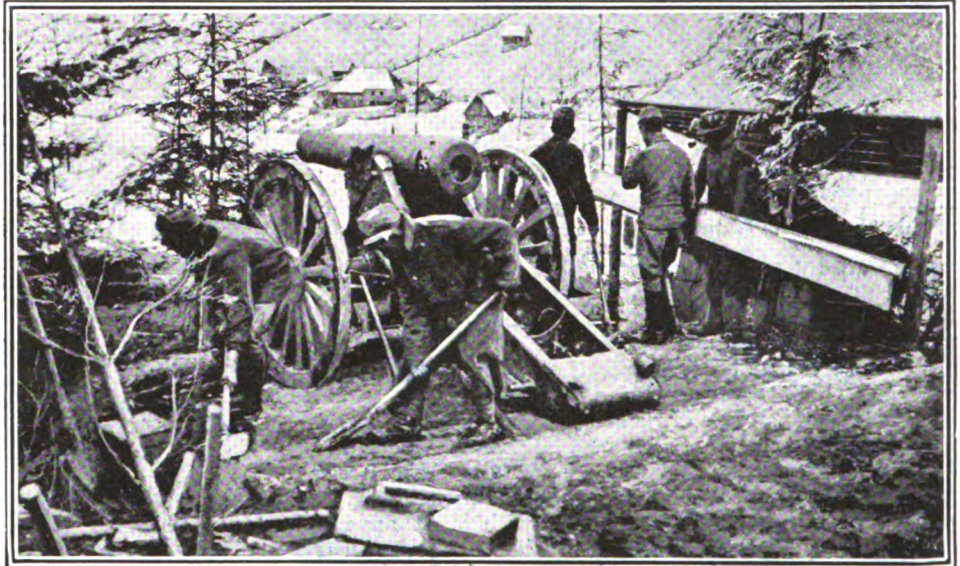
A Sofia despatch, while reporting that the Danube Army of Mackensen continued to advance without interruption, gave some news regarding the capture of this town. After mentioning various crossings of the Danube, from Rahova to Bechetu, and from Lom Palanka, and Widin to spots on the Rumanian shore, it stated: "Our troops, advancing on the left bank of the Danube, attacked Giurgevo, supported by Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian monitors. After a sanguinary fight, lasting from eleven o'clock in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon, the town was conquered. The Rumanian troops and population were seized with panic and fled towards Bukarest." Farther down the river strong artillery attacks were made on Oltenitsa, over against Tutrakan, and only some thirty miles from Bukarest. Thus on the south the threat to the Rumanian capital was growing more and more direct hour by hour.

On the north and west, in Great Wallachia—or Muntenia, as the region east of the Alt was called—the menace to Bukarest came nearer and nearer. On the 28th Dellmensingen, continuing his progress from Rymnik, took Curtea de Arges, in the region of the head-waters of the River Argesul, and the rail-head of a line running through Pitesti to the capital. The place was stubbornly defended to the last, but the enemy's big guns prevailed, and forced the Rumanians to retire. In this sector Falkenhayn was

able to make use of the railway from Hermannstadt across the Roter Turm, and bring up fresh forces, which he threw against the trenches of the peasant soldiers, who were worn out with the incessant strain of many weeks of hard fighting, and who had no available reserves.

The German official message of November 29th announced that the Ninth Army, with which the Danube Army was in contact, was pressing forward victoriously on the whole of the Wallachian front, and on the evening of that day Pitesti, an important centre from which radiated several railways, was said to be in the possession of the enemy, bringing him on the north-west to within about sixty-five miles of Bukarest. Another German column captured Campu Lung on the same date, taking 1,200 prisoners, seven guns, and a "large quantity of baggage." Around Dragoslavele and Campu Lung the Rumanians had long and successfully defended the exits from the Törzburg Pass, but now were compelled to abandon them. Berlin also announced on that day the capture of another Rumanian force of 1,200 men, with ten guns, and a number of machine-guns, near Ciolanesti, this achievement, it was asserted, being accomplished by a squadron of cavalry belonging to a cuirassier regiment.

A passing gleam of sunshine lit up the fast darkening



WITH THE ENEMY LOOKING TOWARDS WALLACHIA.

When the concentration of the enemy on their front began to press back the gallant Rumanians, enemy progress through some parts of the mountainous frontier country was fairly rapid. The enemy gun in this photograph was laid on one of the hill-sides facing the Wallachian Plain.

sky of Rumania. Her troops, as November closed, made progress in the valleys of the Prahova and the Buzau, in the oil-bearing districts, but their success in these sectors had no influence on the general situation, which increasingly and unmistakably indicated the peril in which Bukarest stood. A short time previously the Rumanian authorities in the capital had realised the greatness and imminence of the danger, and as a measure of precaution had transferred the seat of Government to Jassy, the chief city and capital of Moldavia. Thither went the Ministers of the Allies and of neutrals with their Staffs. An old-world, sleepy university town, Jassy suddenly was transformed into a busy city, as, in addition to the Government and the Legations, thousands of the better class of the population in the invaded areas fled there for refuge.

Among the Allies in Western Europe it was anticipated that the Rumanian Army would fight a great battle somewhere in front of Bukarest, probably on the line of the River Argesul, and in the event of defeat would fall back to defend the capital, its fortifications then forming the pivot of a new defensive position. It was understood that the city was a fortress of the first class, having thirty-

**Government moves to Jassy**





TYPICAL FIELD-KITCHEN NEAR PLOESTI.

Behind the lines, with their very neat and serviceable portable stoves, the Rumanian soldier-cooks prepared the meals for their fellows who were engaged in keeping back the enemy long enough to allow of the oil-wells in the district being so destroyed as to be of little value to the invader.

six powerfully armed and armoured forts, disposed in a ring at an average distance of four miles from the suburbs. It was true that these forts were in existence, but there was much doubt as to their value. They had been constructed by General Brialmont, the Belgian engineer who had built the fortresses of Liège and Namur.

The story of the fate of those two places did not promise well for a successful defence of Bukarest. Verdun, a French fortress, had held out against the German siege trains and infantry attacks of the most intense kind, but Liège and Namur had succumbed with what appeared astonishing quickness. Yet it was widely believed in the west that the Rumanians would try to hold the city—the city which expressed Rumania better than any other place in it. As the Germanic forces drew closer and closer to Bukarest, Berlin and Vienna newspapers had much to say of the formidable strength of the fortress, in spite of the fact that the German authorities, who controlled their Press and told it what to state, must have known the exact condition of the place from the military standpoint, as they had their spies everywhere, and were extremely well informed with respect to everything going on in Rumania. Germany wished to make out that, if Bukarest fell into her hands, she had taken it by assault—not that it had been evacuated.

#### Shadows gather round Bukarest

While the shadows were gathering round Bukarest, General Belaieff, who commanded the Russians on the Moldavian front, attempted a diversion by beginning an offensive on a considerable scale on the north-western frontier. This movement started on November 28th, and met with some success, which, however, was powerless to avert the fate of the capital. The Russians, after extraordinarily bitter fighting, captured a series of heights. On the 29th Berlin said that "in the wooded Carpathians, on the frontier range of Moldavia, the Russians pursued their attacks without achieving important results," and that at the cost of heavy sacrifices they "had to be content with small local advantages." For some days the Russian offensive was maintained, but without any substantial

gains. The country operated in was one of the most difficult in the world, and the weather experienced was of the severest winter type. In any case, if the Russian movement in force in this area was intended for the relief of Bukarest, it came too late.

The expectation that the Rumanians would make a stand on the Argesul was realised. On November 30th, the eve of the Battle of the Argesul, the German line formed a concave curve, a sort of half-moon, beginning on the north at Predeal, passing south-west through Campu Lung, then going almost due south to the west of Tirgovistea, whence it went along the valley of the River Glavaciog, and finally bent south-eastward to Calugareni,



WELL-MASKED RUSSIAN BATTERY IN RUMANIA.

Although the men and munitions it poured into the struggle were not sufficient to stop the torrent of invasion, Russia's aid proved of immense value in holding up the enemy on the re-formed Sereth lines. Its efficient artillery was of special service to its harassed ally.

Comana, and the Danube. The Russians had reported that the villages of Comana and Gostinari, less than twenty miles south-south-east of Bukarest, had been occupied by the enemy, but on the other hand they stated that on several of the roads in that corridor between the Danube and Bukarest, Mackensen's forces had been repulsed.

The Ninth Army of the Germans was disposed in three parts. One part, which had marched from Craiova, was now commanded by Lieut.-General Kuhne, and it formed the right centre of the enemy's attack on the line of the Argesul. Immediately above him was that part which, led by Dellmensingen, had advanced along the Argesul from its sources in the mountains, after severe fighting, by way of Curtea and Pitesti, and it formed the left centre. On Dellmensingen's flank, and stretching eastward, was that part which had advanced through Campu Lung, under the leadership of Lieut.-General von Morgen. The German right wing consisted of the Danube Army of Mackensen, the portion of it which had crossed the river at Zimnita, having as its leader General Kosch, and that which had made the



passage at Islaz, having its units strung along north of the river till they touched hands with Kuhne's troops on the right centre. The Ninth Army was predominantly German, with a large percentage of Austro-Hungarians. The Danube Army was a composite force of Germans, Austro-Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Turks. In all probability, the total strength of the two armies was well over 400,000 men.

Opposed to these great Germanic forces were the First and Second Rumanian Armies, with part of the Third Rumanian Army and some Russian divisions, all under the chief command of General Avarescu. The Rumanian Army, though battered and war-worn, was



"FRIGHTFULNESS" IN BUKAREST.

Corner of the house of the British attaché in Bukarest, photographed after one of the periodical bomb-dropping expeditions over the Rumanian capital by Teutonic airmen in pursuit of their policy of "frightfulness."



SURVEYING THE DAMAGE.

Sir George Barclay, the British Ambassador to Rumania, with Colonel Thompson (his military attaché), and Captain Watford, inspecting the effects caused by the Zeppelin bomb which struck Colonel Thompson's house in Bukarest.

full of fight. It was still intact, as a wireless message from Bukarest, dated November 30th, made perfectly clear. This said that if it was true that the German Chief Command had obtained considerable strategic advantages, it also was true that it had failed in its essential task, which was the destruction of the principal Rumanian forces. The Rumanians, it stated, had refused to allow themselves to be encircled, and had retired from position to position, taking with them their heavy guns and field-artillery. The enemy likewise, it noted, had failed to envelop the Rumanian force on the Danube, notwithstanding his immense superiority in artillery, and in spite of Bulgarian and Ottoman assistance.

It was to this quarter of the Danube front, from which Bukarest was most closely threatened, that the Russians had rushed up large reinforcements—amounting, according to one despatch, to three divisions, one being composed of Cossacks. If a statement of the enemy could be credited, Avarescu's plan was to execute a turning movement with the combined Russo-Rumanian troops in the south against the Danube Army, while he held the German Ninth Army in the centre and the north. And it certainly was the

case that a great effort—not unattended without a distinct if in the end ineffectual victory—was made by the Allies in the area immediately west and south of Bukarest. But the attempt, which undoubtedly was made with determination, to check and hold the Ninth Army in the centre and the north proved abortive, and this was fatal. The allied operations then going on in the Dobruja with some gains had no more beneficial effect on the situation in Wallachia than the Russian offensive had in the mountains of Moldavia.

Battle was joined along the whole line on December 1st, the bitter struggle reaching its greatest intensity on the 2nd and 3rd. On their left the Germans attacked violently from the direction of Campu Lung, and forced the Rumanians back into the valley of the River Dambovitza towards Meulosani on the first day, and pressing on compelled a further retirement on the second. In this sector the conflict proceeded among the wooded hills on both sides of the river, and the German progress was not rapid, yet the enemy continued to gain ground. But the scene of the fiercest fighting was farther south, in the region surrounding Pitesti—the German left centre.

**Fierce fighting  
near Pitesti**

In the Dambovitza valley there were no good roads, and movement was necessarily restricted, but from Pitesti there were both a railway and a fine highway making for Bukarest, and it was along these that the enemy drove with all his might. On December 1st desperate encounters took place near Golesti, four miles south of Pitesti, and, on the 2nd, Bukarest announced that the Rumanians had been obliged to retire slightly. The Berlin communiqué of the latter date, after stating that the conflict on the Argesul was growing into a great battle, said that the Germans and Austro-Hungarians south-east of Pitesti had defeated and broken through the Rumanian army which had accepted battle there.

Going into details this telegram stated that the Bavarian Reserve Regiment No. 18, which had "repeatedly distinguished itself, penetrated to one divisional headquarters, and took from it orders of the General Staff, from which



it appeared that the position we pierced was to be held by the First Rumanian Army to the last man." This telegram went on to add insult to injury by remarking that "the army commander, doubtless conscious of the low moral value of his troops, informed them, in Rumanian phraseology, that he expected them to 'persevere and fight unto death against the cruel barbarians,' threatening cowards in his army with immediate death." Such comment came strangely from German lips, as if the German commanders never threatened their men with death if they retreated, and never chained their men to machine-guns to prevent them from running away!

A subsequent communiqué announced that in the Argesul valley "two battalions of the West Prussian Reserve Regiment No. 21, with artillery under the command of the wounded Major von Richter, of the Neumark Field Artillery Regiment No. 54, advanced as far as Gaesti" (forty-two miles north-east of Bukarest), on the evening of December 2nd, and captured six howitzers. A Vienna message, which gave the name of the commander of the Rumanians in this district as General Stzatilescu, declared that a Bavarian regiment advanced "far beyond the enemy lines."

Farther south, in the region of the River Glavaciog and of the River Neajlov, both western tributaries of the Argesul, violent fighting occurred, which eventuated unfavourably for the Rumanians. On December 1st they

**Growing menace  
to Bukarest**

met with a slight success, taking several hundred prisoners and ten machine-guns, as well as war material. Next day the struggle had become more intense, the Rumanians fighting with the utmost resolution, but the onward sweep of the Germans could not be stopped. The battle in this sector, which lacked roads, was not, however, of decisive importance, and was, in fact, subsidiary to that part of it going on from Pitesti, and also to that taking place at the same time still farther south on the Glavaciog and the Neajlov almost due west of Bukarest, and in the area south of the capital.

On the southern front—that forming the right wing of the Germans and the left of the Rumanians—the pressure of the enemy was most severe. Before December 1st the Danube Army had occupied positions only from nineteen

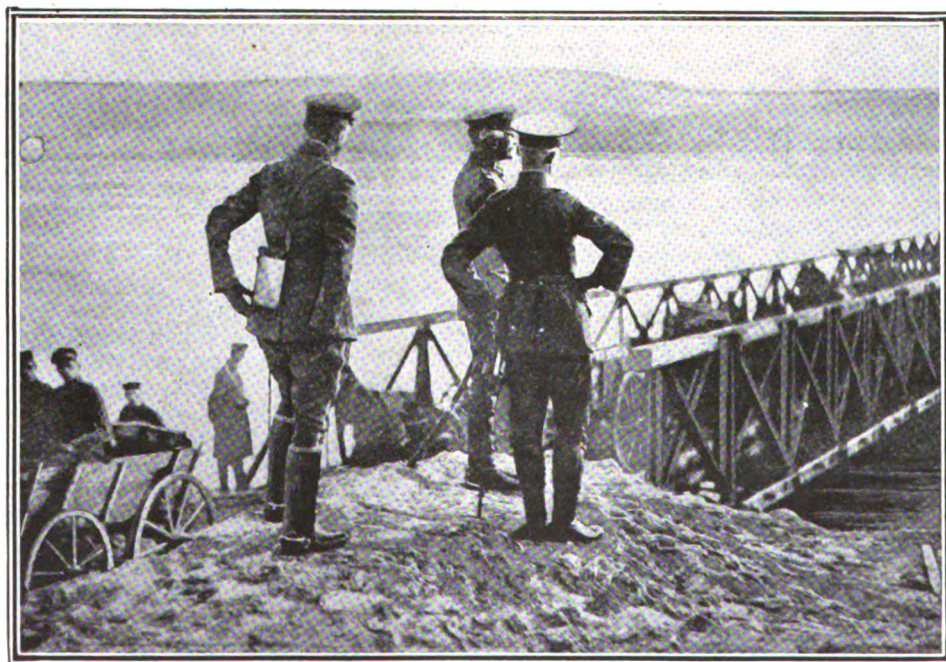
to twenty miles from Bukarest, and the menace to that city appeared far stronger there than from the north and west, but the rapid advance of the Ninth Army had put a somewhat different yet still more threatening edge on the situation. The Danube Army, however, pushed on. On the first of the month it forced a passage far down across the Neajlov valley, and was approaching the lower course of the Argesul, which was only three or four miles from the ring of forts surrounding the capital. The villages of Comana and Gostinari were already in the enemy's possession, and the peril of Bukarest was pronounced. But at that moment there came relief, thanks to the Russians, though the **Rumanians between relief was only of a temporary nature. two fires**

On December 2nd a Turkish division was defeated at Draganesti, and the Germano-Bulgar forces in the region of Ghimpati and Mihalesti, the latter being but six miles from the forts, were driven some miles to the south. The enemy also was forced out of Comana and Gostinari, losing many prisoners and no fewer than twenty-six guns. Berlin had nothing to say about this defeat, but maintained that later Russian attacks had been repulsed, while a body of Rumanian troops, which had pushed forward south-west of Bukarest over the Argesul and the Neajlov, was outflanked and thrown across the Neajlov to the north-east, with many casualties. In the upshot the counter-offensive of the Russians and Rumanians did not achieve permanent success in this area, and meanwhile the Rumanians higher up on the Argesul were heavily defeated.

On December 3rd the Battle of the Argesul passed into its last phase, and came to an unfortunate conclusion for Rumania and the Allies. It was the continued progress of the left centre of the Austro-Germans along the Pitesti-Bukarest railway and road, in spite of the most gallant efforts to arrest it, that practically settled the matter. The enemy's left wing under Morgen, in the northern area, took Targoviste, a former capital of Wallachia, and a commercial centre situated on the edge of the oil-fields. Dellmensingen, marching on triumphantly from Gaesti, again attacked the First Rumanian Army, overthrew it, and, according to Berlin, drove its remnants beyond Titu, a town where the railways from Pitesti and Targoviste joined, en route for Bukarest, thirty miles distant. This

communiqué went on to state that these remnants were driven "into the arms of the oft-tried 41st Infantry Division, under the leadership of Lieut.-General Schmidt von Knobelsdorff." This force was part of the German right centre, the troops of which had advanced across the Wallachian plain from Craiova.

The Austrian official report of December 4th told how "this group advanced yesterday as far as Titu and caught up there the Rumanian army, which was defeated to the south-east of Pitesti," and it added that strong Rumanian detachments were destroyed. The Rumanians were between two fires and were overwhelmed. This decided the whole battle, particularly as farther south the enemy was successful on the left bank of the Argesul, north-west and west of Bukarest, and still farther south the Russians and Rumanians were unable to make headway, but, on the contrary, were repulsed and had to retire some miles eastward. It was a defeat for Rumania on the



FIELD-MARSHAL VON MACKENSEN AT THE GREAT DANUBE BRIDGE.

Having gained control of the great bridge linking Rumania with the Dobruja, Field-Marshal von Mackensen and his Staff contemplated their advance with self-satisfaction. They realised later that their overrunning of the Rumanian territory on both sides of the mighty river was not to provide them with that rich booty in corn and oil for which they had hoped.





TYPES OF RUMANIA'S FIGHTING-MEN.

Rumanian soldiers passing along a communication-trench. They proved sturdy fighters, though after their initial triumphant advance against Hungary they were unable to withstand the weight brought against them by the foe.

whole line. Germany reported: "December 3rd brought with it the decision of the Battle of the Argesul. It was won." Joy-bells rang in Berlin.

According to German official accounts, the Rumanian Army suffered in this battle exceedingly heavy and sanguinary losses. As many as 12,500 prisoners were claimed for the operations on the 3rd alone, and it was averred that the booty in "field materials and war materials was immeasurable." At Titu thirteen locomotives were taken; the Danube Army captured thirty-five cannon. No doubt the spoil that fell into the clutches of the enemy was very considerable. But his estimates usually were excessive, and the great fact remained that, with all his success, he had not been able even yet to roll up and destroy the Rumanian Army, as was his intention and desire.

While the Battle of the Argesul was being fought the Russians and Rumanians were attacking the enemy with great vigour in the Dobruja. On December 2nd Bukarest reported violent assaults on the hostile positions in this area, and announced that the fighting had been carried up to and in some cases past the wire entanglements on this front. A message from Petrograd of the same date said that the Allies had gained possession of the western part of the Cerna Voda bridge, and in the region of Kalakeui-Satiseui, about twelve miles north of the Cerna Voda railway, had compelled a retirement of the foe from several heights. Next day the Russians continued their desperate attacks on the Bulgarian left wing close to the Danube.

Counting the assaults made on the 2nd, they delivered



RUMANIAN PADRE IN THE FIRING-LINE.

Priests attended the Rumanian soldiers even into the firing-line. Here one of them is seen in the foreground with soldiers moving forward through long grass. The hills are characteristic of the scenery of Rumania where it approaches the Hungarian frontier by the Danube.

seven attacks in all in this sector, each more fierce than that which had preceded it. The well-tried and trusted Siberians of Russia made progress, but in the result were held up. The Sofia communiqué, which gave some information of this conflict, but not of a specially accurate kind, alleged that the Turkish troops captured an armoured car, from which they made prisoner two British officers and six men. It also asserted that of three armoured cars that were engaged two were destroyed and the third driven off.

Two squadrons of British armoured cars had co-operated with the Russians in the latter's campaign in Eastern Armenia during the summer, and these were the cars which had been transferred to Rumania. After a month's journey from the east they made a sudden and dramatic appearance in the Dobruja. Under heavy fire and at great risk they forced a passage through the enemy's lines and succeeded in cutting off a considerable force. Contrary to the



statement of Sofia, all the cars got back safely, but this was not accomplished without some loss in personnel, one officer and six men, who had left the cars in order to save them by a ruse, being taken prisoners by the Turks. It was reported from Petrograd that Commander Locker-Lampson, in command of the cars, had been wounded, but this happily proved incorrect, as almost immediately afterwards it was known that the gallant commander had arrived in England fit and well. By December 4th the fighting in the Dobruja died down, the allied forces retiring to their trenches. They had been unable to give any real help to the hard-pressed Rumanian Army on the other side of the Danube.

After the Battle of the Argesul the Rumanians retreated eastward, fighting continuously, and occasionally delivering fierce counter-attacks. On December 4th and 5th there were incessant rearguard actions on all the roads from Targoviste to Ploesti, and from Titu to Bukarest. The Germans, throwing forward their cavalry, marched on

existed for its defence, and there was neither governor nor commandant. In other words, Mackensen was free to occupy it. On the morning of the 6th, soon after he had received this reply, the Germans began moving into the city. First, some of their cavalry took possession of a fort on the north side; next, infantry pushed forward and held most of the forts on the west. According to the official German account of the occupation, "the enemy infantry offered resistance, which was quickly broken." From the south the Bulgarian troops of the Danube Army entered the city without opposition. Bukarest, in fact, was not taken—it was surrendered. If there was any fighting, it was either in ignorance of or contrary to the orders of the Rumanian authorities. The communiqué quoted above said that the enemy troops entering Bukarest were "received enthusiastically, and decorated with flowers."

**How Rumania took the blow**

While the loss of Bukarest had in the

circumstances no very extraordinary military importance, yet as the capital of the country, its passing into the rapacious hands of Germany could not but have a decided influence politically. Furthermore, its capture, with the seizure of the greater part of Wallachia, could not but go a long way to encourage the Germans both in the field and at home, and make up to some extent for their own serious economic position. Along with the news of the fall of the Rumanian capital came that of the taking of Ploesti, in the heart of the oil-fields, and the cutting off, according to the German plan, of the Rumanians retiring from the Predeal Pass—all heavy blows, though the tragic course of the campaign after the second Battle of Targu



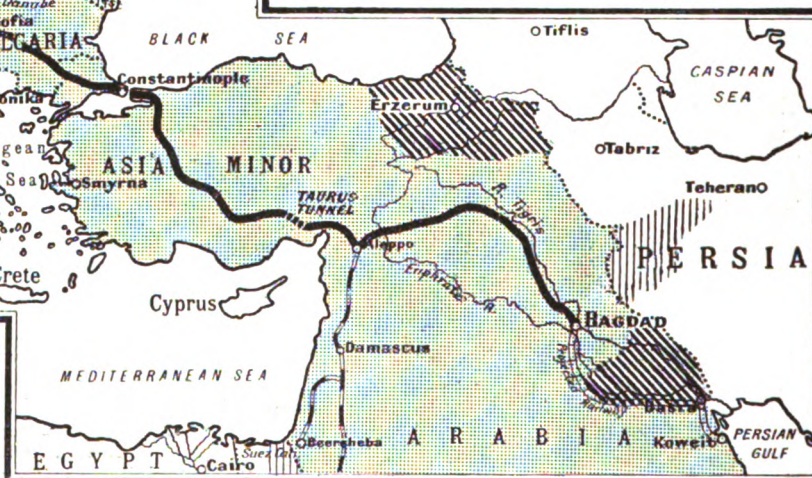
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without halting in both directions. In the former region they were making straight for the valley of the Prahova and the rich oil-fields. Moreover, the Prahova valley was the line of retreat of that part of the Rumanian Army which had so bravely and successfully withstood for a couple of months all the determined efforts of the Germans to emerge from the Predeal Pass, and the enemy aimed at cutting off this force.

The march from Titu south-east had Bukarest itself as its objective, but the force employed in this operation was not the first body of enemy troops to reach the city. On December 5th Mackensen crossed the Argesul in the immediate neighbourhood of Bukarest. Early next morning Bulgarian troops of the Danube Army cleared the places on the southern bank of the river of such Rumanians as had till then maintained themselves there, and then they advanced on the capital, to find that it had already been evacuated, a step which had been rendered imperative by the result of the Battle of the Argesul, if indeed it had not been determined on and proceeded with some time before, as there was every reason to believe.

**Germans enter the capital**

On the previous day Mackensen had sent a parlementaire with a letter into Bukarest demanding the surrender of the fortress. When the parlementaire returned to Mackensen next morning the Field-Marshal was informed that the Commander-in-Chief of the Rumanian Army of the Danube refused to accede to his demand, inasmuch as Bukarest was not a fortress, but an open town. No forts or troops



**GERMANY'S DREAM: THE "BREMEN-BERLIN-BOSPHORUS-BAGDAD-BAHN."** Germany's most gigantic project was a transcontinental railway from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf. This map traces the line, which the Kaiser alliteratively termed the Bremen-Berlin-Bosphorus-Bagdad-Bahn, and shows how vital to it was the Germanisation of Serbia and Rumania, both of which menaced it between Belgrade and Sofia.

Jiu had prepared the Allies for them to some extent, but they were none the less grievous. As Mr. Lloyd George said, in the memorable speech of December 19th which marked his first appearance in the House of Commons as Prime Minister, the cause of the Entente had suffered a real setback.

General sympathy flowed out to the Rumanians, who had fought so well and had made such sacrifices. Rumania herself was determined to carry on. King Ferdinand and his Queen did not leave Bukarest till December 2nd, and then they motored to Jassy, whither M. Bratiano and the other members of the Government had already gone. The first Royal act at Jassy was the issue of a decree calling a meeting of the Rumanian Parliament for the furtherance of the war.





TAKING AEROPLANE MATERIAL

## CHAPTER CLX.

THROUGH THE MEDITERRANEAN.

# THE FIGHT FOR THE DOMINION OF THE AIR.

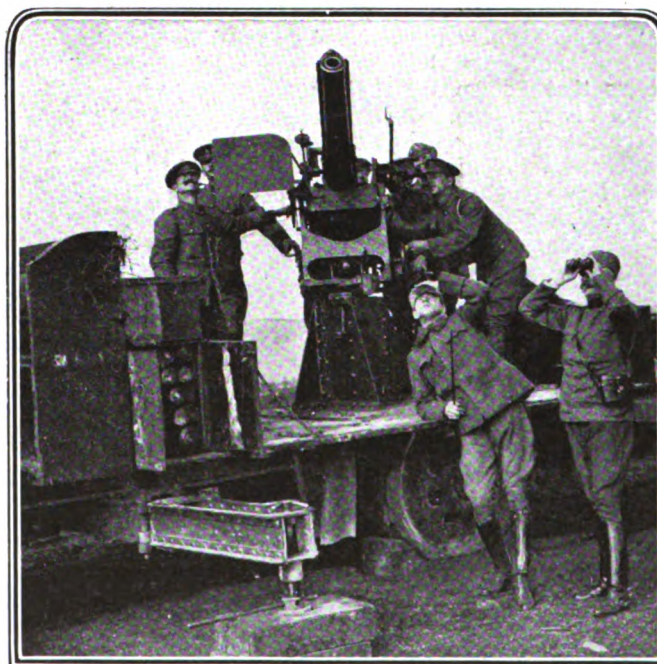
By Edward Wright.

**Inferiority of British Machines**—Germany's New Achievement in Aerial Equipment—All the Allies Temporarily at a Disadvantage—General Pétain Speeds-Up French Aircraft Production—Lord Kitchener Reorganises British Material—Arrival of New Fighting Machines and End of the Fokker Crisis—Brilliant Exploits of British Pilots—Captain Albert Ball's Great Record—Defeat and Death of Immelmann—Fine Work by Photographing Airmen—British Aerial Spotters Trick the Enemy Gunners—Wild Adventures of Bombing Aviators—Extraordinary Scene at Libercourt Junction—Testimony of a German Soldier to Terror Caused by British Airmen—Destruction Wrought by Daylight Over the Enemy Lines by Allied Aeroplanes—Achievements of the Contact Patrols—Surrender of a German Trench Garrison to a British Airman—Some Distinguished British Aerial Gunners—Destruction of Enemy Observation Balloons by Nieuport Scouts—Doom of the Zeppelin as a Military Engine—Competition Between British and German Inventors—Work of the Burbidge Committee and of the Bailhache Committee into Production of Aircraft and Administration of the Flying Service—Establishment of an Air Ministry—The Naval Side of Aerial Warfare—Activity of the Royal Naval Air Service on the Coast, in the Mediterranean, Mesopotamia and Eastern France—The Battle of Jutland and its Lessons with Regard to Aeronautics.



IN Chapter CXII. we brought down the history of the aerial services of Great Britain to the end of March, 1916. The serious losses of the Royal Flying Corps on the western front from October, 1915, to March, 1916, seemed to show that all was not well in regard to the production of British machines. On the Mesopotamian front the machines of the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Naval Air Service, engaged in the attempt to relieve the garrison of Kut, were also inferior (Sir Percy Lake stated) to the new aeroplanes with which the Germans supplied the Turks. The Allies generally seemed to be in a condition of inferiority in regard to aerial equipment. At the opening of the Battle of Verdun the French Army had been blinded by the onset of Fokkers, Aviatiks, Rolands, L.V.G.'s, and other German machines of an improved kind. On the Russian front the anti-aircraft defences were so weak that the Germans were able to employ Zeppelins on daylight reconnaissances to a distance of a hundred miles

into Russian territory. In aeroplane work the Russians were also at a serious disadvantage, owing to the fact that their number of highly skilled aircraft mechanics was very small, and insufficient not merely for productive purposes but for field repairs.



"MARK OVER": AWAITING THE TAUBE.

British anti-aircraft gun-crew watching the approach of a Taube over Salonika, and awaiting the precise moment to fire. A number of Serbian Staff officers were intensely interested spectators of the incident.

The fact was that in the autumn and winter of 1915 the Teutons had repeated in aerial material their achievement in shell production of the winter of 1914. By speeding-up the production of improved types of machines and engines they won a very important material gain over the Allies. Only the Italians, with their rapid production of small-crew airships and double-engined bomb-dropping machines of the Caproni type, maintained something like an equality with the Austrians. The Italians appear to have had to borrow fast aeroplanes of the Nieuport class from France in order to maintain some hold upon the air. And this hold was not altogether strong and alert; for the Austrian offensive in the Trentino in 1916 opened with such unusual force as to take the Italian commander by surprise.





CRITICAL MOMENT IN AN AIRMAN'S LIFE.

A German long-range shell struck a French kite-balloon that had gone up on observation work over the Somme. The observer immediately released his parachute and dropped from the balloon. The camera caught the incident before the parachute had had time fully to expand.

In France General Pétain and General Nivelle took instant steps to obtain machines with the speed and powerful climb of the victorious Fokker. It was essential to General Pétain's system of artillery defence that his army should enjoy a considerable command over the air. Under the stress of his fierce organising genius the brake of French officialism was loosened, and a large number of enterprising private aeroplane-making firms of France found a freer field of development. The result was that the tale of French air victories began rapidly to increase, and a considerable number of fighting French pilots competed with each other in public records of their successes.

At the same time, as was reported in the French Press, a naval lieutenant invented an effective method of setting on fire the row of German kite-balloons that stretched in two long wings on either side of the Meuse, and formed the eyes of the two thousand German guns that bombarded the defences of Verdun. By means of his new missile used against the balloons and his fast new aeroplanes employed against the Fokker and Aviatik, General Pétain restored the eyes of his army, and though he did not succeed in blinding the German gunners, he seriously interrupted their powers of aerial observation, and enabled his own inferior artillery to withstand the greatest striking power the enemy could bring into the field.

Thus characteristically France solved her problem of air power by her genius for improvisation, without any public scandal over her former official negligence. The soldiers

#### Lord Kitchener's reforms

supplied the lack of prevision in the politician and the bureaucrat. In Great Britain Lord Kitchener also proceeded by energetic action to repair the defects in Army material which had arisen under the rule of the Royal Aircraft Factory and the military authorities who relied upon this factory. General Branker, an artillery officer with flying experience, was made Director of Air Organisation, with as assistants two capable officers from the front—General Salmond and Colonel Charlton. The best available material from private and foreign sources was ordered in considerable quantities, and the personnel of the Royal Flying Corps was quickly and largely expanded. A private British machine, the De Havilland, began to be used on active service in large

numbers before the improved official F.E. machine arrived. The new Martinsyde machine, the fighting Maurice, and the new Sopwith—the last of which had been waiting for official recognition since June, 1915—were placed at the service of the Royal Flying Corps pilots.

In place of the problematic 200 h.p. engine of Royal Aircraft Factory design, the Rolls-Royce Company, after refusing to work on this engine, produced a splendid 250 h.p. aero-motor of an original kind. The fate of one of the new Rolls-Royce engines was not happy. It was fitted into a Government machine, and entrusted to a pilot who had never flown to France. Being ordered to fly to the front, he lost his way, strayed over Lille, was attacked by German guns, and coming down presented the enemy with a valuable and early example of the new aero-motor on which Great Britain was largely relying to regain her dominion of the air. But this misfortune, which occurred

at the end of May, 1916, happened too late to enable the Germans to profit by it. The enemy, on his part, may have had machines to equal the Rolls-Royce aero-motor, for the Mercedes, Benz, and other German engines had been developed soundly and progressively throughout the war. There was nothing strikingly new in their design, but they were certainly efficient. The enemy engine-builders may have found the Rolls-Royce worth copying, but time was not allowed them to adopt it.

The old Royal Aircraft Factory production, the B.E.2c machine, designed by one of the few fine private designers temporarily attached to the Government works, had become antiquated owing to the progress made by German, British, and French manufacturers. British air losses had been partly due to the B.E.2c being sent out alone on reconnoitring or bombing work, and becoming "Fokker fodder" when the German falcons swooped from their towering pitch. Hundreds of British machines of an obsolescent or inefficient type had been manufactured to the order of the Government by firms new to the art of aeroplane construction. Some of these firms had been delayed in production by late alterations in the drawings they had received from the Royal Aircraft Factory authorities, and by downright errors in official drawings. Moreover, the official designs were reported to have a lack of simplicity that further delayed production.

#### Brilliant use of new machines

But serious as were the defects in the War Office organisation for providing the British Army with the means of holding the command of the air, General Trenchard, the active chief of the Royal Flying Corps, devised a brilliant method of operation as soon as he obtained from private British firms a few battle-planes capable of assisting the Bristol "Bullet" pilots and Vicker "gun-bus" pilots, and manœuvring against the new Fokker. The old, slow machines were sent out in flocks from six to twelve. High above the weak flock of workers circled two or three of the battle-planes, ready to engage any Fokker that swooped into the field. By the first week in May, 1916, duels in the air began to grow infrequent. Combats took place between squadrons of fast fighting machines, whirling against each other with their machine-guns flashing, while far below them there was often a flight of almost defenceless working planes—usually British—waiting the issue of the battle.



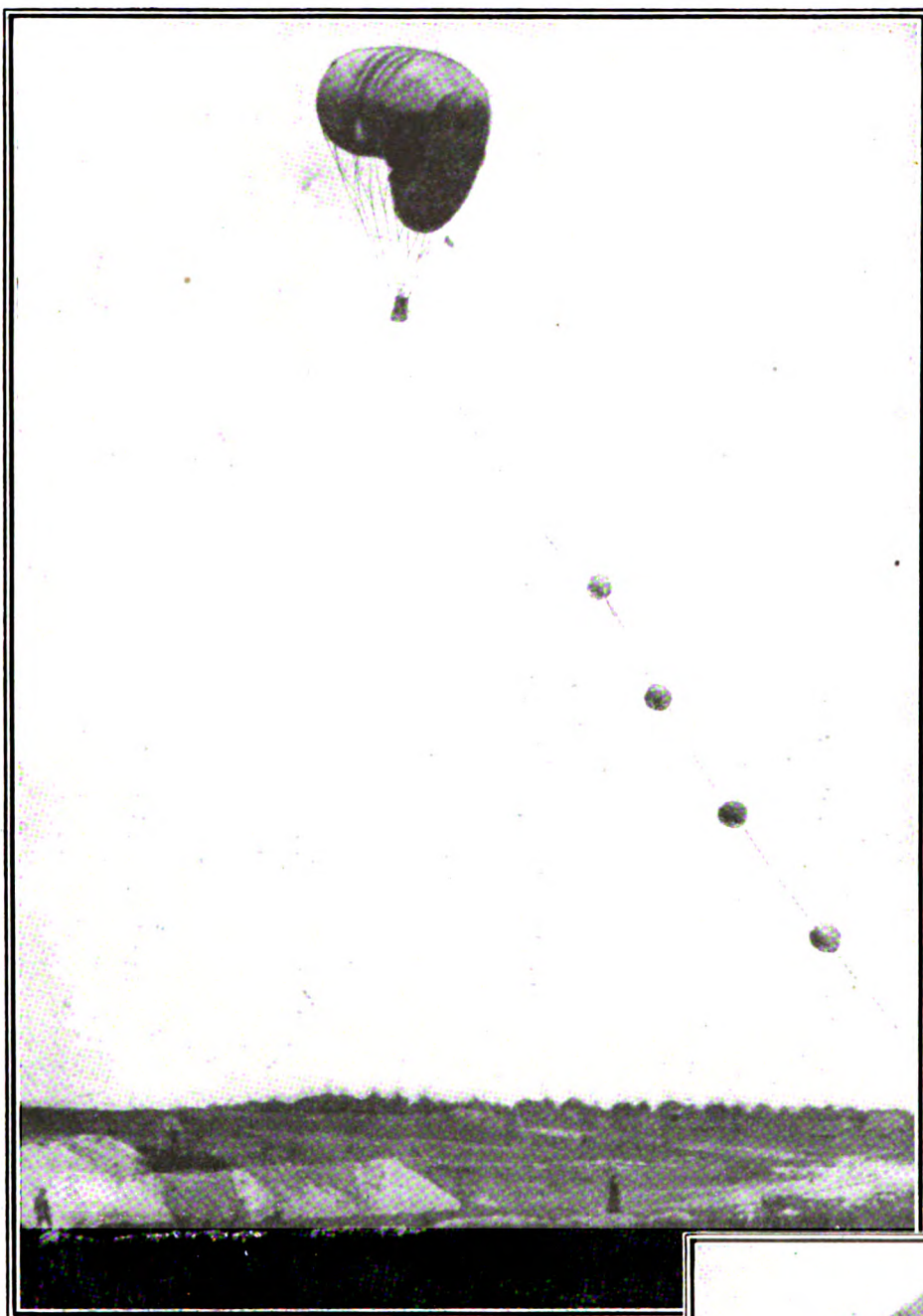


#### BELGIAN'S PARACHUTE ESCAPE FROM A BURNING BALLOON.

Parachutes attached to observation kite-balloons are the observer's sole means of escape if his balloon is brought down. In the case depicted here a Belgian kite-balloon, or "sausage," caught fire, and the observer, getting

his parachute free without a hitch, came gently and safely to earth, preceded in his descent by his ruined balloon, from the burning envelope of which smoke is seen rising on the extreme right of the picture.





CAPTIVE AIRCRAFT USED BY FRENCH OBSERVERS.

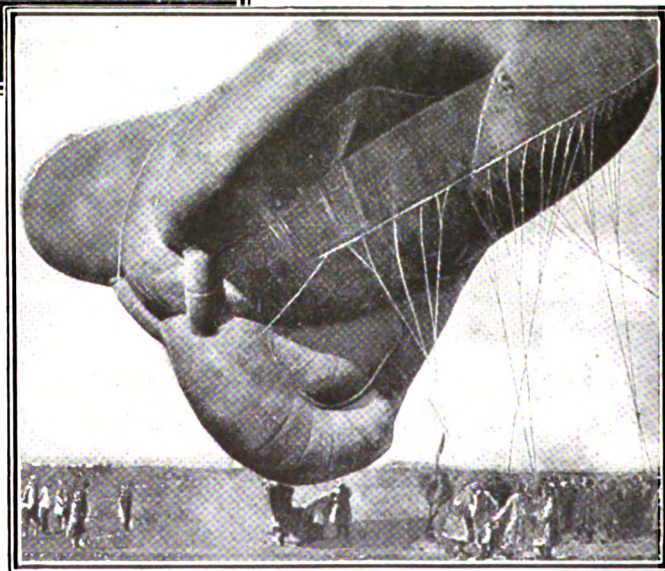
One of the "tailed" observation balloons—familiarly known as "sausages"—employed over the French lines. Its strange shape and the ballonets threaded on the anchoring rope were designed to maintain while it was aloft the steadiness necessary to accurate observation by the man in the car.

Certain losses continued to be inevitable. At times the British Staff suspected the enemy was concentrating at an important point. Where this was being done the Germans had taken measures to mask their activity from hostile aerial observations. Their anti-aircraft guns were numerous disposed about the point, and an unusual number of their fighting planes were constantly watching there. But British pilots in a new fast Scout, in which armament was sacrificed to speed, went out in formation to investigate. Occasionally some of these scouts were brought down by the enemy, but part of the formation returned with news perhaps likely to save the lives of hundreds or thousands of British infantrymen. Such sacrifices of a part of the whole were especially required in the spring of 1916, when there were still insufficient of the new fighting planes strongly to convoy every working squadron on the British front.

As summer wore on, and the number of fighting planes

increased and the finest Fokker pilots went down one after the other to death, the perils of the British scouts, spotters, and bombers were diminished. For in the end Great Britain and France held for a time a practical dominion of the heavens. Meanwhile, some remarkable battle practice went on behind the British front in the late spring and early summer of the year. From aerial photographs a good reproduction of the German system of fortifications was constructed on the practice field, and over the lace-work of trenches the British infantry manœuvred in attack, in conjunction with low-flying, directing airmen known as "contact" patrols. Signor Marconi had recently invented an apparatus whereby aeroplanes could receive as well as transmit wireless messages. It is not stated whether his new instrument was generally employed in the Somme Battle. Communication between the infantry and the contact patrols was usually maintained by flares, mirror signals, and other ordinary devices, such as General Nivelle had developed in his efforts to return to Douaumont Fort at Verdun. As we have before stated, the French attribute the invention of contact airmen or aerial infantry to certain of their younger generals. But we understand from British officers back from the Somme front that the idea is also claimed to be of British origin.

A British origin has also been claimed for the invention of the first effective missile for the destruction of kite-balloons and airships by airmen in aeroplanes



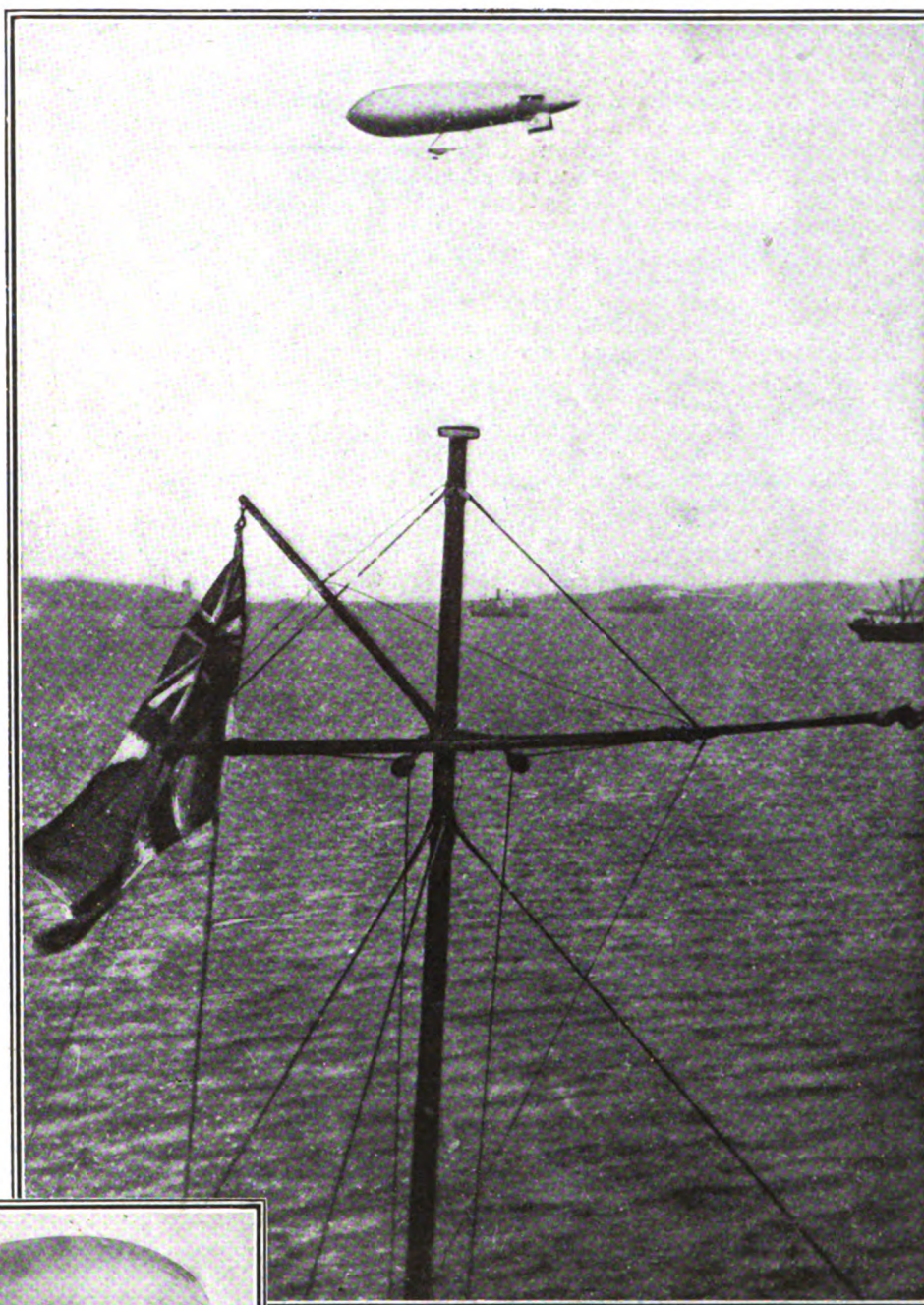
IMPROVED TYPE OF FRENCH "SAUSAGE."

Ingenuity successfully working on the results of experience evolved this queer-looking observation balloon, which was so constructed that the observer was able to remain steady at a height and so carry on his work even when a goodly gale was blowing.



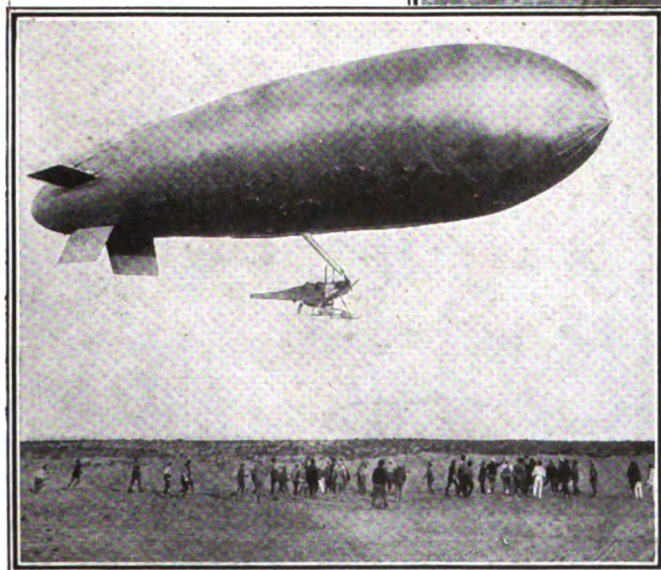
or seaplanes, which we have attributed, on French authority, to a French naval lieutenant. Perhaps there was a coincident stir of invention in both allied countries, leading to results that were almost identical. The stimulus and the sustained work of preliminary creation in regard to the most novel and effective of war machines came from the Royal Naval Air Wing that operated in France and Flanders with the Expeditionary Force. The Admiralty, moved by officers of the Royal Naval Air Service, claims to have presented the Army with the "tank." The British kite-balloon was also developed by the Royal Naval Air Service and transferred to the Royal Flying Corps. Altogether there seems to have been an unusual energy of mind in the British Air Services, and, according to report, some officers produced designs for new aero-motors of considerable merit.

Organising talent was displayed in the field in a thorough rearrangement of the Royal Flying Corps under General Trenchard. Six distinct orders of machines were developed. Above all were the fighting planes, divided into two classes, one of which operated over the British lines in a defensive manner while the other swept out over the German lines and attacked Fokker pilots, and at the same time protected British working machines. The working machines were usually arranged in scouting groups, artillery observation groups, aerial photography groups, bombing raid groups, and infantry contact groups. All this sub-



CIRCLING THE FLEET IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

British airship flying round the fleet in the Mediterranean. As new "eyes" for the Navy, aircraft came to be recognised as an auxiliary as important to the sea services as they were to those of the land.



(British official photograph.)

RETURN FROM A LONG RECONNAISSANCE.

Naval airship arriving at its accustomed landing-place after a lengthy flight. The eager men beneath were hurrying to help in making the airship snug on her reaching the ground.

division of labour tended to produce specialised kinds of aviators, so that an expert in photographing the German trenches could not always be regarded as a deadly marksman for bomb-dropping expeditions.

By reason of the nature of things the fighting pilots in the warplane order came most brightly into the limelight of fame. Chief among them was the young son of a former Mayor of Nottingham, Captain Albert Ball, who ranked in the summer of 1916 above all French and German fighting pilots in regard to his record of kills. He was only nineteen years of age, and as reported, he had taken part in one hundred air combats, and had brought down thirty enemy aeroplanes. He won the D.S.O for attacking six German machines in one flight, forcing two down and driving the others off. Then in an attack on the enemy's kite-balloons he used all his bombs and failed to hit, returned for a fresh supply, flew back, and brought a balloon down in flames.



On another occasion Captain Ball observed a formation of seven enemy machines, drove at it, shot one German down at fifteen yards range, and forced the other enemy pilots to retire. A few minutes afterwards he saw another formation of five hostile machines, and, in an attack delivered at a range of ten yards, sent one down flaming to the earth. Attacking another machine of the same formation that was vainly firing at him, he tumbled it into a village, causing it to break up on the roof of a house. This exhausted all Captain Ball's ammunition, and his machine was considerably damaged. But on reaching his aerodrome he obtained more cartridges and, returning to the fray, assailed three more German machines and compelled them to dive away. By this time shortage of petrol compelled Captain Ball to end his day of amazing exploits.

Afterwards, when on escort duty in a bombing raid, Captain Ball saw four German machines in formation, and swooping on them, shot down the nearest one, scattered the others and then descended near the ground to make certain he had wrecked the machine that first came under his fire. Later, this prince of British pilots espied twelve German machines in fighting order, and, driving right in among them, with the fire of one drum of his Lewis gun tumbled

**Captain Ball's  
great exploits**

one machine to earth. Three other enemies then closed around him, and he gave them a drum of cartridges each, with the result that another German plane crashed down.

By this time Captain Ball's aeroplane was badly damaged; but, limping along at a low altitude, he landed safely in his own lines. During his hundred fights Captain Ball had six machines so damaged that he was forced to make a quick landing, but he escaped without serious personal injury, and by the end of the year he was awarded two bars to his Distinguished Service Order.

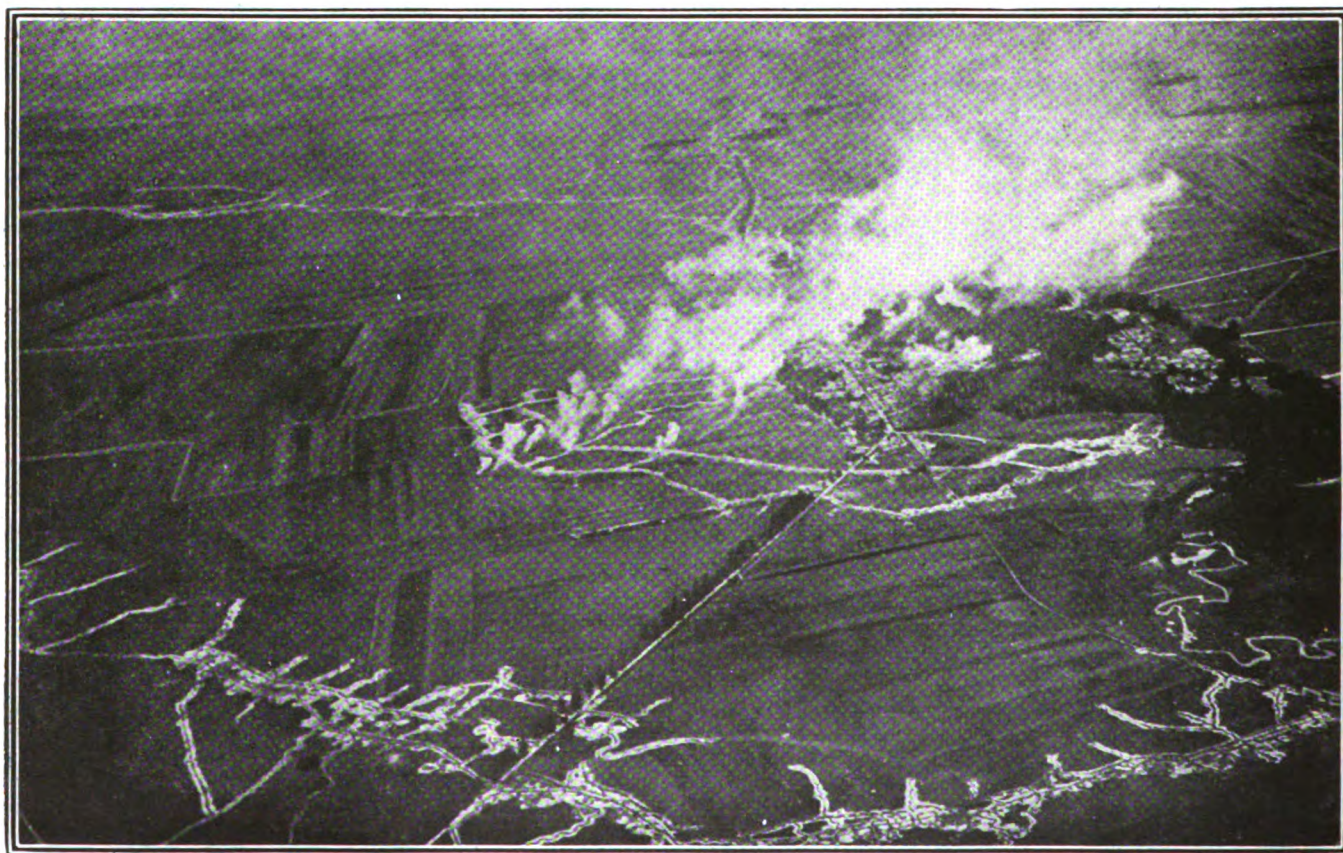
Almost equal in renown for a single special feat was Sec.-Lieutenant George R. McCubbin, who came from

South Africa and served as a mechanic before he was promoted pilot. While still an apprentice as a fighting airman he went out with Lieutenant Savage and saw his comrade brought down by the king of the Fokker fighters, Lieutenant Immelmann. A few days afterwards, on June 18th, 1916, Lieutenant McCubbin, with his observer handling a machine-gun, engaged Immelmann and sent his machine crashing to the ground, Immelmann being killed. Captain R. N. Adams, who attacked six enemy machines

**One machine  
against ten**

over the enemy's lines, set one on fire and drove off the others, was another noted pilot. Lieutenant Dirk Cloete first acted as observer to Captain Adams, and shooting an enemy machine made it turn upside down. Then promoted pilot, he saw his former chief, Captain Adams, engaged with six enemy machines, and diving into the affray, sent one enemy crashing to the earth, and helped to fight the other five away, another of which was brought down by Captain Adams. Captain R. Balcombe-Brown was remarkable for his improvisation of skill. One day at dawn he began to learn how to handle a new machine, and yet by the evening with this new machine he brought down a German kite-balloon.

Captain W. A. Summers, as pilot, and Lieutenant W. O. T. Tudor-Hart, as observer, appear almost to have topped the list in the fight against odds. With their single machine, when quite unsupported, they attacked over the German lines a formation of ten enemy aeroplanes. Under constant heavy fire from as many as four hostile machines at one time, they broke up the formation in a fight ranging many miles over the enemy's territory, and though their own machine was badly damaged they continued their extraordinary struggle until all their ammunition was expended. Captain A. W. Vaucour also attacked ten hostile planes and broke their formation, and on other occasions shot down German after German.



FRENCH ARTILLERY BOMBARDMENT AS SEEN FROM A FRENCH OBSERVING AEROPLANE.

Circling over the battlefield like a hawk, a French aviator secured this wonderful picture of the French shells bursting over the enemy lines. More than any amount of verbal explanation does a photograph like this enable the layman to realise how the development of aeronautics affected the accuracy of artillery fire and, consequently, the issue of battles.





[British official photograph.]

#### CUTTING THE ENEMY LINES OF COMMUNICATION ON THE MEDITERRANEAN FRONT.

Direct hit from the air. A naval aviator poised in an aeroplane at a height of a thousand feet destroyed the centre span of this railway bridge in the Mediterranean theatre of the war by a well-aimed bomb, and a

flying photographer obtained the striking evidence of the effective damage done. That the river was one of very considerable breadth is indicated by the many arches of the road bridge nearer the foreground.

Captain W. A. G. Bellew, formerly of the Connaught Rangers, was another great fighting pilot. First, with three other machines, he attacked eight German planes and forced one to the ground; next, in his single machine, he attacked four Fokkers, sent one crashing to death, and forced a second low down. Afterwards he escorted a bombing expedition, when two of the working machines lagged behind, owing to the low clouds, and were attacked by three Fokkers. Turning back to help his comrades, Captain Bellew attacked the three Fokkers, drove two off, and shot one down. Lieutenant D. K. Paris, when far within hostile territory, noticed that a British machine had been brought down by German gun fire, and with the help of his pilot, Captain Grant Dalton, he landed, destroyed the machine, rescued the British pilot, and brought him back ninety miles to the British lines. Lieutenant J. D. Latta was a famous kite-balloon destroyer and a deadly Fokker fighter. Major L. W. Brabazon Rees equalled, if not excelled, the record against odds of Lieutenant Tudor-Hart. While on flying duties Major Brabazon Rees sighted what seemed to be a party of British bombers returning home. Flying up to escort them he discovered that the covey consisted of ten enemy machines. One came out to attack him,

#### Major Brabazon

#### Rees' achievement

and he damaged it in a fierce, short fight, and forced it down in the German lines. Five other machines then closed upon him, but he sent two more down badly damaged and dispersed the other three. Seeing another two going westward he chased and attacked them, but on getting too close quarters he was wounded in the thigh. His injured limb prevented him from managing his machine, but he soon recovered control and, closing with the enemy within a few yards, he continued to fire until all his ammunition was spent. Thereupon, he brought his machine safely into the British lines. Lieutenant C. M. B. Chapman was a successful

Fokker fighter against heavy odds. On one occasion he assailed three L.V.G.'s and a Fokker, and shot the last down. Sec.-Lieutenant H. Cope Evans brought down four enemy machines in a fortnight, and Lieutenant W. E. Harper forced two down in one combat, and destroyed several more in other contests.

Captain Dixon-Spain, with Lieutenant Reid as pilot, became a master fighter. On one day they attacked and drove off a hostile machine, and a few minutes later four more German planes were sighted, three of which were attacked one after the other and driven back, while the fourth machine was tackled by another British patrol. On another occasion Captain Dixon-Spain and Lieutenant Reid swooped on to two German machines, forced one down and drove the other off. Two days later another German couple were dealt with in the same manner, one machine being shot down and the other being pursued to its aerodrome. A Canadian pilot, Lieutenant E. R. Hicks, won distinction by assailing a German flight, bringing down two of the machines and driving the other three over the enemy lines. In bombing work he was equally deadly. Working first at 800 feet and then at 300 feet, he wrecked enemy trains in movement and bombarded a railway-station.

#### Long list of air heroes

The list of British fighting pilots of public distinction is too long to set out in detail. By the end of the Somme offensive their exploits required a volume to relate. Captain W. D. S. Sanday, who led more than thirty-five patrols in gallant fashion, destroyed at least four enemy machines. Captain A. M. Wilkinson shot down five machines by the end of August, 1916, and then went on destroying more. Captain L. P. Aizlewood got between five enemy machines and their lines, and driving on them held his fire till he was only twenty yards off. The machine he hit and ruined





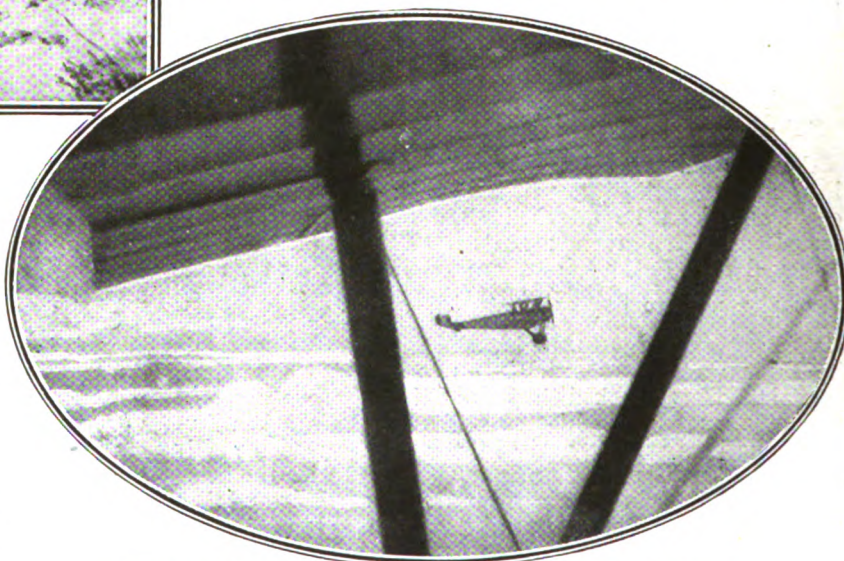
RETURNING OVER NO MAN'S LAND.  
French aeroplane as it neared home after a recon-  
noitring excursion. The scene shows the devastation  
caused by shells between the opposing trenches.

collided with his plane as it fell, breaking his propeller. Though barely controllable, the British machine was landed on British ground by the brilliant pilot. Captain J. O. Andrews was a fine leader of fighting patrols, and shot down four enemy machines. Captain I. H. D. Henderson was a most versatile airman. He destroyed a kite-balloon, and acted as contact pilot to infantry in several actions, in one of which he attacked the retiring German artillery. Then, in a more powerful machine, he had an adventurous week as a high-altitude fighter. He first shot down a German machine, went out and dispersed a formation of six hostile planes, and afterwards attacked and brought down a biplane, and, when fighting in formation, drove down an enemy that had wounded his leader. Captain K. N. Pearson, Lieutenant H. H. Turk, Lieutenant S. E. Cowan, and Captain G. M. Moore were brilliant fighters.

The work of the photographic group of machines, although less spectacular than that of the fighting pilots, required equal coolness and skill. Captain M. McB. Bell-Irving, for instance, was seriously wounded in the head when taking photographs of the German positions. An anti-aircraft gun caught him with shrapnel, and half blinded by blood he steered for the nearest aerodrome. Wounded so seriously that he could not last out, he yet managed to land in the British lines, where, after giving orders for the safe delivery of his photographs, he collapsed.

Similar in businesslike quality was the labour of the "spotters," or aerial artillery observers. They were the mobile advanced guard of the officers in the long line of kite-balloons in the British rear, who continually studied through glasses all signs of activity on the hostile front, and communicated their views to their siege-guns near by. The observers in the circling machines did not appear to be thoroughly proficient during the first phase of the great preliminary bombardment in the last week of June, 1916.

Scarcely a German battery was damaged by the guns they were directing. But in the closing and most violent phase of British gun fire the hurricane of shells searched nearly every hostile battery position, for these positions had been carefully studied and yet left unassailed until the last hour lest the enemy gunners should become anxious and change to new sites. **Artillery observers' fine work** in the night. As it was, the Germans suspected nothing, and thought they had escaped notice, and only when the British infantry was preparing to advance were their positions smothered in an extraordinary storm of heavy shell. Afterwards, when the weather grew unfavourable, and low-hanging clouds and mist interfered with the task of the British aerial artillery observers, the pilots operated under desperate risks in order to serve their guns. Captain Leoline Jenkins was conspicuously skilful and brave, flying for a long time at a very low height under continual gun fire and machine-gun attack while finding targets for his howitzers. Captain J. U. Kelly was accustomed to come down very low to obtain information. He descended through clouds to 500 feet, and flying over the German positions was wounded



ONE NIEUPORT CHASER PHOTOGRAPHED FROM ANOTHER.  
At a height of between six and seven thousand feet an aviator-photographer on a Nieuport chaser biplane was able to get—neatly framed as it were in the stays of his own machine—this effective picture of one of his companions in the sky.

and almost blinded, yet returned to his own lines with his machine and much useful knowledge of the enemy's activities. Captain J. L. Chalmers specialised in counter-battery work. He flew very low under heavy fire, watching for flames from German guns, and directing his own artillery exactly upon the hostile batteries. His machine was badly damaged by shell fire, but he brought it back, and in another flight discovered and put out of action four German batteries. Captain H. J. F. Hunter was a "spotter" of equal skill and coolness. When such men were busy at work the German artillery often remained inactive in fear of destruction, and the British troops had their task greatly lightened.

Wild adventures befell many of the bombing flights of British machines. They came fully into action in the



latter part of June, 1916, when the new fighting planes had lessened the power and scope of the Fokkers, Rolands and L.V.G.'s. Under the protection of their own battle-planes the raiding bombers delivered a continual succession of masterly strokes that maimed the German army. The enemy's lines of communication were severed in the critical days of the Somme campaign, and generally menaced throughout the struggle when the weather was not extraordinarily adverse. Sec.-Lieutenant P. Huskinson was conspicuous for his bombing skill. Single-handed, he attacked an important railway-station through which a German train was passing. Under continuous fire he descended close to the station and train, released upon them

**Bombing from  
low altitudes**

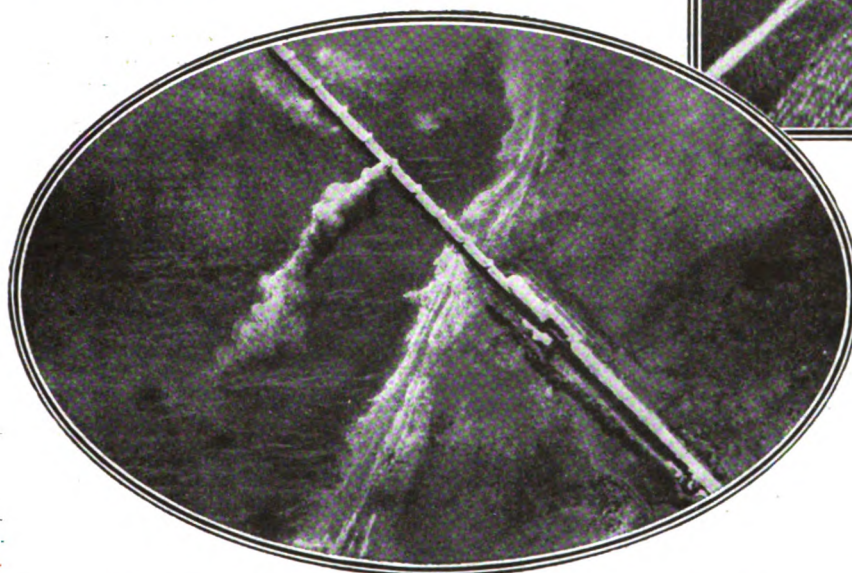
his store of high explosive and then, with his damaged machine working low over the hostile country, like a wounded duck about to fall, he crossed the German lines, again under heavy fire, and made a safe landing.

Sec.-Lieutenant A. S. C. MacLaren was another bomber of great daring. While sweeping over a German aerodrome he saw a hostile machine on the ground preparing to start. Pilot and observer were in their seats, and mechanics were clinging to the wings. Mr. MacLaren swooped within a hundred feet of the ground, and, dropping a bomb into the machine, blew it up, killing pilot, observer and mechanics. Then swerving, he released another bomb on a Fokker machine in a hangar, destroyed both, and soared away before the enemy recovered from the surprise. Captain E. J. Tyson was a train-wrecker and raider of high distinction, and with Lieutenant J. R. Philpott carried out a series of great actions.



SQUADRON OF BELGIAN BIPLANES.

Flying ground behind the Belgian front, taken from an aeroplane flying above. A squadron of machines as they were ready to take the air against the enemy.



GERMAN AVIATORS BOMBING THE CERNA VODA BRIDGE.

Sometimes airmen were able to obtain conclusive evidence of the effect of an attack. Having dropped bombs on the long railway bridge linking Rumania with the Dobruja, some German aviators secured this photograph showing that they had scored a hit.

On July 1st the British bombing raiders worked with tremendous energy. A large German ammunition dump was set on fire; railway centres were wrecked, and troop and supply trains hit and stopped. One British pilot, attacking a station, was impeded by engine trouble, and while vainly trying to release his bombs on the target was attacked by two German battle-planes. Yet circling three times over his objective and beating off his attackers, the pilot cut the railway completely, and also destroyed a neighbouring building. Towards the end of the month of July the sky had been so cleared of Fokkers, Rolands and L.V.G.'s that four British bombing machines made an extraordinary raid, practically unmolested by hostile machines. There was an important German railway centre where large quantities of ammunition had been

stored. It was attacked in the afternoon of July 27th, when packed with trucks, carriages, and locomotives. The rolling-stock was struck and set on fire and the ammunition sheds were hit. The enemy, being taken by surprise, used neither anti-aircraft guns nor battle-planes against the low-flying raiders.

On a later occasion the vital junction of Libercourt, south of Lille, was the scene of a remarkable bomb attack. Around the junction, at distances of a few miles, were three German aerodromes so arranged as to protect the knot of railways between Lille and Douai. At one o'clock in the day, when the German pilots were slackening off for lunch, a shower of bombs crashed into the air-sheds. Most of the bombs caused no explosion, but transformed each aerodrome into a blinding, choking cauldron of smoke. Above the thick screen of fumes the attacking planes continued to circle, dropping high explosive into the volcanoes of smoke they had made. At least two of the aerodromes were set on fire. While the operation was proceeding, a train left the junction running southward and another train approached along the branch line. Thereupon two British squadrons swooped down from the sky low upon the trains. The engine of the first train was hit and thrown from the rails, and the leading carriages telescoped. It was a troop train, and the men poured from the wreckage and raced for cover towards a large wood. But the British pilots came still lower, and their observers played with machine-guns upon the Germans, who had



massed together in panic, and killed and wounded many of them between the track and the wood. The wrecked train blocked the line and compelled the second train to come to a standstill. The locomotive was destroyed by twenty-pound bombs, and several of the carriages blown up. Again the troops poured out, seeking shelter, but as they ran the attacking pilot came close to the earth, enabling the observers to route the fugitives with machine-gun fire.

Meanwhile, Libercourt Station, with its buildings, sidings, and rolling-stock jammed into the yards, received a cargo of heavier bombs, some of which weighed a hundredweight. The force of the explosions hurled the carriages across the rails, and the station was a spectacle of wild ruin when the British squadrons left it. The fighting planes that guarded

timing their most important attacks so as to find the Belgian railway centres full of rolling-stock, troops, and munitions.

A reign of terror was imposed upon the Teuton soldiery. Letters taken from dead and wounded foes, while the great wedge was being driven between the Ancre and the Somme, told of the panic caused by the British raiders, of heavy loss of life inflicted upon the hostile forces, and of confusion and weakness due to the interruption of the movement of troops by railway.

From the diary of a German private of the 18th Reserve Division we obtain a telling description of the effect on the enemy of the combined work of British aerial directors of long-range guns, aerial raiders of railway centres, and aerial machine-gunners:

Many times, long before a German battalion arrived near the trenches, it was but a collection of nerve-broken men, bemoaning losses already suffered far behind the lines and filled with hideous apprehension. For British long-range guns were hurling high-explosives into distant villages, barraging cross-roads, reaching out to rail-heads and ammunition dumps, while British airmen were on bombing flights over railway-stations and rest billets, and high roads down which the German troops came marching at Cambrai, Bapaume, in the valley between Ires and Warlencourt, at Ligny-Thilloy, Busigny, and many other places on the lines of route.

Troops arriving at Cambrai by train found themselves under the fire of a single aeroplane which flew very low and dropped bombs. These exploded with heavy crashes, and one bomb hit the first carriage behind the engine, killing and wounding several men. A second bomb hit the station buildings, and there was a great clatter of broken glass, the rending of wood, and the fall of bricks. All lights went out, and the soldiers groped about in the darkness amidst the splinters of glass and fallen bricks, searching for the wounded by the sound of their groans. It was but one scene along the way to that blood-bath through which they had to wade to the trenches of the Somme.

Squadrons of British aeroplanes circled over the villages on the way. At Grevilliers, in August, eleven bombs fell in the market-square, so that the centre of the village collapsed in a state of ruin, burying soldiers billeted there. Every day the British airmen paid these visits, meeting the Germans far up the roads on their way to the Somme and swooping over them like a flying Death. Even on the march in open country the German soldiers tramping silently along—not singing, in spite of orders—were bombed and shot at by these British airmen, who flew down very low, pouring out streams of machine-gun bullets. The Germans lost their nerve at such times, and scattered into the ditches, falling over each other, struck and cursed by their non-coms., and leaving their dead and wounded in the roadway.

As the roads went nearer to the battlefields they were choked with the traffic of war, with artillery and transport waggons and horse-ambulances, and always thousands of grey men marching up to the lines, or back from them, exhausted and broken after many days in the fires of hell up there.

From a military point of view the damage done by raiding Zeppelins over England and Southern Scotland was quite insignificant in comparison with the destruction wrought in daylight by British aeroplanes working for a distance of a hundred miles behind the main German battle-front. By the end of the year it was estimated that the Allies had carried out a total of seven hundred and fifty bombardments. The French claimed two hundred and fifty bombardments, and estimated that the British had made a hundred and eighty between Ypres and the Somme. The two Allies also conducted most of the hundred and seventy-four bombardments in the Balkans. The number of enemy aeroplanes brought down was estimated at nine hundred, four hundred and fifty being claimed by the French and two hundred and fifty being brought down by the British. Eighty-one hostile observation balloons are reported to have been destroyed, forty are said to have been struck by French airmen, and twenty-seven by British airmen.

The achievements of the new contact patrols were usually less picturesque than the feats of the fighting and raiding flights. But the work accomplished by the slowest and lowest order of machines told on the event of the battle in many remarkable ways. The small losses of the French Army, for instance, were directly attributed to the fact that the troops generally advanced two hundred yards



CAPTAIN ALBERT BALL, D.S.O., M.C., HERO OF THE R.F.C.

When only nineteen years of age he had taken part in a hundred air combats and destroyed thirty enemy aeroplanes. Awarded the D.S.O. and bar in September, 1916, for gallantry and devotion in the field.

the bombing squadrons, circling high in the air above the German aerodromes, had practically no work to do. Only one German machine appeared, and it bolted when threatened, and every British plane got home without mishap.

This was not an isolated incident, but a representative affair. Every week bombing raids of equal intensity occurred behind the German front, from the Yser to the Somme and from the Somme to the Aisne. Bapaume Station, Achiet Junction, Cambrai Station, and Douai Station were incessantly assailed. The full catalogue of German sidings, railway works, aerodromes, and ammunition sheds that were damaged would be a very long one. British raiders from the Royal Flying Corps and Royal Naval Air Service reached to Mons, Brussels, and Namur by the middle of August, 1916, paying special attention to the Zeppelin sheds at Maubeuge on their way, and

#### Evidence from a German diary.



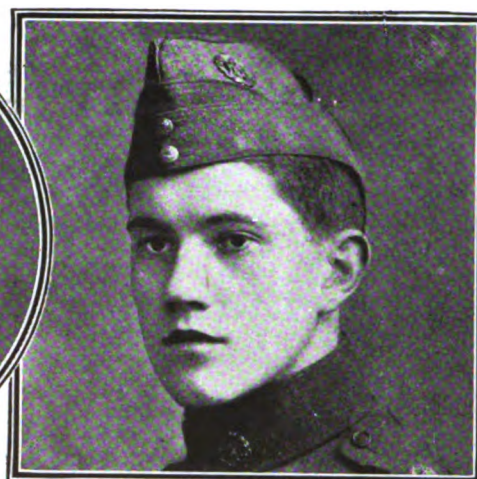


[Swaine.]

SEC.-LIEUTENANT G. R. McCUBBIN, D.S.O.  
While still an apprentice as a fighting airman he, on June 18th, 1916, brought down Immelmann, "the king of the Fokker fighters."



MAJOR BRABAZON REES, V.C., M.C.  
Attacked ten enemy machines; three he sent down and, though wounded, fought the rest until his ammunition gave out.



[Chancellor.]

SEC.-LIEUTENANT S. E. COWAN, M.C.  
Awarded the M.C. in May, 1916, and later a bar to it, for fine work in aerial combats, having shot down four enemy machines.

behind their own shell curtain, while contact patrols above them studied their movements and continually reported to their gunners. Any check or any enemy preparation for counter-attack was communicated by the patrols to the gunners, so that the French infantry could immediately be helped. In the British

#### Heroic work of contact patrols

Army a similar system was practised beforehand, and developed on the battlefield. At the opening of the Somme offensive some of General Horne's troops were held up before Dingle Trench by German bombers. In the ordinary way the attack might have been checked at this point, necessitating long delay in preparing an enveloping movement which would have weakened the general operations. But a British contact patrol on a French machine observed what had happened. Swooping down to three hundred feet, he dropped a large bomb on Dingle Trench with such marksmanship that the hostile garrison was annihilated, and General Horne's troops were able to work forward in an action of decisive importance. We have already marked a similar feat by a French contact patrol in the chapter dealing with the capture of Curlu. In this case the patrol signalled the French infantry to withdraw. When they were out of the danger zone, he called in a large force of heavy French artillery, hammered the village with shell, and again signalled his infantry to make the charge upon the stricken foe.

Both British and French contact patrols took to using machine-guns as well as bombs upon the hostile infantry.

The airmen continually grew more audacious in their attacks upon entrenched German troops. They descended at last so low that their position seemed to be one of prolonged extreme peril. But, as a matter of fact, the contact patrols felt comparatively happy when they came from 8,000 feet down to 500 feet and lower. The idea of setting frail flying structures operating just above the heads of the hostile infantry was not only daring, but subtly clever. For when the machines were at an altitude of only a few hundred feet they were too low for German anti-aircraft guns to attack them. "Archibald," as the German anti-aircraft gun was nicknamed, was designed to fire almost straight into the air, and he was usually placed high upon the main Somme watershed, screened from the direct fire of the allied artillery. His gunners, therefore, had considerable difficulty in suddenly training him low upon the western slopes, and over these slopes his shrapnel shells would have burst over the heads of his own infantry.

The result was that the contact patrols were often exposed only to machine-gun fire and musketry fire from the hostile trenches over which they operated while their own infantry was advancing to the attack. There were some casualties from machine-gun and rifle bullets, but the loss was nothing in comparison with the high value of the work of the contact patrols in helping the infantry, directing the British artillery fire, and swooping down on the enemy with machine-guns. Until the "tanks" appeared in the middle of September, 1916, and put a

#### Swooping down on the enemy



[Elliott & Fry.]

CAPTAIN A. M. MILLER, D.S.O.  
Brilliant pilot who engaged enemy gun positions at the Bazentins, and cleared the way for the cavalry.



CAPTAIN W. SANDAY, M.C.  
Led over thirty-five patrols in gallant fashion and destroyed at least four enemy machines.



CAPTAIN W. BELLEW, M.C.  
On three occasions attacked numbers of Fokkers and other enemy machines and destroyed several.



CAPT. M. McB. BELL-IRVING, D.S.O., M.C.  
Wounded on air-photographic work. Awarded M.C. July, 1916.



new terror into the German troops, the enemy's apprehension centred upon the British and French contact patrols. Hundreds of letters taken from dead, wounded, or captured Germans spoke in bitter tones of the apparent cowardice of their own airmen, and of the terrifying swoops by allied contact squadrons using bombs and machine-guns. The crack battalion of one of the Prussian Guard Divisions at last broke and fled, and allowed Bouchavesnes to be taken by the Zouaves, owing to the fact that both officers and men were demoralised by machine-gun fire from French aeroplanes.

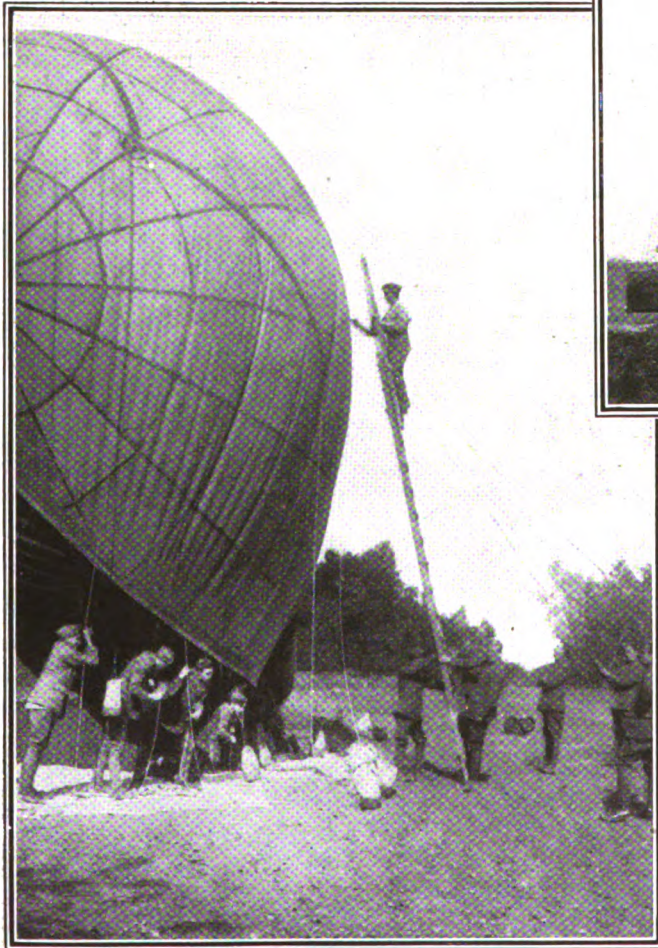
"The Englishmen come so low you have to take care the propeller does not hit your head," said a German soldier writing home. "We cannot move by day, as they see us and fire upon us with machine-guns. Perhaps one

**Airman captures an enemy trench**

of these days they will come and haul us out of the trenches by the scruff of the neck." "Our airmen," wrote another German infantryman, "sit in the best restaurants plastered with medals, and grow fat, but, as for flying work, they never think of going near Mr. Englishman." One British airman at last practically fulfilled the prophecy of the German who said he expected to be taken from a trench by an airman by the scruff of his neck. When the British infantry was finally pushing beyond the great ridge, a contact patrol, operating in advance of his infantry, flew down on a German position, three hundred feet long, intending to sweep it with his machine-gun. But as he whirled above the parapet the German garrison waved to him with everything white they possessed. Thereupon he signalled to his own infantry, and they came up and organised the surrender. Having regard to all the circumstances, this

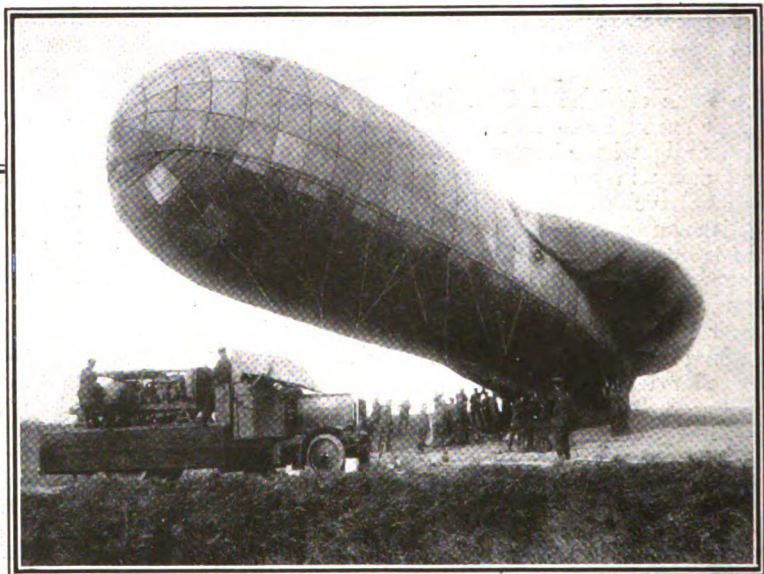
exploit may fairly be accounted the most remarkable incident in the war. Before it happened the Germans had begun to surrender to the new wheelless mobile British forts, but although this was a strange and picturesque incident, it was something that could be foreseen. But that the garrison of a long German trench should surrender without firing a shot to a British aeroplane, that could not operate along the ground or penetrate the hostile dug-outs, was extraordinary evidence of the condition of unthinking demoralisation into which the Germans had been hammered by aerial gun fire.

Captain A. M. Miller was in some ways the most distinguished of aerial gunners. He was known as a deadly troop-train bomber, and as a pilot who single-handed had attacked five German machines. But his exploit of singular quality was that carried out as contact patrol in the first action near High Wood in the middle of September, 1916. The reader will remember that Sir Henry Rawlinson felt the enemy near to breaking-point at the Bazentin, and abruptly flung out cavalry in advance of his infantry. The Dragoons and Deccan Horse charged forward, guided by Captain Miller. But this brilliant pilot espied a line of German machine-gunners in a field; they would have caught the British and Indian squadrons at a disadvantage. Captain Miller swooped and flew low along the front of the enemy gun positions, lashing them with his Lewis gun and drawing their fire. Then the cavalry charged home,



*[Canadian War Records.]*  
**MENDING PUNCTURES IN A BALLOON'S SKIN.**

Repairing a kite-balloon which was slightly damaged during a gusty day. The utmost care had to be taken to prevent the ladder on which the operator stood from coming in contact with the delicate envelope.



*[Canadian War Records.]*  
**STRAINING AT THE LEASH.**

Observation balloon about to ascend. The stern was held down by men of the Flying Corps, while the bow strained at the rope as it was gradually and carefully paid out from the motor.

and made a dashing success of the action at remarkably slight loss. Captain J. G. Swart and Captain H. E. F. Wyncoll were also fine contact patrols.

Captain K. R. Binning was distinguished by two contact patrol flights over the German trenches, in which, while his machine was repeatedly caught by machine-gun and rifle fire, he coolly noted the position of both German and British troops, and brought his artillery to act with decisive precision. Captain C. C. Miles also showed great dash and keenness of judgment in sweeping low over hostile positions, being at last badly wounded; and Sec.-Lieutenant F. E. S. Phillips, after much fine contact patrol work, carried on when his machine was damaged by hostile fire, discovered the development of a German counter-attack, and put the guns he directed so exactly on the gathering foes that they were broken before they could make their charge. Lieutenant R. Johnstone displayed remarkable initiative and courage, turning his artillery on to columns of German infantry, and fighting German gunners, in counter-battery duels, when low clouds and



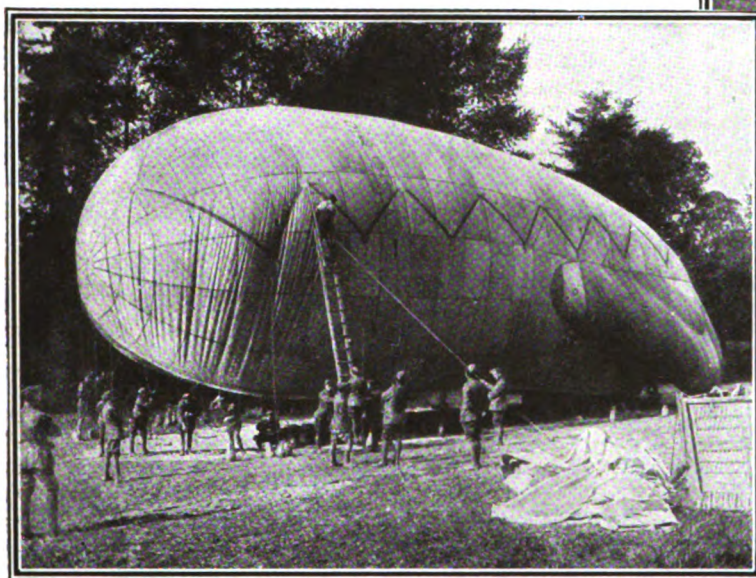
mist veiled his view and compelled him to circle close above the enemy, under heavy fire.

In the destruction of German observation balloons, which was a matter of high importance at the opening of the Somme offensive, the new Nieuport Scouts were very effective. They were fat, little slug-like things, presenting scarcely any target, as they combined terrific speed with perfect ease of manœuvre. Each pilot is said to have carried eight incendiary rockets, so fixed for firing that they could be loosened by pressing a button: simple tactics adopted at the time when the Germans were unsuspecting. The pilot climbed over the German lines at a height of about 8,000 feet, attracted the attention of "Archibald," the enemy anti-aircraft gun, dodged and outspeeded his gunners, and finally dived some 3,000 feet for the sausage-shaped balloon, the Army name of which was Rupert. As the balloon came in sight of the pilot the hostile mechanics on the ground, seeing that something dangerous was threatening, worked away at their winches to bring the balloon quickly and safely to earth. As the gasbag swayed from side to side the attacking machine almost reached it, and appeared about to make a ripping collision. But at the critical moment the pilot made a vertical "bank," causing his machine to veer away. As it veered he pressed the button, and eight fiery rockets shot out in fan formation upon the doomed gasbag. If but one rocket hit, a ribbon of flame appeared upon the balloon and spread into a great flash, giving the German



AN EASY AND A SAFE DESCENT.

A kite-balloon descending behind the Canadian lines. Two officers usually went up with the standard British balloon, one to attend to its management, the other to make observations.



GROUNDING FOR OVERHAULING AND REPAIRS.

Another view of the balloon which is shown on the opposite page undergoing repairs. The war balloons utilised by the British forces were usually made of goldbeater's skin, and were of comparatively small cubic capacity.

observing officers no time to seize a parachute and try a leap for safety. The huge envelope was destroyed with dreadful rapidity. Many officers of the Royal Flying Corps were sorry for opponents they killed in this way. But war is war, and it was not the Allies who first sent hundreds of men up in enormous gasbags to rain death down upon women, children, and peaceful men in the starlit gloom of moonless nights.

Long had it taken the inventive minds of France and Great Britain to arm the aeroplane and seaplane with a decisive instrument for attacking both stationary and dirigible balloons. Nearly twenty-three months of war passed before proper appliances were abundantly provided for pilots practised to use them. The small, quick, heavier machine definitely triumphed over the colossal and slower airship, upon which the Germans had for years built their hope of becoming lords of the earth. All that afterwards happened at night-time at Cuffley,

Potter's Bar, and elsewhere in England, was but the inevitable sequel to the rapid series of events occurring on either side the Somme River. The Zeppelin, the Schütte-Lanz, and the Parseval were clearly destined to go the way of the German kite-balloons that the Parseval firm had invented. All that remained to do, as the Nieuport firm had shown in Lieutenant Marshal's flight from France to Poland, was further to develop the engine power and petrol-carrying capacity of the flying machine. But the range of the Zeppelin enabled it to retain an important advantage in the work of naval reconnaissance in favourable weather.

Even in this respect the position of the Zeppelin was not secure against the genius of the British inventor. Indeed it was commonly foreseen that the production of a special type of seaplane-carrier, with a speed of forty knots, might result in the British Navy acquiring the air dominion of the North Sea. There was a time when German sailors gladly volunteered for Zeppelin work, but drew back when called upon to go down in submarines against the anti-submarine weapons of the British Fleet. Teutonic seamen, it is said, used to be enticed into submarine duty by the offer of subsequent Zeppelin work. But the wholesale destruction of German balloons on the Somme in the summer and autumn of 1916 was an event pregnant with menace to all Teutons used to floating in the air on bags of gas. The enemy had boasted that his chemists could compound a mixture of gases, light enough to keep a Zeppelin afloat at 10,000 feet or more, and yet incapable of being set on fire. This, however, was practically a

**Wholesale balloon  
destruction**





MUTUAL RESPECT AND COURTESY OF GALLANT MEN.

British airmen, outmanœuvring the German occupants of a monoplane, beat them down to earth. On landing, the victors approached the vanquished and saluted and shook hands with them with genuine respect.

scientific impossibility. Gases of a non-combustible nature were too heavy to lift a bag and a great mass of metal high in the air. It was the principle of the lighter-than-air dirigible that was smitten by fire above the Somme, leaving the field of aerial warfare entirely open to the accelerated development of the flying machine invented by the Wright Brothers—scions of the race that built the steam-engine and the locomotive, discovered the electrical dynamo, and constructed the telegraph, the powerloom, the machine-tool, the steamship, and the turbine. Nearly every instrument of high power in modern civilisation that the Anglo-Celt had not invented was mainly contributed to the common stock of mankind by the Frenchman and the Italian. The Teuton was able to improve, in a commercially successful way, the inventions of other

#### German new-type machines

as Count Zeppelin improved upon the airship of Santos Dumont. But he was not equal in originating energy of mind to the peoples of Western and Southern Europe arrayed against him. Such, at least, seemed to be the heartening lesson of the aerial campaign on the Somme.

All that the fighting pilots of the British Empire and the French Republic needed was material equal to the production of the enemy. The German seemed at the time to rely almost entirely upon the thorough organising talent of his race. He laid his plans far in advance, and laboriously increased the horse-power of his machines by known and sound methods. After creating the 200 h.p. Fokker he went on to develop two new types, afterwards famous as the Albatros-Spad, and the Halberstadt. The Halberstadt Works were of British origin, having been founded before the war by Sir George White, of the Bristol

Works, at a time when private British aeroplane-makers received little encouragement from the War Office and the Royal Aircraft Factory, and had to extend into Germany in order to keep their men and plant going. This was the reason why the old Bristol "Bullet," which did good work on the British side in the early campaigns, became the foundation of some of the best machines made by the Halberstadt Works.

In their latest machine the Halberstadt makers were reported to have taken the Morane as a model, and used a Benz engine of great power. The new Spad, made by the Albatros firm, was another imitation of a French model. The original Spad came from the Société Pour les Appareils Deperdussin, and the initials of the firm formed the name of the machine. The Germans, as usual, employed a very powerful engine, and produced an aeroplane with remarkable climbing power and a speed of one hundred and twenty miles an hour.

#### Getting above the Fokkers

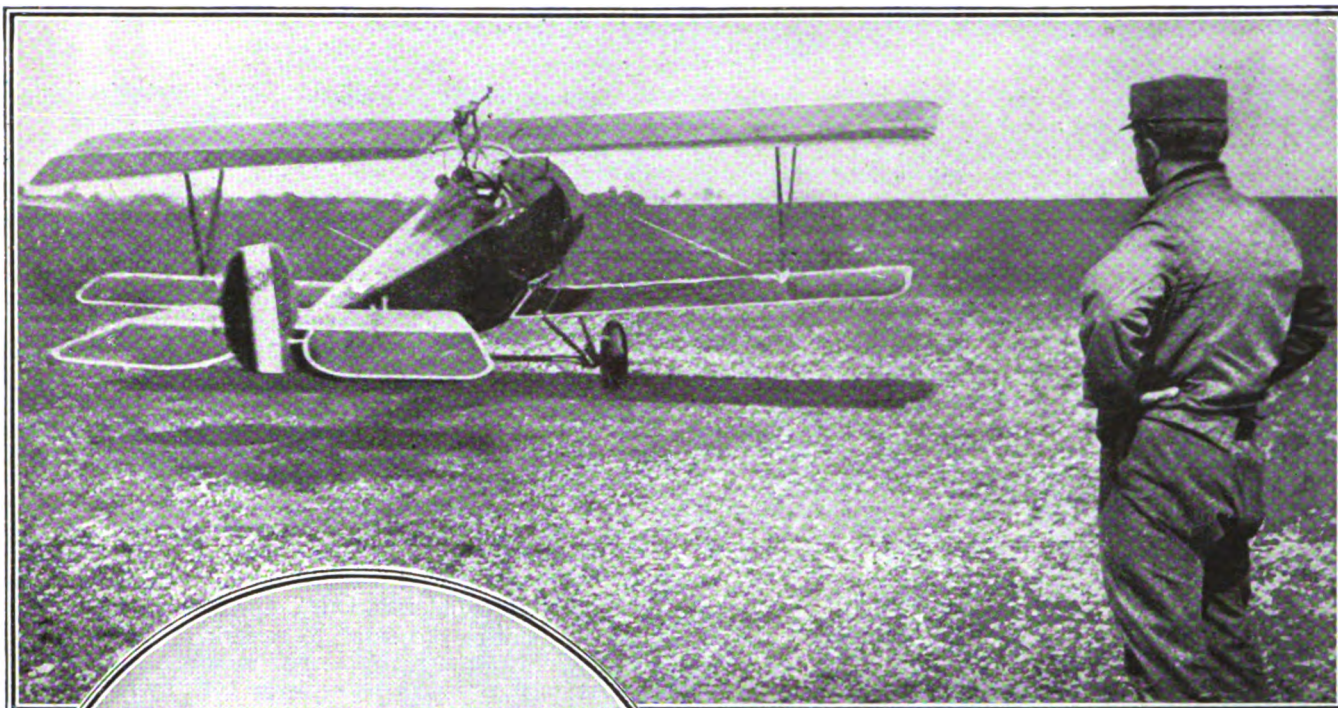
In the autumn of 1915, when the Fokker crisis arose, the British pilots often operated scarcely higher than 8,000 feet, mainly in obsolescent machines of the Royal Aircraft Factory design. In their new Fokkers, with engines of 200 h.p., Immelmann, Boelcke, Wintgen, and other German pilots, used to wait at an altitude of 12,000 feet and dive down on the B.E. machines. In the end Immelmann was killed, largely by his machine being excelled by a British private production—the new Martinsyde—while another British private production—the De Havilland fighter—cleared the sky of Fokkers to a considerable extent before the Royal Aircraft Factory brought out its new fighting machine, an improved F.E. with a Rolls-Royce engine.

From the end of March to the middle of October, 1916, the new British machines enabled the officers of the Royal Flying Corps to meet the enemy on terms of equality in equipment. The result was the greatest allied victory since the Battle of the Marne. German gunners and German Staffs were reduced to a condition of purblindness. On some sectors their power of vision only extended a few hundred yards beyond their fire-trenches, while the aerial eyes of the British and French Armies ranged hundreds of miles over the scenes of German activities. By two of the new Sopwith aeroplanes the Krupp Works at Essen were at last bombarded. The feat was accomplished by two French airmen, Captain de Beauchamp and Lieutenant Daucourt, on September 22nd, 1916. The Sopwith enabled them to make a flight of 500 miles with a cargo of bombs. On November 17th Captain de Beauchamp took another cargo of bombs in his Sopwith biplane, passed over Friedrichshafen (one of the centres of Zeppelin construction), turned northwards to Munich, and bombed the Bavarian capital, then veered southwards, crossed the Alps, and landed in Italy. And the machine that did this was ready for use at Kingston-on-Thames in either May or June, 1915—nearly six months before the new Fokker appeared.

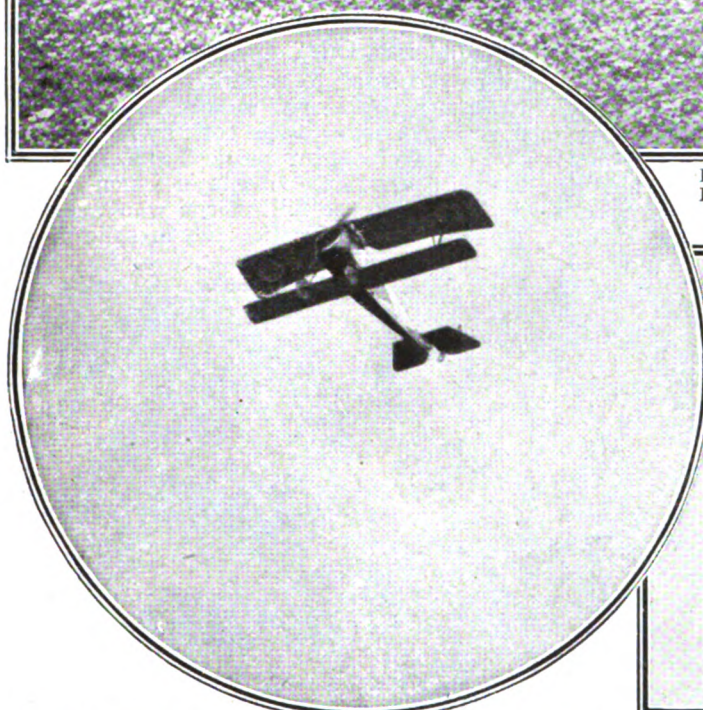
When the Fokker was at last beaten, the Royal Aircraft Factory, with Colonel Mervyn O'Gorman as superintendent and Sir David Henderson as military chief, does not seem to have prepared alertly against the arrival of enemy machines of greater capacity. In the first week of October, 1916, the new Halberstadt, with a 240 h.p. engine, and the German Spad, of similar power, soared above the British fighting planes. Possessing terrific speed and extraordinary power of climb, the Halberstadt and the Spad enabled the new school of German pilots to excel the records of operating altitude of Immelmann, Boelcke, and Wintgen. At the amazing working height of 20,000 feet sometimes reduced to 17,000 feet, the German officers were able to swoop upon all British battle-planes that could not cruise at more than 12,000 or 15,000 feet.

Casualty lists began to show that the Royal Flying Corps was again losing heavily. Sir Douglas Haig, in his





Lieut. Nungesser starting off in pursuit of enemy aeroplanes. He and Lieut. Guynemer won an international reputation surpassing that of Immelmann and Böelcke, both of whom they survived.



Two photographs of Lieut. Guynemer flying in France. This intrepid flying man headed the list of successful French airmen up to the end of January, 1917, having thirty victims to his credit and a record for "braces" exceeding that achieved by Böelcke.



Lieut. Nungesser photographed on his return from the flight in which he brought down his twelfth victim. By the end of November, 1916, he had raised his "score" to eighteen, being second to Guynemer, and followed by Adjutant Dorme with sixteen.

LIEUTENANTS GUYNEMER AND NUNGESSER, THE CHAMPION FIGHTING AIRMEN OF FRANCE.



communiqués, admitted day after day serious losses in machines; and war correspondents at the front, some of whom had never seen for months a German aeroplane over the British lines, observed that the enemy was becoming more venturesome. Then, in his historic despatch,

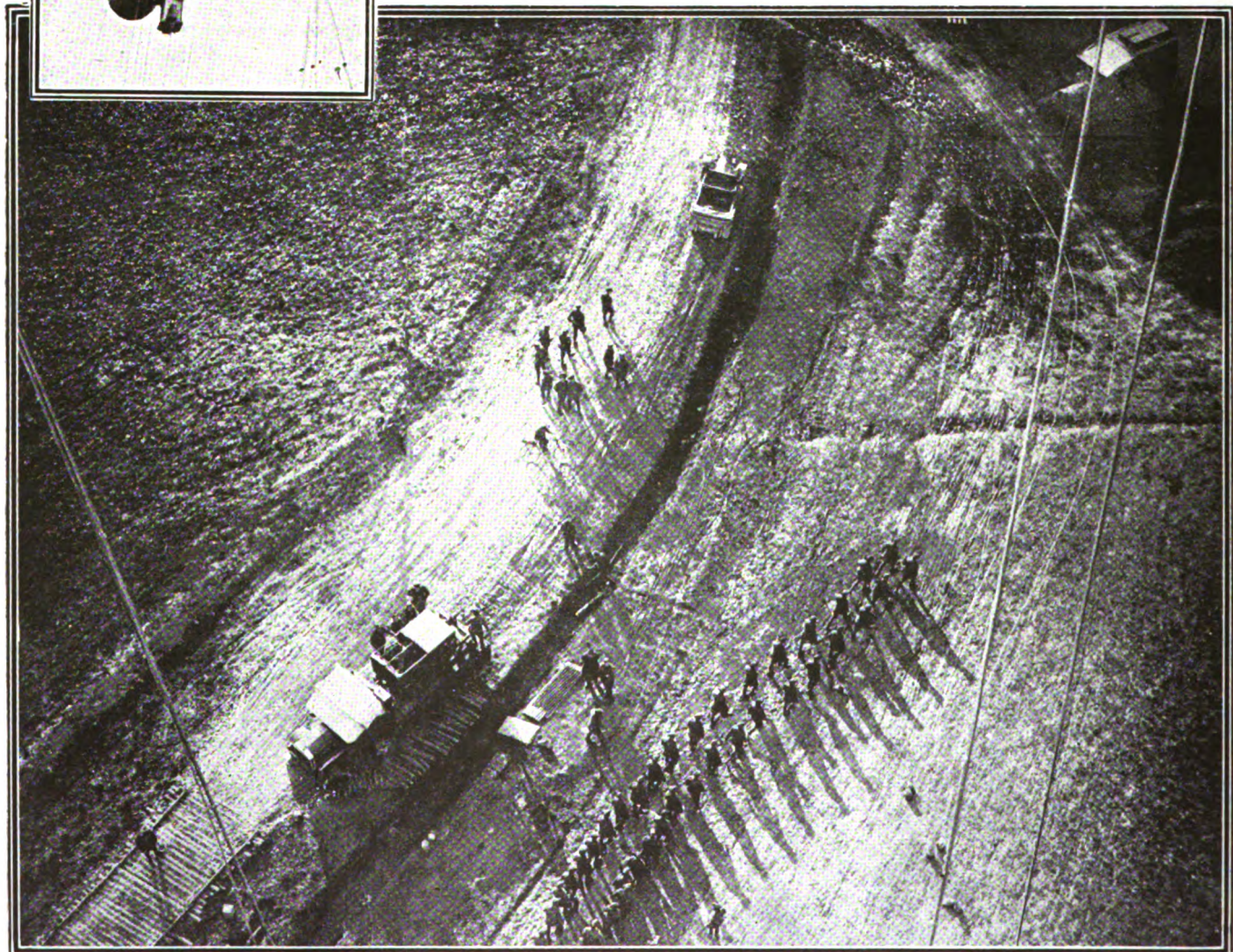
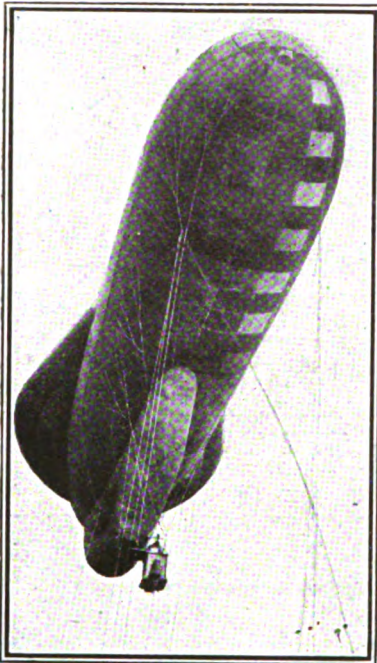
written in the last week of December, 1916, the British Commander-in-Chief pointedly remarked: "I desire to point out that the maintenance of the mastery of the air, which is essential, entails a constant and most liberal supply of the most up-to-date machines, without which the most skilful pilots cannot succeed."

Long before these words of warning from the highest authority were published, efforts were made to reform

British aeroplane construction. At the beginning of August, 1916, an investigating committee—composed of a business man, Sir Richard Burbidge, a great inventor, Sir Charles A. Parsons, and Sir H. F. W. Donaldson, of Woolwich Arsenal—reported on the condition of affairs at the Royal Aircraft Factory at Farnborough. It was found that the 3,000 hands in the factory had produced since the war began only fifty ordinary machines and small quantities of spare parts to very numerous orders. Bad organisation was shown in sending out to private firms engaged in making Government machines drawings of an incorrect kind. In addition to these gross mistakes, firms engaged in making machines to the designs of the Royal Aircraft Factory had often to submit to numerous alterations in the design made after the issue of manufacturing drawings. The combination of absolute errors and continual changes in drawings issued to the trade was regarded by the committee as being the reason for "a considerable amount of criticism passed on the Royal Aircraft administration."

#### Reform of Royal Aircraft Factory

The committee proceeded to remark that the factory efficiency in experimental work and in finished productions could be increased, on existing wages cost, by reorganising the works and managing them on a businesslike and engineering basis. Several departments of a non-productive nature were found to be full of men who were not doing their proper amount of work, and, in spite of the



AERIAL OBSERVER AND THE SCENE ABOVE WHICH HE FLOATED.

[Canadian War Records.]

When observation or kite balloons had ascended, the crews on whom fell the duty of looking after them were duly marched back to their stations. A Canadian observer took the notable photograph of the scene from which

he had just risen. Above: The balloon seen from below, with the observer in the small car, from which he was able to see far across the enemy lines. Aeroplanes served as effective guardians of the tethered balloons.



ample financial resources of the factory, production had been delayed owing to want of a large stock of material. Labour-saving devices were not employed in a scientific way, although the Royal Aircraft Factory was connected with the National Physical Laboratory, and presumed to be royally equipped with all that scientific genius could devise. The success of the Fokker pilots was attributed to "some lack of foresight—whether on the part of the Royal Aircraft Factory or the War Office is not clear—as to the size of the engines required to meet war conditions." In conclusion, a plan of thorough reorganisation was proposed.

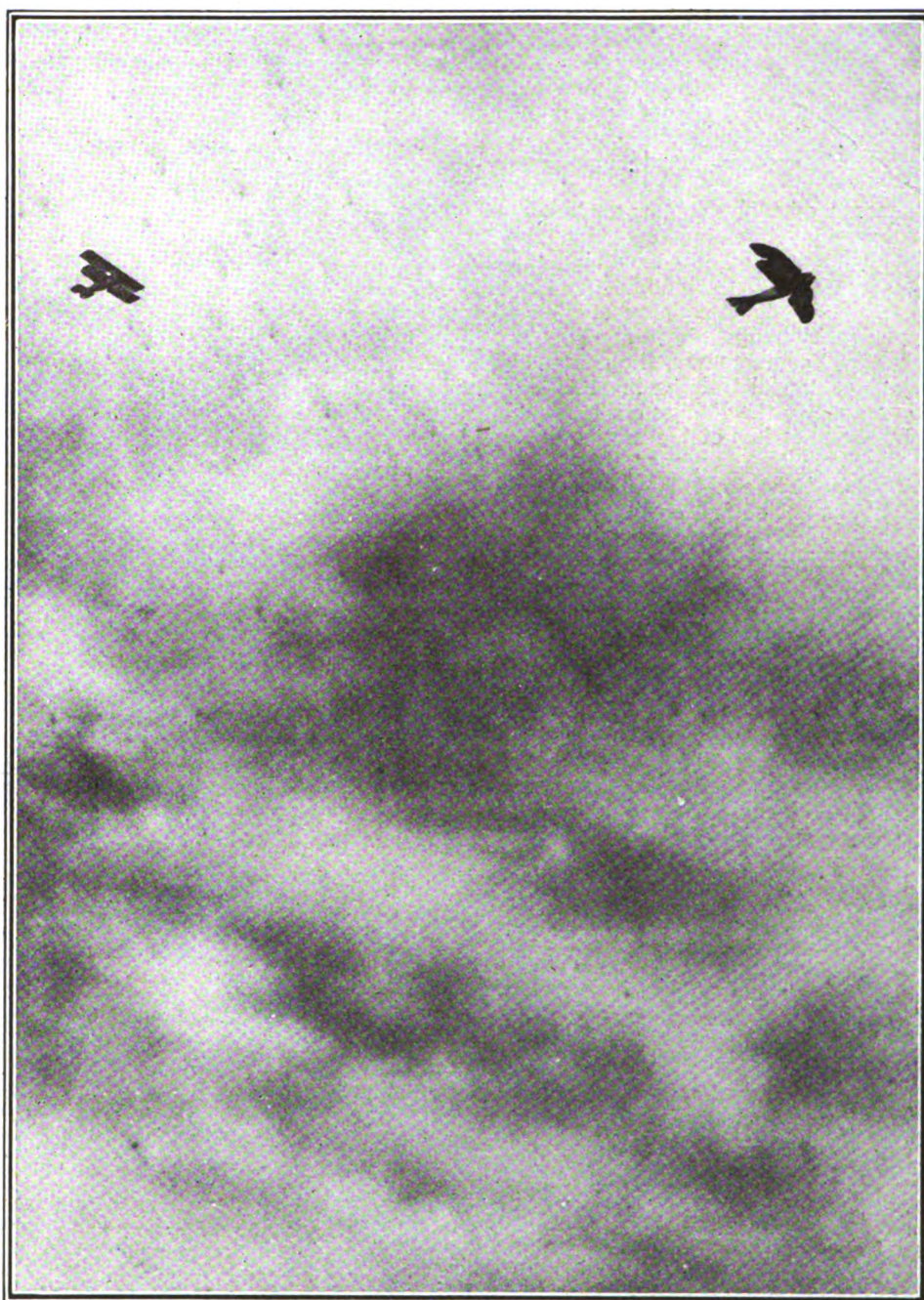
This plan was carried out, and in September, 1916, a new superintendent was appointed in the person of the chief engineer of the Midland Railway, Mr. Henry Fowler. Closer and more friendly relations were instituted between the Royal Aircraft Factory and the many inventive minds in private British aeroplane works and aero-motor works. The 200 h.p. R.A.F. engine, designed under the old régime, was severely criticised in the House of Commons, and alleged to be, in the opinion of a leading engineering firm engaged to manufacture it, impracticable.

About the time when the Burbidge Committee began investigating the organisation and production of the Royal Aircraft Factory, another committee was appointed, with Mr. Justice Bailhache as chairman, to report on the administration of the Royal Flying Corps. The final report of this committee was issued on December 20th, 1916, a few days before Sir Douglas Haig stated in his despatch that better machines were still needed. The Bailhache Committee found that the military authorities had on occasions greatly delayed to order available high-powered engines.

For example, there was twelve months' delay in supplying the Royal Flying Corps with machines fitted with the 110 h.p. Le Rhône. On the other hand, a high-powered engine, designed by the Royal Aircraft Factory, and offered for construction to the Rolls-Royce Company and refused by them, was ordered in large quantities by drawings from other private firms before the engine had been proved. The Rolls-Royce Company went on with their own 250 h.p. aero-motor, which proved successful. But the committee found that Sir David Henderson relied on the unproved R.A.F. engine because it was of R.A.F. design.

In the opinion of the committee, the position of Sir David Henderson was an impossible one so long as he remained responsible both for the Royal Flying Corps as a fighting force and its equipment and for the Royal Aircraft Factory. It was said that the feelings of the

private manufacturers against the Royal Aircraft Factory were strong and bitter, but as most of the leading manufacturers seemed afraid of losing Government work if they came forward as witnesses, little evidence of charges against Royal Aircraft Factory officials was obtained. Yet the committee considered that the feeling of the private manufacturers that their designs did not receive fair treatment and their finished products fair tests, in comparison with those of the R.A.F., could not be removed under the existing conditions. The lack of judgment of some of the subordinate officials had been deplorable, and private manufacturers who came in contact with them had, so Sir David Henderson himself admitted, genuine cause of complaint. The lack of tact might have been answerable, in the Committee's opinion, for much of the dissatisfaction which the trade was alleged to feel. But the most important sentence of the Committee was that "the later productions of the Royal Aircraft Factory are not, on the



FRENCH BIPLANE IN PURSUIT OF FLYING ENEMY MACHINE.

Flying at a lower altitude, a French photographic airman succeeded in getting this fine camera record of a stern chase far above him, where a compatriot was in pursuit of a German A.E.G. biplane. The photograph well illustrates contrasting types of aeroplanes.



whole, so good as some of the machines now produced by some of the private manufacturers."

In regard to the fighting organisation of the Royal Flying Corps the committee found some serious deficiencies. The war had been proceeding for over a year before an aerodrome was fitted up for aerial musketry. No school for air fighting was constructed until September, 1915, and the small one then set up at Hythe was insufficient. No reason was given to the committee why the school

**Fighting organisation of the R.F.C.** There were many cases of pilots having to fight in the air without a sufficient knowledge of their weapons. Moreover, the frequency with which machine-guns jammed in the early aerial combats was, the committee suggested, a sign of lack of careful training in aerial musketry.

In regard to the Fokker crisis, the Bailhache Committee found that the loss of the mastery of the air for some six months from October, 1915, to March, 1916, was due to the fact that the old Royal Aircraft wholesale product B.E.2c was not so fast or so handy as the Fokker. There

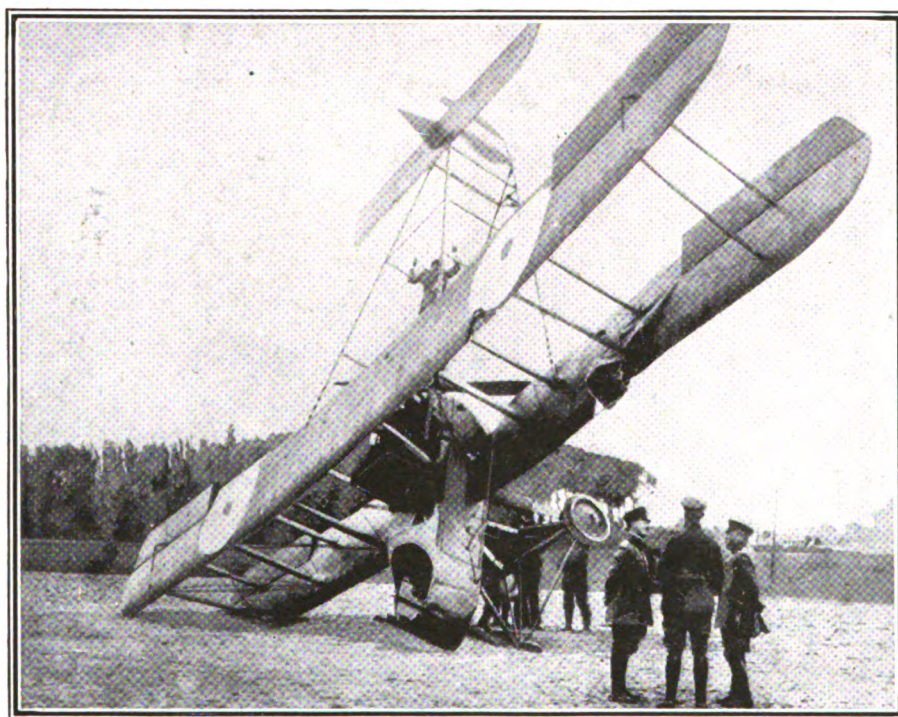
Henderson and his subordinates had not shown any lack of foresight, according to the judgment of the Bailhache Committee, the position of things at the front after nearly thirty months of war was such as to make Sir Douglas Haig patently anxious. Meanwhile, a new source of trouble arose in a quarrel over common sources of equipment between the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Naval Air Service. Mr. A. J. Balfour, as First Lord of the Admiralty, was apparently in a strong position. His technical advisers in aerial affairs had relied upon private British makers long before the opening of the war, and had given orders that saved some of the best of them from bankruptcy at a time when the Royal Aircraft Factory seemed to discourage private enterprise. Owing to the difference between the deplorable ways of some military officials and the kindly, helpful courtesy of naval officials, the Navy obtained in advance equipment that the Army afterwards found it wanted. The quarrel shook the foundations of the new Air Board, which had been formed in May, 1916, as a breakwater against the strong current of agitated popular feeling in the matter of the Air Services.

A capable man, Lord Curzon, was appointed chairman of the Board, but he was unable to impose agreement upon the representatives of the Naval and Military Wings.

The fall of the last Asquith Cabinet and the creation of the great new War Ministry under Mr. Lloyd George called Lord Curzon away from the Air Board, much, no doubt, to his relief. He was succeeded as chairman by Lord Sydenham, a man of great experience in military material. But the abrupt resignation of Lord Sydenham, on December 30th, 1916, indicated that the tension in the Air Board had been increased rather than diminished by the publication of Sir Douglas Haig's request for better machines in larger numbers. Thereupon, the new War Ministry made a determined effort at a thorough and reorganising development of the Air Board into a great Air Ministry. The most successful of British engineers, Lord Cowdray, was made Air Minister, and given the Hotel Cecil as his office. Admiral Vaughan-Lee, the Chief of the Naval Air Service, was succeeded by one of the most expert of flyers, Commodore G. M. Paine, for whom a remarkable new position was created as Air Lord of the Admiralty.

This innovation was made under the new régime of Admiral Jellicoe, who had learnt from experience how important a part aircraft played in naval actions and patrol work. Lieutenant-General Sir David Henderson remained Director-General of Aeronautics, and occupied on the Army Council a position similar to that which Commodore Paine filled on the Board of Admiralty. The Ministry of Munitions took over the control of the production of aircraft for both Services, in order to put an end to the competition between the Navy and Army. Mr. Percy Martin, managing director of the Birmingham Small Arms Company, and Mr. William Weir, a well-known pump-maker of Glasgow, were appointed as representatives of the Ministry of Munitions on the new Air Board.

The idea of the new scheme appeared to be that the Air Board should design machines and that the Ministry of Munitions should make them. Strong objections were raised against this scheme, and how it would work remained to be seen. The chief requisite in organisation was to keep the leading designers in close touch with the fighting



BIPLANE THAT NOSE-DIVED BEHIND THE ENEMY LINES.

German photograph, said to be of a British biplane that descended near Lille. The fight for air supremacy was marked by occasional notification that a machine had fallen behind the enemy lines, or had "failed to return." This photograph records one such episode.

were some machines at the front capable of dealing with the Fokker on equal terms, but they were not available in sufficient numbers. Which, being interpreted, means that they were machines of private design, the makers of which had not been favoured with large orders. In conclusion, the committee recommended that the position which Sir David Henderson occupied should be split up into a fighting command and an equipment directorship. A single equipment department should supply both the Army and Navy Flying Services. The continued existence of the Royal Aircraft Factory was recommended, not as a manufacturing establishment, but as a research and experiment centre and drawing office, the full time of the hands being occupied, when not needed on experimental work, in the making of spare parts and repairs.

All this investigation and advice, with the consequent reorganisation of the War Office works and an establishment of an efficient Air Ministry, came too late in the year. The Spad and the Halberstadt, with their climb of 20,000 feet, were first in the air. And although Sir David





*On the battlefield: French soldier carrying in his wounded officer under fire.*





Regimental stretcher-bearers bringing in a casualty from the battlefield.



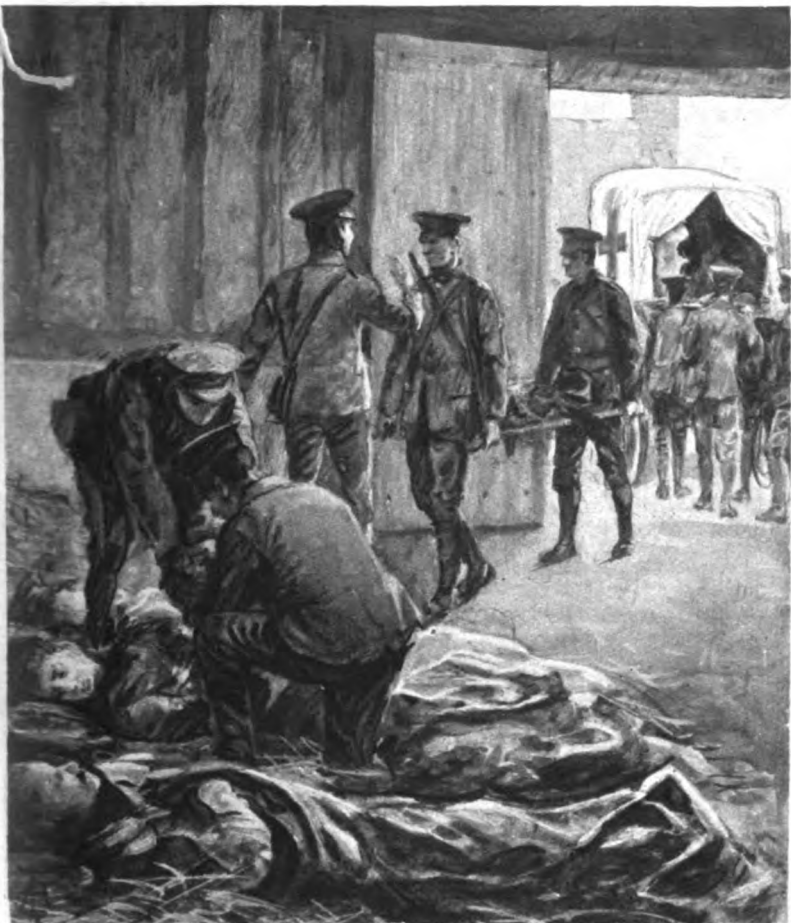
R.A.M.C. men attending to the wounded at a dressing-station.

*How the wounded were brought home. Stations of the Red Cross*



*With the R.A.M.C.: Evacuating a dressing-station under heavy shell fire.*





Casualties arriving at a clearing hospital for operation and full attention.



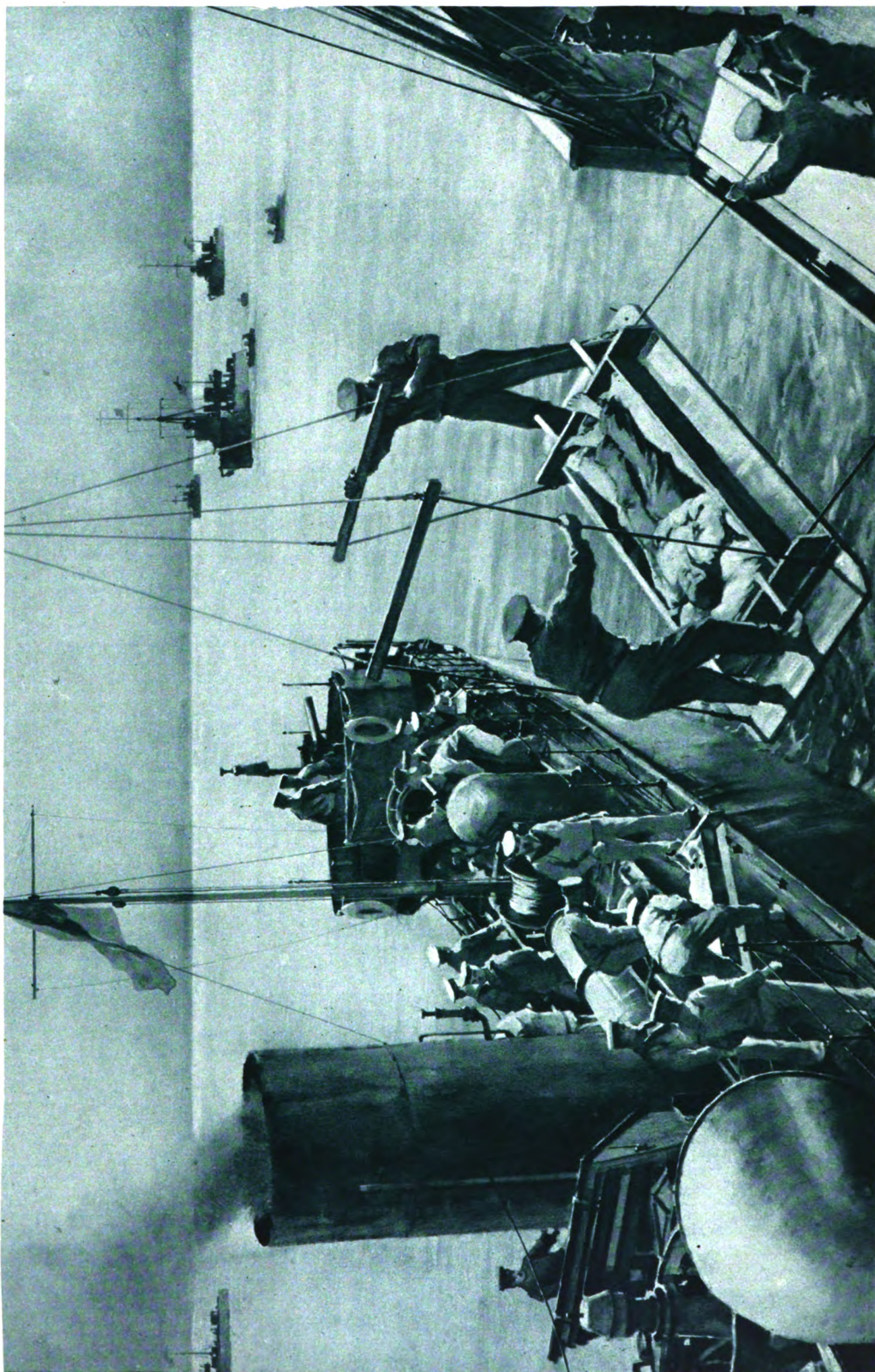
Placing the wounded in a hospital train for transport to a base hospital.

*From battlefield to dressing-station, clearing hospital, and base hospital.*



*Ladies of France nursing wounded in the salon of a great mansion.*





*From war vessel to hospital ship: Transshipment of sick and wounded at sea.*



forces, so that constant foresight in the development of machines and engines might govern the productive work of the munition factories.

The Spad and Halberstadt crisis of the autumn and early winter of 1916 was not so serious as the Fokker crisis of the previous year; for, mainly as the direct result of public agitation, the inventive and organising genius of Great Britain was aroused to progressive activity. Accidents, however, continued to happen in extraordinary sequence. The first De Havilland fighter, answering the

### Three untoward incidents

Fokker, was shot down by the enemy in the spring of 1916, the day after it arrived at the front. Then the first new Government machine, with the first 250 h.p. Rolls-Royce engine, was landed in the enemy territory. And on January 3rd, 1917, the first British machine of superior power to the Spad and Halberstadt was likewise given to the Germans. It was a Handley-Page "super-aeroplane," with two Rolls-Royce engines, giving together 500 h.p., and the R.N.A.S. pilot lost his way in the mist and landed within the enemy's lines.

The loss of the Handley Page warned the enemy of what he would soon have to encounter, and showed that the Admiralty, like the War Office, was wrong in sending single examples of new types to operate in an experimental way on the front, instead of reserving each machine for trial flights at home until a large formation could be sprung with surprise effect upon the foe. Nevertheless, this last untoward incident, like the first, was indicative of the rapidly developing power of British aircraft. Engine power had not directly increased between May, 1916, and January, 1917, but British aeroplane design, as the lost Handley-Page machine proved, was progressing in a masterly manner.

On the naval side of aerial warfare, during the period under review, there were some stirring incidents, considerable progressive work under difficulties, and some dull, stagnant conditions. The Royal Naval Air Service seemed to lack something—something the Royal Flying Corps possessed. No doubt incessant fighting on a large and ever-increasing scale made for efficiency in the Military Wing. Naval patrols in small airships and seaplanes had constant and arduous work, watching coastwise and channel traffic, in searching for and hunting submarines, and occasionally pursuing a Zeppelin. The Naval Wing in Flanders, attached to the Dover Patrol, was a splendid school of diverse experience. Its officers spotted for the British bombarding squadron, during attacks on the enemy batteries along the Belgian coast; they attacked and destroyed hostile submarines, Zeppelins, and Zeppelin sheds; kept under regular observation all enemy movements in Western Flanders, in co-operation with the Belgian Air Service, and made numerous bombing raids. Excellent work was also done by the Thames Patrol, and various coast patrols had a history of exciting achievements in the anti-submarine campaign. One naval aeroplane, for example, is reported to have swooped on a U boat and driven it on a mud-bank, where it was afterwards captured by a patrol ship.

Owing, however, to want of high-powered engines and machines of superior petrol and bomb carrying power, the

Naval Wing failed to develop its early plan of raiding enemy home bases. No raids of naval importance were made after the futile expedition to Zeppelin centres in Schleswig-Holstein on March 25th, 1915. Apparently the policy of Mr. Arthur Balfour and Admiral Jackson differed in the matter of naval air development from that of Mr. Winston Churchill, Prince Louis of Battenberg, and Lord Fisher. Not until Sir John Jellicoe became First Sea Lord was there any definite evidence that the problem of winning the command of the air over the North Sea was being solved energetically by the Board of Admiralty.

Meanwhile, a certain aerial activity was maintained in the Eastern Mediterranean, by means of obsolete, slow seaplane-carriers and machines of inadequate capacity and engine power. On April 14th, 1916, Constantinople was bombed by three naval pilots, who made a round journey of three hundred miles, and another naval pilot raided Adrianople and attacked the enemy's vital railway communications between Germany and Turkey. Had the machines been powerfully engined and capable of carrying each two hundredweights of bombs, this operation against the Berlin-Bagdad line would have been well worth continuing with great energy, in aid of the Russians on the



BRINGING ORDER AND BEAUTY INTO WILDERNESS AND WASTE.

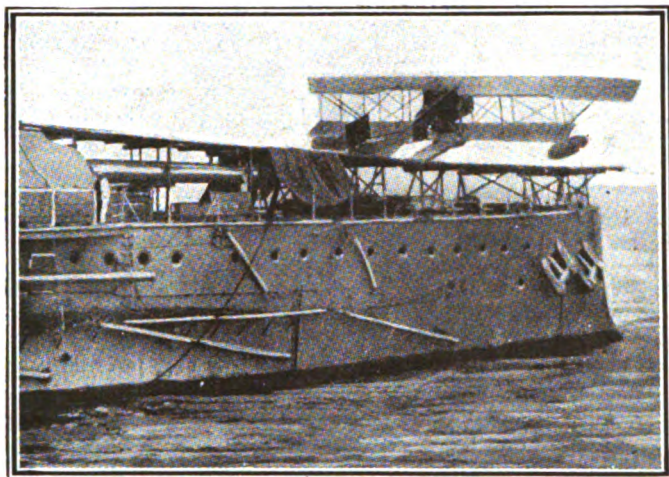
Anti-aircraft guns were stationed at several spots in London where improvements had not proceeded beyond demolition of houses formerly occupying the site. The men at one such station occupied their leisure in making a rock-garden from what was only a waste heap of rubble and broken masonry.

Erzerum front and the British on the Kut-el-Amara front. But after April nothing more was done in the matter for eight months. Only in December, 1916, was the enemy's vital link line again attacked by the Naval Wing, and a bridge below Adrianople, crossing the Maritza River, bombed so that one of the arches was destroyed. Clearly some wing-commander or squadron-commander in the Eastern Mediterranean saw how General Townshend and his division might have been saved, by impeding south of Adrianople the flow of German and Austrian munitions into Asiatic Turkey. But the material available on the spot was not of the highly developed quality needed for maintaining a heavy aerial bombardment on the Berlin-Bagdad line.

### Aircraft in the South-East

In the stand of General Townshend's division at Kut-el-Amara, and in the efforts made to raise the siege by Sir Percy Lake and General Aylmer, pilots of the Royal Naval Air Service played a picturesque and romantic part.





SEAPLANE STARTING FROM ITS PARENT SHIP.

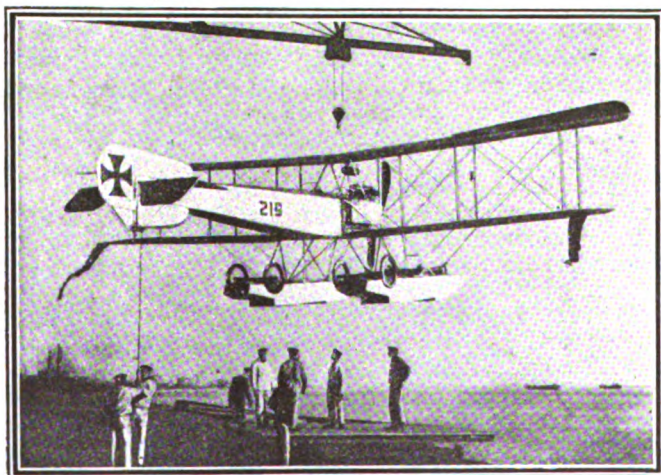
In the Battle of Jutland, Flight-Lieutenant Rutland proved the utility of seaplane work in naval fighting, he being enabled to send clear reports from a range of 3,000 yards.

Their machines, like those of the Royal Flying Corps pilots in Mesopotamia, were of an inferior type. Two German airmen on modern Fokkers inflicted considerable losses on the British flyers, whose machines lacked speed and climbing power. But despite these disadvantages, which were similar to those under which British aviators in France and Flanders laboured, the airmen in Mesopotamia made a gallant attempt to supply and feed the besieged garrison of Kut. Seaplanes rising from the Tigris and aeroplanes flying over the sand dropped fishing-nets, tools, and technical instruments into the Kut camp. Then, when the garrison began to run seriously short of food, the naval

#### Seaplanes in Palestine

and military pilots dropped, in the course of one hundred and seventy journeys, eight tons of flour, salt, tea, and other supplies into the hungry and encircled river fortress. In this operation the Fokkers only destroyed two British machines, though Sir Percy Lake remarked that the German machines were "of superior speed and fighting capacity." It was not until August, 1916, that British pilots on the Tigris obtained machines enabling them to cope with the Fokker airmen.

Months after Kut had fallen and the advance of the Russian Army of the Caucasus had been stayed, attempts were made by British naval airmen to damage the Turkish lines of communication in another direction. Between August 25th and 29th a series of attacks and reconnaissances upon enemy railways in Palestine was carried out by a seaplane squadron. But the machines

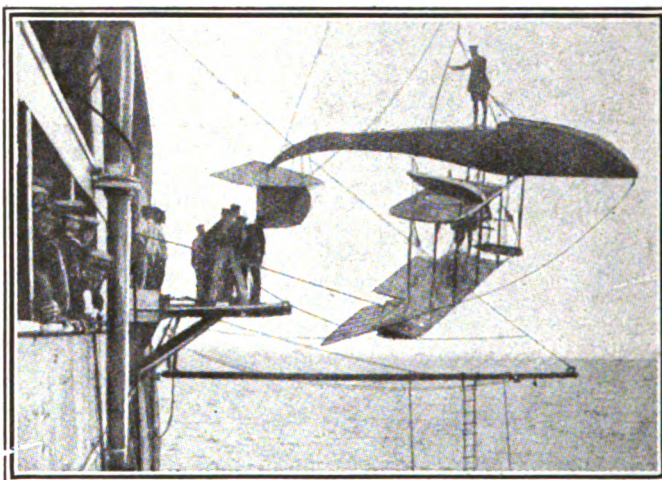


PREPARING A GERMAN SEAPLANE FOR FLIGHT.

During 1916, German seaplanes raided England on eleven occasions, once even penetrating as far as London. No damage of military importance was however effected by these raids.

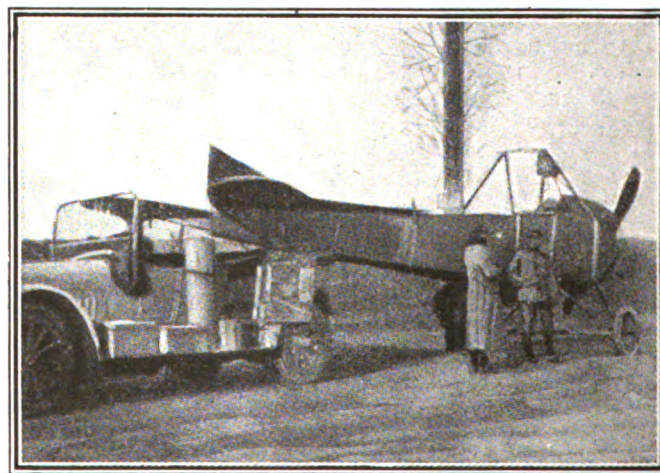
used had such small climbing power that the low Palestine mountains were found difficult to surmount. Nevertheless, damage was wrought on the track and rolling-stock of an important junction, and the railway-station at Homs, north of Damascus, was reached and bombarded. In the same month British naval aircraft assailed the Bulgar lines above Kavalla, broke down a railway bridge, smashed trucks and carriages, and set on fire the headquarters of the 10th Bulgar Division. Along the Seres-Drama line a dramatic situation was produced. The Bulgar troops were bombed out of their billets, and scattered in such panic that the camp was abandoned. All these expeditions, however, only worried the Turk, the Bulgar, and the Teuton transport officer. No decisive military effect was produced.

Farther reaching, though less spectacular, was the work performed in Eastern France by the Third Wing of the



SALVAGE OF A DAMAGED RUSSIAN SEAPLANE.

Comparatively little was heard of the Russian Air Service, but it was known nevertheless to have done good work. In August, 1916, Russian seaplanes bombarded Varna with considerable effect.



TRANSPORT OF AN AEROPLANE IN FLANDERS.

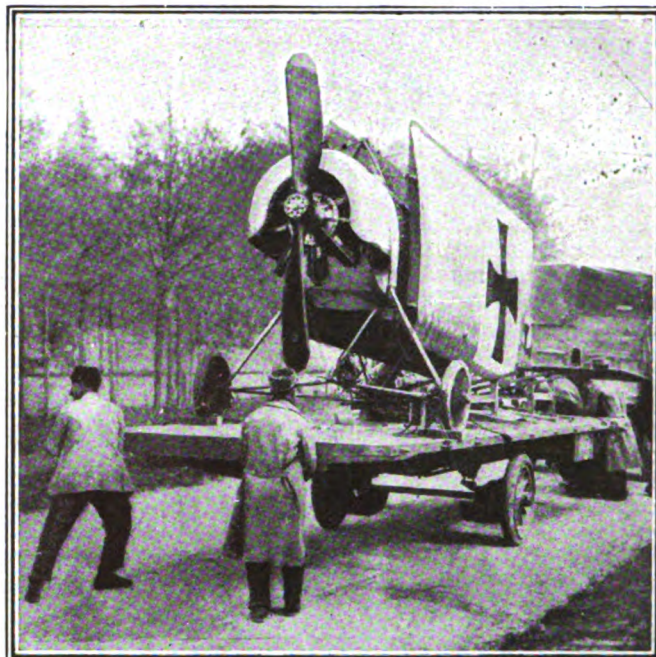
Aircraft was not overlooked when the Belgian Army was reconstituted behind the lines in Flanders, and under Major van Crombrughe the Belgian Flying Corps became highly efficient.

R.N.A.S. This was the largest British naval aerial unit in existence, and in July, 1916, it was sent in answer to a request for assistance from the military authorities of France. The French commander had wisely determined to strike hard and persistently at the main source of all the enemy's strength—at the blast furnaces and steel-making works of Lorraine, from which much of the steel used by German naval and military forces was obtained. On July 30th a small force of naval planes co-operated with the French squadron in bombing the German benzine stores at Mülheim, on the Rhine. On August 10th the wing in Flanders sent five machines against a Zeppelin





**GERMAN FLYING MACHINES THAT PASSED UNINJURED INTO FRENCH POSSESSION**  
Aeroplane brought down intact by Sergeant Flachaire near the German lines. It was immediately covered with brushwood to hide it from the enemy's observers, who would have turned their artillery on to it, the



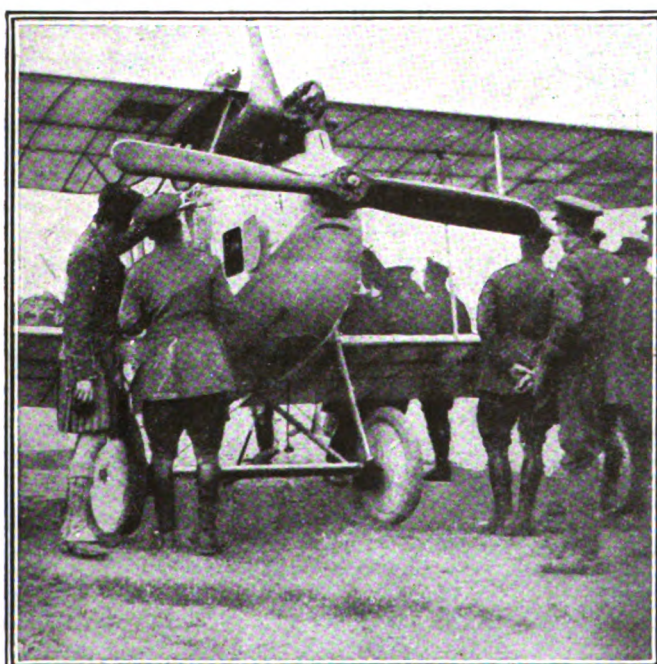
Germans having strict orders to destroy, if possible, all machines brought down uninjured. Right: A Fokker, brought down in the French lines, packed up for removal to the rear.

shed near Brussels, and at a height of only two hundred feet the shed was hit eight times and set on fire. The Flanders Wing was apparently still undermanned and undermachined for the raiding work it had been carrying out for nearly two years; for the day after the Brussels raid the Royal Flying Corps took up the task of long-distance raiding, and with sixty-eight machines reached Namur, Mons, and Busigny, as well as the Zeppelin sheds at Brussels.

Another little naval raid on Namur was at last followed, on October 13th, 1916, by more strenuous action by the Third Naval Wing in Eastern France. In co-operation with French and American airmen, the British pilots and bomb-droppers crossed the Rhine and ascended the Neckar to the town of Oberndorf, where the Mauser rifle factory was established. According to foreign report, the squadron

set out from the recovered part of Alsace, and after a flight of nearly one hundred miles loosed a hundred and thirty hundredweights of high-explosive bombs upon the Mauser Works. The great main building was considerably shattered and set on fire, the damage done being estimated at some hundreds of thousands of pounds. On the return journey the squadrons had to fight a series of hard battles, in which the Germans lost eight machines, the French five, and the British three.

In November, 1916, the Third Naval Wing, still co-operating with powerful French bombarding squadrons, made a series of important nocturnal raids on the blast furnaces and shell-making works in the Sarre area of Lorraine. In particular there was one foundry distinguished for producing special steel for German naval guns. When the British naval airmen finished their work of



**PROOFS OF THE SKILL AND INTREPIDITY OF THE ALLIED FL**  
British soldiers examining a German aeroplane captured, almost uninjured, in Artois; the officers were taken prisoner. Right: Many war trophies were placed on exhibition in the courtyard of the Hotel des Invalides in



Paris, with a view to stimulate achievements of the Army, which had been brought down



unloading a ton of high explosive, there were only two chimneys more or less intact in the great hostile establishment, and it was reckoned that months would elapse before steel could again be made in considerable quantity in that corner of the Sarre valley. The French, however, were at this time using upon the blast furnaces around Metz bombing machines that carried each one-sixth of a ton of high-explosive missiles, and though British naval pilots also did some notably good work, they do not appear to have been provided with planes of such capacity as the alert French authorities had obtained.

#### Ocean-going seaplanes

Yet the British Naval Wing at home, which absorbed seventy-five per cent. of the personnel of the flying section of the Navy, was then progressing in a remarkable manner in the development of its instruments. Along the British coast were patrol stations, commanded by officers of inventive mind. These officers had been working for a long time on the problem of the ocean-going seaplane—a machine capable of crossing the Atlantic, and therefore capable of long endurance in any combat with Zeppelins for mastery of the air over the North Sea and the Baltic. Towards the end of 1916 it was reported that the ocean-going British seaplane was in existence.

Undoubtedly this pregnant stir of research, experiment, and invention in the once despised and neglected Naval Air Service was accelerated if not directly produced, by the circumstances in which the Battle of Jutland Bank was fought in May, 1916.

The natural consequence of a disturbing succession of disasters to the enemy Zeppelin fleet in May, 1916, was that German airship pilots became a great deal more apprehensive of British naval gun fire.

The production of a super-Zeppelin of greater lifting power and speed was hastened at Leipzig and Friedrichshafen, in order to obtain an instrument of long-distance naval reconnaissance that would not be seriously endangered by the guns of British warships. Having in the meantime taught the enemy caution in his reconnoitring and patrolling flights over the critical theatre of naval operations, British admirals planned the great sweep to Jutland that

John Jellicoe and Sir David Beatty a day of clear weather but low was good enough for gunners but the roof of cloud came so Zeppelin attempting to re easy range of destruction ss of the clouds did not e instrument of aerial y was slowly developing. flights from a carrier-firmish in the afternoon itish and German light the Engadine sent up observer, and by bold se range of the fire of

four hostile light cruisers the pilot discovered the enemy's position and part of his strength, and by wireless message sent the information to the admiral commanding the Cruiser Fleet. Unfortunately, the British seaplanes and their carrier then seem to have disappeared from the front of the conflict. This event, which may have largely contributed to the indecisiveness of the later general engagement, was due to the fact that the authorities responsible for the construction of the seaplane-carriers lacked strategical foresight.

What was needed was a number of seaplane-carriers with a speed at least as high as that of the best British light cruiser and destroyer leader. The carriers should have been always in the van of the battle-cruisers and battleships, and they should have existed in such numbers as would have enabled one or more seaplanes to keep within sight of the enemy battle-cruiser squadron, and search for the enemy battleship divisions. The quality of machines available in Great Britain was adequate to this task, but there does not seem to have been a carrier-ship of modern type. All that the old, slow Engadine could do was to show what far-reaching possibilities of aerial

reconnaissance and guidance existed, and then to drop far behind destroyers, cruisers, battle-cruisers, and battleships—a straggler from the glorious battle-line.

There are grounds for supposing that the enemy admiral had half a dozen Zeppelins flung out over the North Sea, on reconnaissance work and on piloting duties for the German submarines that waited in ambush by Little Fisher Bank. But the thick blanket of cloud between sky and sea prevented the German airships from carrying out the highly important work for which they had always been designed.

The day thus closed, from the aerial point of view, with a slight undeveloped advantage on the British side. The heavier-than-air seaplane had proved its worth under conditions in which the lighter-than-air airship was discomfited. But in the following night and the following

morning the Zeppelin squadrons in turn proved their worth, and unlike the solitary British seaplane on a slow carrier-ship, developed their advantage in a manner that told upon the general course of the battle. While Admiral Scheer's hammered and scattered squadrons were endeavouring to find a path of safe return to port, and incurring heavy losses as they blindly ventured within the field of action of British destroyer flotillas, the Zeppelins discovered, soon after daybreak, the exact position of the British Grand Fleet and the British Cruiser Fleet. Guided by wireless messages from his aerial pilots, Scheer drew southward round the flank of the British line of battle, and reached the protection of his mined waters without any further attack from the battle squadrons of Great Britain. There can be little doubt that on June 1st, 1916, the possession of either Zeppelins or of ocean-going seaplanes in very fast carrier-ships would have enabled Sir John Jellicoe to accomplish practically the entire destruction of the enemy force. As it was, the enemy escaped, and the damage done to him, though severe, was so inconclusive that



LORD COWDRAY, THE FIRST AIR MINISTER.

When the Air Board was reorganised into a great Air Ministry at the beginning of 1917, Lord Cowdray, the most successful of British engineers, was appointed the first British Air Minister.

Zeppelins as  
"eyes"



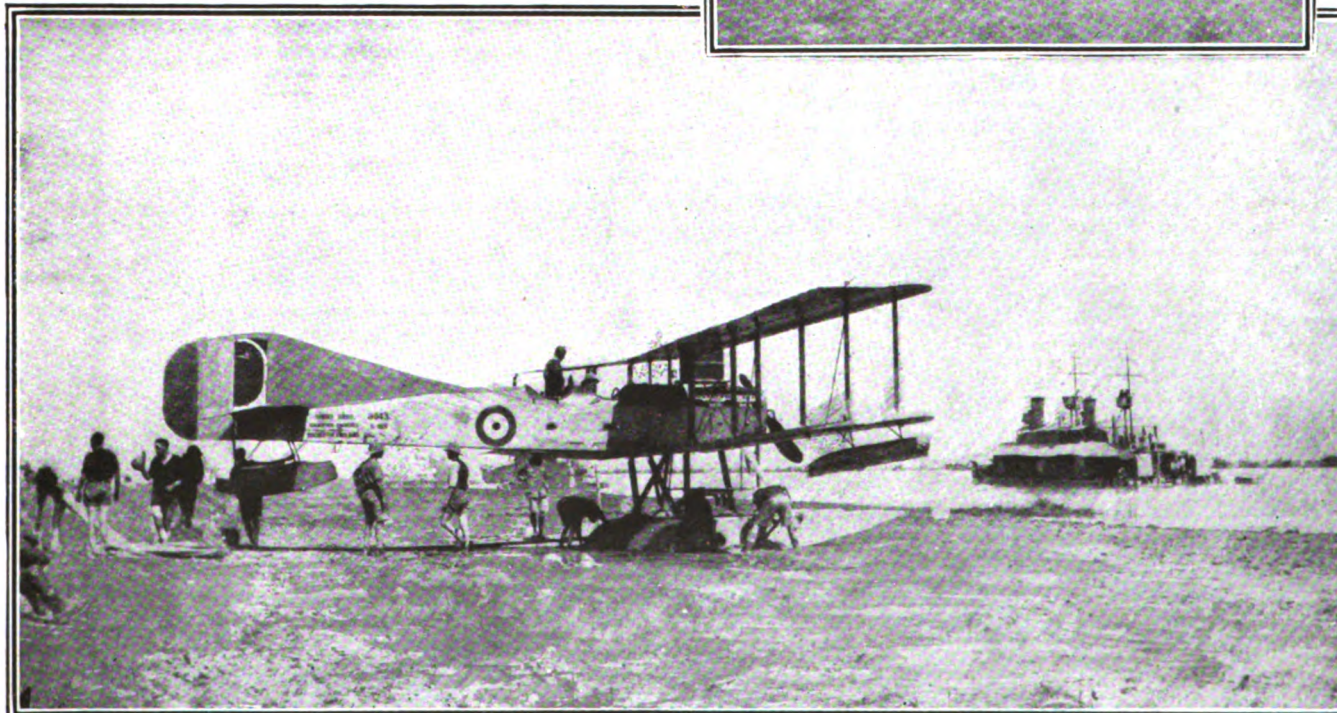
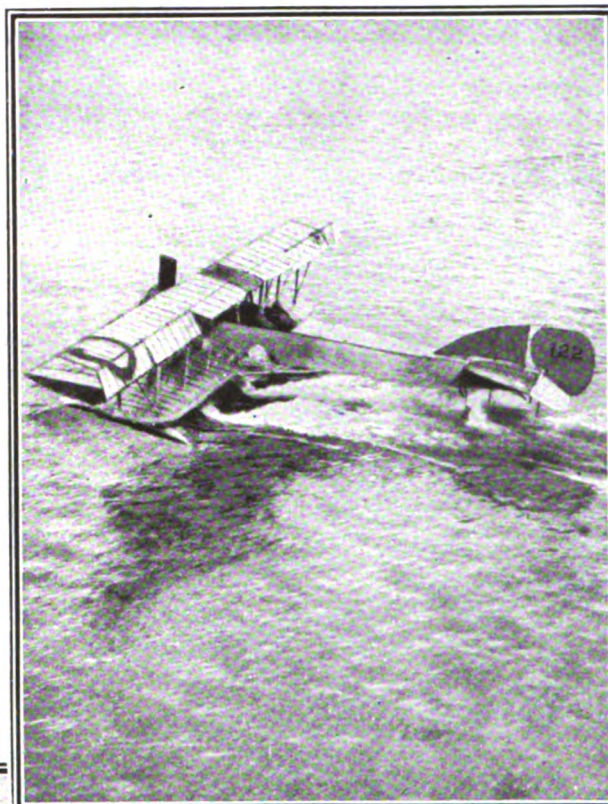
in about three months time he was ready for action again, and more adventurous than ever he had been. In clear weather, on August 19th, 1916, the German High Sea Fleet steamed towards the British shore. It was not a battle-cruiser raid, as on former occasions, but a fleet movement in force, directed apparently against the British Cruiser Fleet under Sir David Beatty. The design was to provoke Sir David to accept battle or allow the British coast to be insulted, before the British battle divisions under Sir John Jellicoe could again close upon the German battle divisions. The master instrument of this great manœuvre was a squadron of Zeppelins, disposed so as to command an immense field of vision over all the waters in which British forces could collect. The Zeppelins' pilots, just as the preliminary skirmish of light cruisers opened, were thus able to perceive the Grand Fleet approaching to co-operate with the Cruiser Fleet. Thereupon Admiral Scheer broke off the action and, with ample time for withdrawal, returned to his far-distant base.

**Ministry of Munitions intervenes** Twice had the naval airships of Germany saved the High Sea Fleet from destruction. It was patent, therefore,

that the British Fleet would also manœuvre at a continually serious disadvantage unless it obtained—and obtained quickly—instruments of long-distance aerial reconnaissance equal to those possessed by the enemy. Sir John Jellicoe moved strongly in the matter, and the urgency and scope of his aerial requirements formed possibly the reason of the great dispute over the sharing of available aero-motors and other material between the representatives of the Military and Naval Wings on the Air Board. The awakened Navy wanted everything it had ordered in advance or had any right to acquire, while the equally awakened Army, fighting for a grand decision on the Somme, instantly required everything within reach that the Royal Aircraft Factory had neglected to prepare for it in the winter of 1915.

The upshot of this rather stubborn struggle between the Air Services was not unhappy, though it led to the intervention of the Ministry of Munitions as umpire and universal provider to both wings. In January, 1917, after thirty months of war, Great Britain became fully roused to the supreme task of winning the permanent

command of the air over both land and sea. Her large engineering and manufacturing resources, her fund of designing genius, and her inexhaustible material resources, domestic and imported, were at last placed fully at the disposal of men capable of constructing super-Zeppelins and ocean-going seaplanes. The prospect was already full of promise when Sir John Jellicoe left the Grand Fleet in order to become First Sea Lord. And into his new task he threw himself with all the energy and lucidity of his vigorous mind. What development of the Naval Wing he promoted, with the help of his new Air Lord, Commodore Paine, will be discussed in a later chapter on aerial matters.

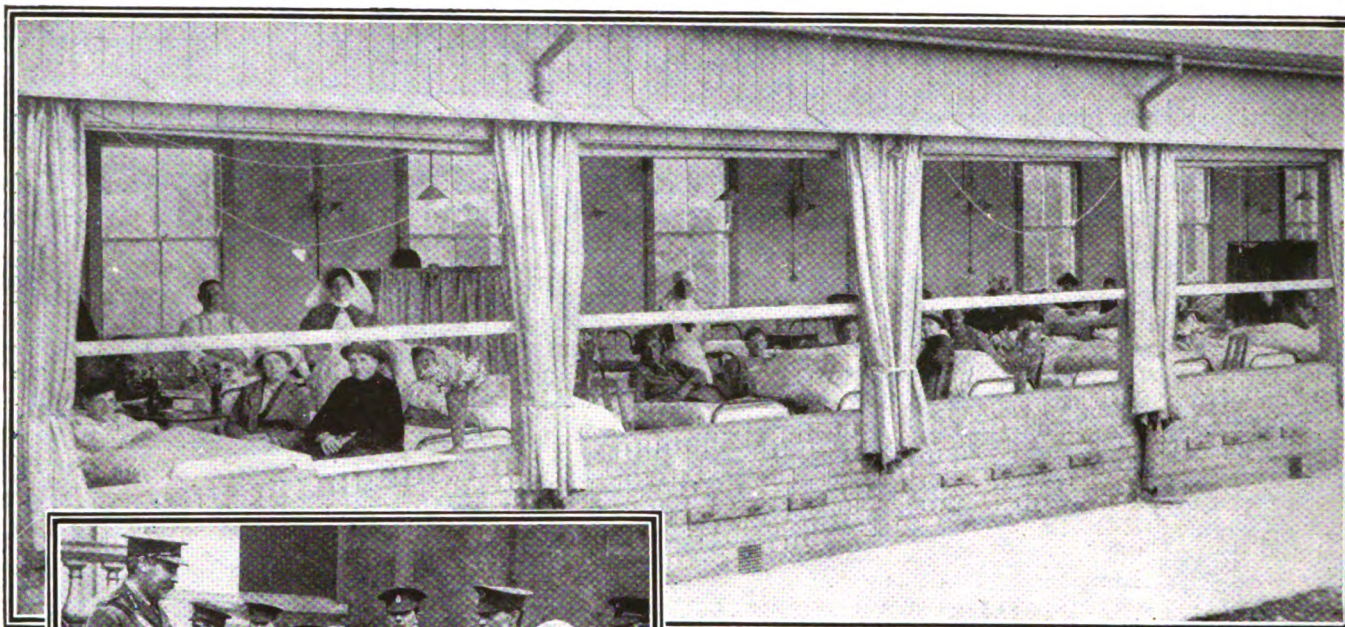


WITH BRITISH SEAPLANES IN ASIA AND AFRICA.

In the stand of General Townshend's division at Kut-el-Amara, and in the efforts made to raise the siege by Sir Percy Lake and General Aylmer, pilots of the Royal Naval Air Service played a serviceable part. The low sandy shore seen here formed a capital base for the seaplanes, to

which the shallow draught monitors afforded necessary protection. Above: Seaplane, sent to observe the effect of the shell fire from the monitors Severn and Mersey on the German cruiser Königsberg, concealed up the Rufiji River in Africa, "taxi-ing" back to its parent ship.





Open ward at a Birmingham hospital for soldiers—1st Southern General Hospital—where the men could receive the full curative benefit of the air. [Bassano]



Where wounded soldiers recuperated. Summer scene on the terrace of one of the great London hospitals. Above: Major-General Lord Lovat, at the East Suffolk Ipswich Hospital, presenting the Military Medal to Private Green for heroic work at Arras. [Bassano]

WHERE WOUNDED SOLDIERS WERE NURSED BACK TO HEALTH.





HOSPITAL BARGES AT

## CHAPTER CLXI.

FRENCH QUAYSIDE.

# HOW THE WOUNDED WERE BROUGHT HOME.

By Basil Clarke.

**EDITORIAL NOTE.**—The magnitude attained by the British Army in France was such that the treatment of the casualties became a matter of passionately intimate concern to almost every house and cottage in the Empire. It is characteristic of men of our race to be as silent about their sufferings as about their deeds, and the result was that the endurance of the wounded and the devotion of those who tended them seemed likely to remain generally unknown. The Editors of *THE GREAT WAR*, recognising that the treatment of the wounded was an integral subject of their history, resolved to secure an authentic record of the work from one of their war correspondents, and thus Mr. Basil Clarke, provided with proper credentials and assisted by the cordial co-operation of the military authorities, went to an advanced trench on the Western Front, and, following the regimental stretcher-bearers to the first case to which they were called, he accompanied a casualty through every stage of the journey from the battlefield to the quayside in England. This chapter contains his story, the narrative method adopted giving it a valuable actuality. The Editors wish it to be understood that every incident is true and that the story is an essential part of the history of the war.

“**S**tretcher-bearers! STRETCHER-BEARERS! STRETCHER-BEARERS!”

The call came faintly at first from somewhere down the trench, far away to the right of us; but other voices took it up and passed it along. Nearer and nearer it came, from voice to voice, some high, some low, till you could see the soldier that shouted it last—a lusty fellow whose ruddy face and green “tin hat” peeped above the rim of the next shell-hole. There, with face towards us and a yellow, muddy hand encircling his mouth for a megaphone, he passed on the words in a deep bass bray; for just as all men in a village community will stop what they are doing to give a hand in putting out a fire, so will men in a trench help, as a point of honour, to pass on the word for the ambulance men. It is one of the unwritten laws—and who knows but that it may be his own turn to need them next!

The company stretcher-bearers were at tea at the moment in a trench dug-out near me. A corporal pulled aside the sheet of flapping, mud-stained flannel which served the double purpose of door and “gas-stop” to the dug-out, and shouted in the words “Bearers—right!” Tea was forgotten. One man alone lingered to lift a petrol-can of boiling water from a crackling fire of box-wood, and then he, too, scrambled up the steps of the dug-out. The first man up had seized one of the light stretchers of wooden poles and canvas that stood upright near the dug-out door. “Stretcher-bearers—right!” he shouted, and away to the right they went, six of them, splashing along the trench.

“Trench” is perhaps something of an overstatement. It had been a trench when the Germans made it—and a very good one, too. But only four days earlier it had been taken from them after weeks of consistent shelling, and now, what with rain and with shell damage, it was a long series of mud-holes joined together, sometimes by hummocks of earth, sometimes by short lengths of trench, indifferently clear. The part from which we started had been put to rights again—or “consolidated,” as the official communiqués express it.

The walls had been rebuilt and trued, a parapet had been superimposed upon the enemy's old parados; there were even duck-boards underfoot to walk upon—and duck-boards are the last word in trench comfort. But before the stretcher-bearers had gone very far—with me

plodding slowly behind—the trench reverted once more to its old damaged state as when captured, and to get along it became as hard travelling as any I have known. In places you splashed through a foot of water, otter-hunting fashion; in other places you had to scale hummocks of slimy clay; in others you went through quicksands of viscous, treacle-like fluid that sucked the very boots from one's feet. Many a soldier has come out of one of those mud-pools minus boots, stockings, and puttees.

I myself, who had nightly a battle royal with my top boots to get them off, found them sucked off by that mud as easily as though they had been gripped in the finest bootjack ever invented. The trouble with these holes was to get past them and yet to retain one's foot-wear. But to stand still was to be lost, stuck fast, perhaps



HONOURABLE DISTINCTION FOR GALLANT MEN.

Great Britain was later than her allies in granting a distinctive badge to disabled soldiers who returned to civil life. In 1916 this badge was issued to men who had been discharged disabled.





[British official photograph.]

#### HOMEWARD-BOUND: "GOOD LUCK! GOOD-BYE!"

Warm friendships were made in the military hospitals abroad, and there were great leave-takings when the fortunate wounded, passed for home, left their less badly wounded comrades and started homewards.



[British official photograph.]

#### INDIANS CARRYING THEIR WOUNDED OFFICER.

The devotion of our Indian soldiers to their officers in France was touching, partly, perhaps, because they alone among all those around were familiar with their language and their customs.

even to die, as more than one poor lad has done up on those bleak, muddy slopes of the Somme.

The hundred and fifty yards we went seemed to me one hundred and fifty miles. I arrived a very bad last—as the racing reports might express it—and only just in time to see the six stretcher-bearers putting the finishing touches to the "first-aid" dressing which they had been applying to one Private John Chatterton Hollinwood Oldham, of the Cottonopolis Regiment. The corporal was talking as he bound up the wounded limb—quietly "strafing" the injured one. "Why the divvle you fellows won't keep your field-dressin' in its right place fair beats me. You have a special pocket made in your tunic linin' for it; you have a nice clean dressin' served out to you in a waterproof bag, and all that's asked of you is that you should keep it in that special pocket, and s'elp me if there's one of you as 'll keep it there! Is yer 'ed comfy, mate? Take a pull outen my bottle an' a bit of a breather 'fore we starts to yank yer down to the aid post."

Oldham used his interval of rest to tell us how a sniper had caught him. "Copped me fair, 'e did," he said. "My

own fault, too. Ah see'd the blighter earlier this morning, workin' out on 'is belly along the brow of th' hill, and had a pop at 'im with my rifle. Missed 'is bloomin' 'ead by about a foot. Saw the spit of my bullet aside his left ear. 'E 'opped it quick. But arter that Ah forgets all about 'im, never thinkin' as 'e'd crawl out for another go at me. As Ah were crossin' that bit o' open ground about five minutes back 'e pops me one over, fair in the thigh. Ah reckon summut's bust from th' feel on it. Do you think as it's a 'Blighty' one, corp'ral?"

"Shouldn't be surprised," said the corporal, pretending to be cross. "Beats me why some o' you lads comes 'ere without your mothers. Didn't ye see the notice along that open patch, tellin' you to 'ware snipers?" Ah put it up mysen on that very place an hour after Gummy Arrison were 'it in th' back on t' same bit o' land. Well, time to be off. Lie easy, mate, an' we'll 'ave you down in a couple o' shakes. Ready, lads!"

#### First stage of the journey

The bearers, who had been sitting on their haunches on the side of a low hummock of clay, slid down it on their heels. One of them had lit a cigarette during the rest. He now took it from his mouth, and without a word stuck it in the mouth of the patient, which opened for it as readily as that of a young chick for food. "Thanks, matey," he said simply. "Ready? Lift!" Two men held the stretcher-handles. Two men walked at the sides with hands on the stretcher-bars, steadying it and taking the weight whenever one of the carriers stumbled—a frequent event. One man walked in front, picking out the best of the track—or, rather, the least difficult of the track. The other walked behind.

How those men ever got that stretcher and its heavy load over the places they did is to this day beyond me. With no further load than a gas-mask and a walking-stick, I had trouble enough myself. At times we came to places where all six men had to give a hand. The poor lad on the stretcher was bemoaning the trouble he was giving. "Can't Ah get out an' walk a bit?" he asked plaintively. "One o' you gimme a hand an' Ah'll hobble a bit!" "You howd yer 'ush, my lad!" was all the corporal answered him; and



he held it. For his leg was paining badly. I could see him opening and shutting his eyes every now and again with pain. Once he seemed to lose consciousness; then he opened his eyes again, but only for an instant. It was to say: "That sniper feller Fritz 'ad a round fat face an' spectacles. You'll 'appen to know 'im if ever you sees 'im messin' about again on the ridge." He was quiet for a minute, then he added: "If you do, ony o' you chaps, you might let 'im know as Ah'm not 'arf done for yet." Then he was quiet, his eyes remaining shut.

We came at last to a bit of quaggy road, which one man, by making a dash as over thin ice, might possibly have got through; for six men and a stretcher this was impossible. The corporal called a halt, and himself tried the place. "It's no go, lads," he said, scrambling back out of the bog. "We'll have to go outside. But bide a bit, boys; Ah'll

Held up by  
snipers

make a bit of a look round." He walked on and shouted warily to a solitary figure with a rifle who was standing thirty yards farther on, upon an island of clay built up in a little sea of water and mud. "All quiet, mate?" he asked.

"Nowt but a few shells going," came the answer. "A few snipers were out earlier, but they've 'opped it."

"Think we'll be all right to take this fellow outside? He's pretty bad."

"You *might*," said the other, rather grudgingly, as he looked up at the sky. "Light's beginning to get yellor, and it's agen the snipers. You *might* be all right."

The corporal stood in thought for a moment. "Ah'll just 'op out of the trench an' 'ave a look round." And with that the cool fellow climbed up the side of the trench remains and, pivoting round on his stomach at the top, lay with his gaze towards the enemy trenches. Pulling his iron helmet low down over his eyes, he looked intently from under the rim. He had been there perhaps a minute, when he suddenly slid headfirst down the trench side—which, among its many other imperfections, sloped at this point instead of falling perpendicularly. And at that very moment there was a whistle of bullets just over the trench parapet and shots rang out from the German trenches, less

than a hundred yards to the east. The corporal struggled to his feet, muddy but unhurt.

He plodded back to his comrades. "Can't be done yet, boys," he said coolly. "We'll have to wait. Sorry, sonny," he added, turning to the man on the stretcher. "Fritz has not drawn off yet. We'll have to keep you 'ere till it's a bit darker." He eased the patient's position on the stretcher, saying: "Can't stick it a bit? Art a all reet?" "The lad shivered. "Ay, tha't cold." And with that the corporal took off his own greatcoat and spread it over the boy on the stretcher.

There, in the cold light of the ebbing day, we waited. The sun sank grudgingly and yellowly behind us, throwing a cold, brassy sheen on to the yellow clay that encompassed us all about. The colder wind of evening came. You could hear the faint swish of it over the trench-tops, and fitful gusts came along the trench—strong enough to make



"BLIGHTY JUNCTION." A RED CROSS TRAIN LEAVING FOR THE COAST.

(British official photograph)

Walking cases arriving at a hospital train and (above) British wounded in a Red Cross train in France. Casualty clearing stations were usually established near a railway so that the more serious cases, as soon as

they were in a condition to be moved, could be transferred easily to hospital trains for conveyance to hospitals of a more permanent nature where they could receive the fullest attention.





BACKWATERS OF WAR: RECEIVING PATIENTS ON A RED CROSS BARGE.

[British official photograph.]

The wonderful system of waterways in France proved of incalculable utility in the war, and that not only for the transport of munitions and attacking enemy positions in low-lying districts such as those below

Péronne. On many of them hospital barges were placed where wounded were received and moved to the rear with a minimum of discomfort from vibration on the painful journey to hospital rest.

little frills and ruffles on the surface of the water and mud. The patient and his stretcher had been laid on a strip of ledge on the western wall of the trench—a bit of the old German fire-step that had somehow escaped destruction. His eyes were shut. Once his lips moved. His mind was evidently wandering back to his native Lancashire, and to his work on the cotton. "It's bloomin' cold i' this 'ere mill!" he said dreamily

and stood by the corporal. The other four between them lifted the stretcher from its ledge and high above their heads. The corporal and "Stuffy" took the handles from their uplifted hands and bore the weight of the stretcher till two of the lifters had scrambled up. "You others had best go by the trench," said the corporal. "No use a whole harmy corps walkin' about in the open. Meet you at the 'aid post.'" And with that the four of them and their burden moved on over open ground in full view of the enemy, relying on their luck and the twilight to preserve them. Every day and every night those plucky regimental stretcher-bearers do the like.

The sun sank between two stunted and shell-shattered trees. I watched it through a gap in the back of the trenches. Yellows and reds smeared the sky-line in a gradually lessening patch, which at last faded out. The stunted trees went with them. I was chattering with cold. My feet seemed frozen—as painful as if they had been squashed under a cart-wheel. Without warning, a German shell whined through the air over our heads and d'opped somewhere in the village behind us. It was the first of many. "That's Fritz beginning his evening 'strafe'!" said the corporal. "Come on, lads. Time to get a move on!"

The patient was silent and motionless on his stretcher. The corporal scrambled again up the side of the trench, and again lay on his stomach on the top. Two minutes or so he waited, and then he stood upright. A bullet might have pinked him at any moment. But none came. Instead another shell wailed through the air and on to the village below. We heard the solemn "crump" of it as it exploded. "Now, boys," he said, "'ave yer gas-masks ready. We don't want to be messed up fiddlin' for them things when a 'stinker' comes over." Then he looked over his men, and said: "Stuffy, you come along by me up 'ere, and the other lads will heave the stretcher up to us." "Stuffy," without a word, scrambled up the trench wall

The trench opened at length on to a narrow road cut through a hill, and called the Waggon Road. By this road you reached the village below—the newly-captured village of Beaumont-Hamel. It was a village no longer. Every building had been razed flat by shell fire, and such habitations as remained were old German dug-outs underground. At the entrance to one of these was a rough sign-board which, in white letters on a black ground, proclaimed the name, "MannheimVillas." A pennant, which in daylight showed its colours red and white, fluttered above the signboard as the mark of an ambulance-station.

Regimental  
aid post

This was the "regimental aid post." Every regiment has one or more just behind the line at some spot which is "sheltered." Sheltered is largely a figure of speech, however, for though the regimental aid post is, perhaps, out of the line of direct rifle fire from the enemy trenches, it is in the way of all the shells that are going. Shells were dropping now about Mannheim Villas, and dropping so unpleasantly close that I, for one, was only too glad to leave the upper earth for the cover of a dug-out.

You entered Mannheim Villas by a flight of wooden steps



(twenty or so), sloping downwards steeply from Waggon Road towards the hill out of which the road was cut. The dug-out ran under the hill parallel to the road, and at intervals there were stairs and flue-holes leading upwards from it to the road, and meeting it at right angles. The main passage of the dug-out must have been nearly fifty yards long, but it was not all on one level, and one ascended and descended stairs in most perplexing fashion.

Our patient was lying in the "dressing-room" at the foot of the first flight of steps from the road. The four stretcher-bearers were sitting on the floor breathing heavily. Here the dug-out was about ten feet wide and seven feet high, and lined throughout with stout planks. Vertical beams supported the roof, as in a coal-pit. A lamp and several extra candles, lit as soon as the patient had arrived, shed a not too bright light over the curious scene. To the right, at the foot of the steps, was the dressers' table, covered with a spotless white cloth, on which lay dressings and lotions, basins, swabs, scissors, and all the rest of a surgeon's simpler accessories. In a canvas sling in the roof overhead were splints of all shapes

In the "dressing-room" splints for arms, straight splints for legs, splints in all sorts of fantastic shapes to suit any injury, and all ready to the dresser's hand. Warmth came from the fire under a great cooking-copper built in with cement.

A crowd of muddy R.A.M.C. men and regimental stretcher-bearers looked on as the dressing was done, for beyond this room were their quarters, and, with the shells flying outside, everyone who had no work out of doors was underground. The landing of the shells sent a curious, shivering shock through the dug-out, but, thanks to its depth and

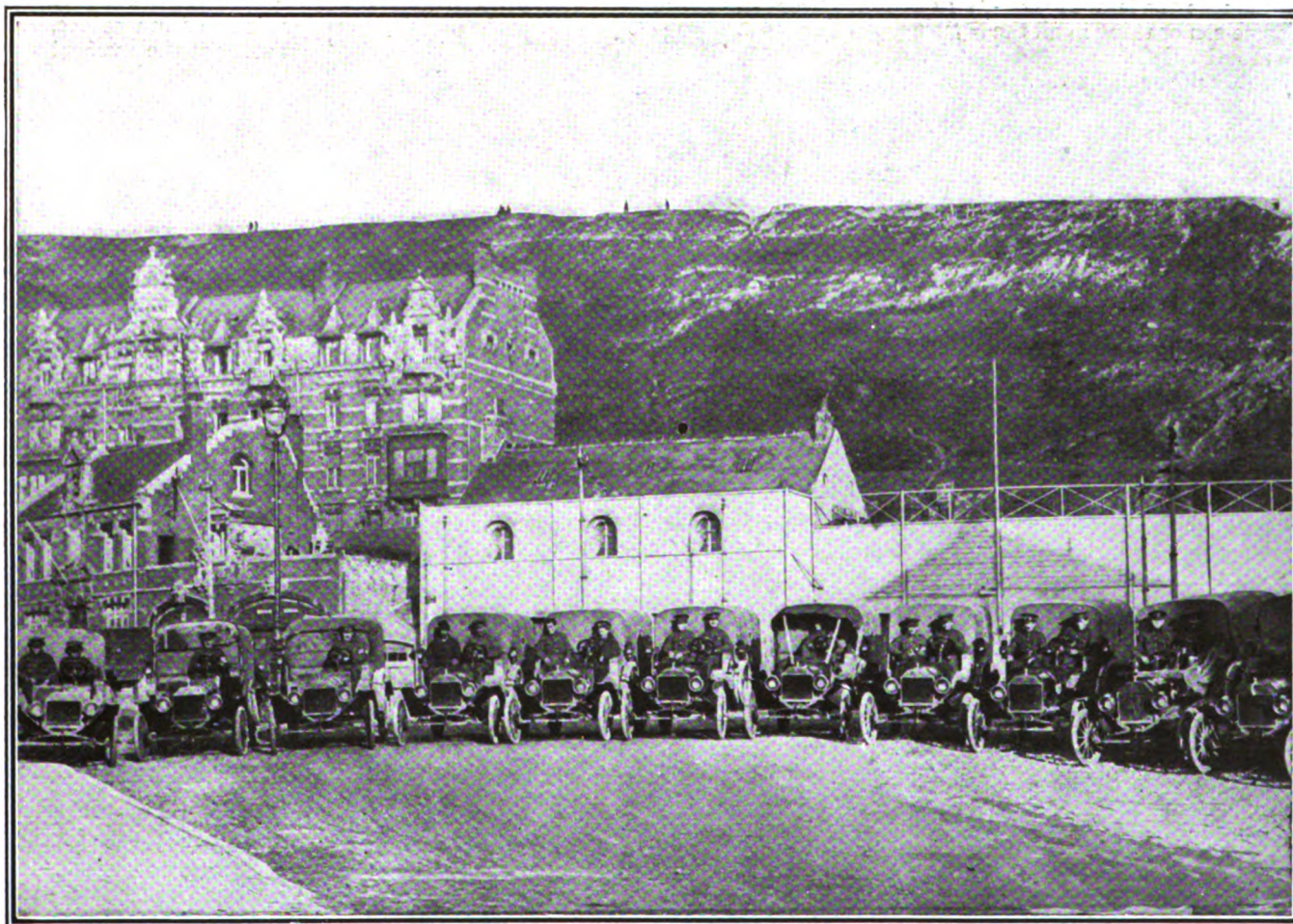
solidity, they did no great harm. Shrapnel and flying shell fragments could find no way down here unless they came down the stairway, and that would need a specially unlucky shot.

No one took the slightest notice of the shells. I watched the faces, thrown into fierce lights and shadows by the flickering illuminants, and as "crump" followed "crump" outside not an eyelid flicked. I doubt whether the men were even conscious of the noise. Night after night of shelling had made them disregard it.

Trench-made  
"pals"

The patient's dressing was now finished, and his stretcher was put near the stove so that he might get warm before going off on the next stage of his journey. As he lay there, a young mud-stained soldier came running in a great hurry down the steps of the dug-out. He did not notice the stretcher in the shadows near the boiler. "Has Private Oldham gone off yet?" he gasped. And, without waiting for an answer, he added breathlessly: "Is 'e bad? Where's he going to? What's his—" Seeing several eyes upon him, looking as though for an explanation of his eagerness, he explained as follows: "Oh, there's nowt amiss, but I'm 'is pal, you see, an' I thowt I might 'appen to see 'im afore 'e left." He paused for breath, and went on: "Th' lieutenant let me come down. Sent me with a message to the colonel, 'e did, so as I might drop in at the aid post 'ere on my way." Another pause, and then: "You see, I didna know as he were wounded till quarter of an hour ago. Th' chaps told me, an' I went to th' lieutenant right away" Another pause. "You see, I'm 'is pal!"

The lad could not have been more than twenty, and he



READY AND WAITING TO ASSIST THE WOUNDED AT A BASE IN FRANCE.

Squadron of British Army Red Cross motor-ambulance cars at a well-sheltered French base waiting for their complements of wounded passengers to take them a stage farther on the road to "Blighty." The devotion to

duty, the untiring keenness in their work shown by the motor-drivers and the men in attendance on the ambulance cars called forth much commendation from all those who came in contact with them.



stood there in all his mud, with the lamp-light glinting into his bright eyes, coming ever back to that simple soldier formula, "I'm 'is pal!" as though in those mystic words lay explanation enough for any queer thing a soldier lad might do concerning another. And in those simple words lies, as every soldier knows, explanation enough for many a risk, many a kindness, many a sacrifice, many a heroism between one soldier and another. There is no truer, cleaner thing in all life than these "palships" of the trenches.

The lad could see that his explanation satisfied everybody—for all of them were soldiers, and knew—and he began his questions again. "Was 'e bad? 'Ow long's 'e been gone? Where's 'e gone to?" The men grinned. The boy looked round to try to see where the joke lay. A voice came at that moment from the shadows near the boiler—a voice singularly sturdy and strong. "'E ain't gone nowheres, 'Arry Droilesden," it said. "'E's 'ere!"

The voice was too well known. The boy went along the dug-out in a few quick strides. Having reached his chum's stretcher, he looked at it and his friend stolidly for a moment, and then came the following conversation:

"'Ello, Jack!"

"'Ello, 'Arry!" (Long pause).

"You been and cotched one?"

"Ay! Ah cotched one all reet."

"You 'ave an' all? Is it a bad 'un?"

"Oh, just tidy like."

That was all. From that moment John Oldham might have been to Harry Droilesden the least interesting person or thing in all the Somme battlefield. They did not talk; they did not even look at one another. After standing for some time idly looking round the dug-out, Harry sat down on the ground near John's stretcher. Now they will talk, thought I. But no. Harry had merely sat, it seemed, the better to scrape mud from his puttees with the jack-knife which he now produced for that purpose. Possibly they spoke later. I don't know. For an R.A.M.C. captain took me away at that moment to be shown over the dug-out. I would rather have stood in my corner keeping a quiet eye on the strange meeting of Harry and John.

We went down another flight of steps and thus into the main tunnel of the dug-out. Here, as "upstairs," the walls were solid timber-lined. There were lamps at intervals. Men were lying on the ground, some of them writing, some card-playing, some reading. We stepped over outstretched legs as we walked along. Then the tunnel

**In the surgeons' dug-out**

ascended by ten or twelve steps and became rather wider. Here were a number of men lying and standing in the neighbourhood of a big brazier filled with glowing coals. The smoke, or rather some of it, left the dug-out up a long sloping shaft to the right, which in the dug-out's German days had been an extra entrance. But a shell had upset the wooden staircase, and the passage had been remade into a chimney and ventilating shaft. Farther along the tunnel in a little cubicle on the left no bigger than a good-sized packing-case were three officers, two of whom were playing piquet while the third looked

on. A candle stuck on the lid of a cigarette-tin was their only lighting. These were "regimental surgeons," off duty. The Royal Army Medical Corps supplies one or more surgeons to each battalion to be "attached" to that battalion. These officers in turn pick out a number of men from their battalion and train them in first-aid, stretcher drill, and the care of wounded. These bearers go into trenches with their battalions and follow them into action. They have all the risks of war and few of the joys of fighting, their duty being merely to collect the wounded from the trench or the battlefield as the case may be, and to get them as far as the regimental aid post. The stretcher is the most usual means of transport if the patient cannot walk, but many a wounded man is brought to the regimental aid post on the back of a stretcher-bearer or a regimental pal.

**From trench to hospital**

I noticed at the aid post that some of the bearers were of the R.A.M.C., while others wore regimental badges. It was explained to me that the aid post is the point at which the R.A.M.C. and the regiments in the line link up, for at the aid post the wounded pass definitely from their regiment—which knows them no more until they

are cured—into the hands of the R.A.M.C., who are responsible for all future treatment. In calm times the R.A.M.C. do not go nearer the line than the aid post, but when any fighting is going on they go forward to help the regimental medical workers. Thus, at all stormy times, the R.A.M.C. are sharers in whatever risk is going at the moment, and the number of men of this valiant corps who have lost their lives is testimony enough to what these risks may be.

The officers are no safer than the privates. For though it is an order that medical officers must expose themselves as little as possible, they may be called up into the line at any moment to deal with an urgent case that cannot be moved without surgical treatment.

Every one of the surgeons in that aid post was

well acquainted with the trenches at their worst, and, for that matter, the aid post itself was anything but a haven of safety. The hurtling shells outside reminded one of that.

We arrived back at the dressing-room of the dug-out and found John Oldham ready for moving. A runner had been sent to the "motor-car station" to tell them to send a car forward to the motor control, and the patient was to be carried down to the control to meet it. For it was impossible to bring a motor-car so far forward as the aid post. The road from it was no more than a rough path, made with bricks and planks across a wilderness of shell-holes and hummocks. The battered houses of the village had yielded the materials.

We set off, and I noticed with misgivings new shell-holes right alongside the track on which we were to walk. They had not been there half an hour earlier when we passed along the track—of that I was certain. It was dark now—pitch dark save when star-shells rose slowly into the sky from the German lines behind us, throwing for a few seconds a pale, sickly whiteness over a great circle of earth.



ON THE ROAD TO RECOVERY.

Indians who were wounded at the front being conveyed in a Canadian Women's Motor Ambulance to the Convalescent Home at New Milton, in the health-giving neighbourhood of Christchurch, Hampshire.



An eerie thing it was to walk here in the dark, picking your way by tapping with your stick the broken bricks of which the road was made; then, suddenly, to find the whole world lit up as with a ghostly moonlight. Each light stayed only long enough to reveal the grim signs of war immediately about you. It might

**Meeting the ambulance**

be only the stretcher-bearers whom you noticed in their queer iron helmets—making still queerer shadows—all marching in step, with their stretcher and its silent burden, rocking rhythmically up and down to each step they were taking. Or a flare might disclose to you the barren countryside, all shell-heaps and shell-holes, with here and there a tree disfigured by shell till its few remaining branches, broken short, stood out hideously, like gnarled, rheumatic fingers clawing greedily at an unreachable sky. Once a flare revealed to me what I thought at first were figures of men sleeping out in the open. But their poses were not those of sleep. Legs, top-booted, stretched out sprawlingly from under stiff-looking greatcoats; arms reached out unnaturally to clasp distant clouts of clay; and a sleeper's head might lie in a pool of water and trouble him not at all. For they would never wake up, those sleepers. The little round caps they wore showed them to be Germans.

After going about half a mile along that road I saw, some twenty yards off, the red glow of a cigarette upon a face behind it. A man was leaning, smoking, against a

motor-ambulance which was hiding under a bank, without lights. This was the nearest point to which a motor could approach the trenches. The driver stood by while the R.A.M.C. men opened its back canvas flaps and lifted the stretcher into the dark body of the vehicle. "Will you ride in the van or do you care for a walk?" asked my guide, an R.A.M.C. captain. I was anxious not to lose touch with the patient, but on being assured that I should overtake him at the next stopping-place I agreed to walk. One man got in the waggon with the patient, the others stood by to see him start away. "Good-bye, Jack," said one of them to him as the engine began to turn. "Hope it's one that will take you back to 'Blighty.'" The speaker was Harry Droilesden. With this good wish—the best wish you can wish any wounded British Tommy—he drew off and turned once more with the stretcher-bearers towards Beaumont-Hamel—Beaumont-Hamel with its mud and its shell-holes and its star-shells and its dead. For myself I was glad to be leaving that war-worn spot and all its dangers behind me.

**Still within shell-range**

I said something of the sort to the captain, adding that adventures and dangers and risks were the pleasantest things in the world—when they were well behind you and you were through them. I even found myself stepping out with vigour, under the stimulus of this idea of danger faced and at last successfully passed.



EMBARKING BRITISH WOUNDED ON A HOSPITAL SHIP IN MESOPOTAMIA.

Various causes, chiefly climatic, contributed to aggravate the discomfort of the wounded in Mesopotamia. The Tigris, however, provided a smooth passage for their removal in hospital ships to the base. After General

Townshend was forced by starvation to surrender Kut-el-Amara, the Turks, by general consent chivalrous foes, allowed him to send all his wounded by this means to the British lines lower down the river.

MM





[Elliott &amp; Fry.]

SIR ALFRED KEOGH, G.C.B.  
Reappointed Director-General of the A.M.S. after the outbreak of the war. He occupied the same position from 1904 to 1910.

which showed with a faint pale-green light in the darkness. "Yes," he went on. "They usually begin shelling for working-parties about this time, and you never know quite which district they'll pick upon."

He explained that both sides did most of their work in the trenches—such as trench-digging and repairing, dug-out making, wire-laying and so on—at night, and that working-parties were sent up from villages and camps behind the lines to do it. At night, therefore, the Germans began to shell these villages and the roads leading from them in the hope of hitting working-parties while they were assembling or were moving up to the lines along the roads. "They might begin any minute to drop them on this road," he concluded.

I pulled my shrapnel helmet till it hung more protectingly over the nape of my neck, and walked on with my enthusiasm distinctly modified. Five minutes later, as we plodded along that dark, uneven road, the shelling began sure enough. But the spot which the enemy had chosen that evening was not our own immediate neighbourhood but the village to which we were walking and to which John Oldham and his motor-ambulance had gone on. This was the village of Mailly Maillet. It lay a few miles before us, and the German shells on their way to it passed over our heads. We could hear each of

#### Motor control post

them, first behind us, a thin piercing whine which gradually rose in pitch and grew louder as the shell passed overhead, then grew faint again. A second or two later we heard the boom of the shell's explosion in the neighbourhood of Mailly Maillet. Some shells, we noticed, passed over without being followed by any "crump" from the village. We heard the explanation later, which was that a number of them were "duds," having failed to "go off."

I am afraid I loitered just a little on the road to Mailly. One excellent excuse I found for doing so was to turn

"Depends on what your idea of danger is," he replied. "You are not likely to be sniped here or mined or blown to bits with a hand-bomb as you were in Beaumont-Hamel. That's true enough, but there are enough dirty roads to death to be found in this area to suit my appetite any day. In fact, about this time of day I would feel safer in the trenches than where we are at the moment."

He looked at his watch, the luminous figures of



[Elliott &amp; Fry.]

SIR W. A. LANE, BART., C.B.  
Distinguished surgeon who was awarded the C.B. for his valuable services to the R.A.M.C. during the war.

aside to see the motor control post. It was a ruined homestead by the roadside, the roof of which had been patched up with tarpaulin sheets and the walls with sand-bags. Thus repaired, it made a quite presentable shelter in spite of all the German shells had done. A man with a rifle and a lantern bawled: "Who goes there?" as we approached in the darkness.

An R.A.M.C. sergeant was in command of the place, and with one or two helpers he arranged for a regular service of ambulance-cars between Beaumont-Hamel collecting post and Mailly Maillet behind, and for any extra cars that might be summoned by runner. In a little book

#### Retaliation by six to one

which he showed us by lamp-light he had the time of the "runner's" arrival and the time the car was despatched.

Apparently the most advanced posts of the field ambulance organisation had not attained to the luxury of a telephone service yet. But seeing that even the gunners had all their work cut out to maintain telephone lines over these shell-swept areas, a telephone corps for the R.A.M.C. was probably too much to ask for.

We came out into the darkness of the Mailly road again to find that the British guns had taken up the challenge of the enemy's "strafe" and were replying with rather more energy than the enemy was showing. I gathered, in fact, that the British policy of retaliation at this period of the war was grossly generous, the general idea, both in battery and in trench, being to send back six times the quantity of whatever the Germans "sent over." Thus,

if any German infantryman in a playful moment pitched up a hand-grenade to drop into your trench, the scheme of things was promptly to throw six back. Should a German gunnery officer, to gratify a whim or a visitor—as I myself have been gratified by gunnery officers, who as a genus just love to say: "This is how she does it," and then to fire off their biggest gun, much to the shock of that visitor's ears and system



[Lafayette.]

SIR B. G. MOYNIHAN, C.B.  
Mentioned in despatches for his services in the war, Lieut.-Col. Sir Berkeley Moynihan, of the R.A.M.C. was awarded the C.B. early in 1917.

—well, should a German gunner give way to such a weakness, the British gunner felt in all politeness bound promptly to fire off six shells as big or bigger; and if he felt particularly active that night he would not stop at six times. Another little disinterestedness about the British gunners that struck me was this—that none of them seemed inclined to throw work on "the other fellow." Thus, if six shots



[Elliott &amp; Fry.]

LT.-COL. HENRY DAVY, C.B.  
Consulting physician to the Southern Command, who was given the C.B. early in 1917 for his work in the R.A.M.C.



or so were needed to keep up the fair proportion of six shots for one shot sent over by some chance German battery, every single battery that heard the shot seemed to think the task of answering was its own especial prerogative and not that of "the other battery" round the corner.

It is only in this way that I can explain the extraordinary response given to those score or so of German shells that flew over our heads on the Mailly road that night. Every British battery for miles around seemed to have awakened

**Advanced dressing-station**

from its slumbers by those shots, and to be working now like a railway breakdown gang for vigour. Batteries to the right of us, batteries to the left and in front of us, all were barking away in wonderful fashion. The white-blue flashes of field-guns and long guns, the pink flashes of "hows"—as howitzers are called—lit up the earth. To add to the sky effects the Germans, becoming nervous of an attack, perhaps, began to send up star-shells and flares in great quantities.

To stand thus, in a quiet country lane, hearing the amazing barks of many different guns and the whine of many different shells, and to see gnarled and shattered trees jump out at you, black and still and horrible against momentary backgrounds of livid flame, struck me as the most unreal thing I had ever experienced. But for one's ever-conscious knowledge of its full horror and deadly reality, one would have thought it all a product of stage-craft rather than of war.

From among the mud and ruins of Mailly Maillet—which had suffered from the gun fire of British, French, and German alike in its day—my guide picked out a little house with whitewashed walls, standing alone in a ruined garden. Every window of the house was broken, and curtains of felt or flannel, fastened only at the top, had been hung inside to cover up the wooden window-frames. If you watched these curtains closely you would notice that they flapped with every gun that was fired in the neighbourhood, and with every German shell that arrived in the village.

The house had escaped major damage. A chimney-pot or two had been hit, and there were jagged chunks out of the wall in one or two places; but little else. The one great German shell that would have "done for" that place and demolished it entirely had repented at the last moment and failed to explode. It lay on the little back lawn for all eyes to see by day and for all shins to hit by night—a "dud." You fell over it when you walked into the back garden at nights. It was the usual thing, in fact, for your host in that house to say, if you spoke of going out of doors for a breath of air at nights: "Don't fall over the shell."

That house was an "Advanced Dressing-Station," an important link in the medical scheme of things out at the war. Its commanding officer was the captain who had kindly acted as my guide to Beaumont-Hamel, an excellent soul from far New Zealand. "Now, this advanced dressing-station," he had begun, when we entered, "receives wounded from its regimental aid posts at Beaumont and —. But I won't tell you another word till you've had some tea, so you can put that notebook away for a spell and—WAIT!"—this last word in a shout. I thought he was joking still, but a rosy-cheeked orderly

put his head inside the door and said, "Yes, sir?" Tea was ordered, and I made the discovery that the orderly's name was Wait.

"Your patient, Oldham, is all safe and sound in the cellars," the captain added, "and will not be going farther for an hour or so, so you can put your mind at rest. He won't escape you."

"Why in the cellars?" I asked.

"Because," he answered, "whenever the village is being shelled, as it was when we came in, all the patients we may have in here at the time are carried down into the cellars. They'll come up again when it's over. Get some tea!"

The captain had poured me out a tin mug of tea from a tin teapot. Toast had come in on a tin plate, and butter lay near at hand in a tin can.

"Milk, orderly!" sang out the captain.

"I'll have to get some more out, sir," said the orderly, "and the—er—the gentleman there is sitting on it."

The upturned wooden case which served me for a chair was rummaged in, and from it was produced a tin labelled "Milk." The orderly jabbed the spike of his jack-knife



WOUNDED SLUNG ABOARD A RED CROSS SHIP IN A BOX-STRETCHER. Box-stretchers were among the ingenious contrivances utilised for getting the wounded men aboard the hospital ships in a way that should minimise their discomfort. These box-stretchers, it will be observed, were sufficiently large to take two men who were not too badly wounded to be able to sit up.

cleverly through the lid in two places, one on each side, and when he upturned the tin over my tea mug there flowed milk from the lower hole, excellent stuff of the density of cream, while through the upper hole of the tin lid went in air to take the place of the milk that came out. The day of thick and sticky canned milk was over.

Over tea and toast and jam I had time to take stock of the queer room in which we sat. It was the captain's bed-room, sitting-room, dining-room, reception-room, and office all in one. The walls were of plain, whitewashed plaster, and the windows—or rather the window-holes—were covered with sacking, which flapped listlessly in the wind and heavily at every gun shot or shell fall outside.

**An officer's quarters**

The one lamp of the place stood in the middle of our tea-table. Its glass mantle had been broken and repaired—very dexterously, I thought—with surgical sticking-plaster. Its flame threw firm, black shadows of you on to the whitewashed wall behind. Some busy soul had occupied himself in tracing out these shadows of men as they sat at the table, and the wall was covered with charcoal silhouettes. One aquiline portrait was labelled "McMurtrie," another was labelled "Torrance"—former



occupants, no doubt, of this primitive little billet. The captain's camp bed lay in a far corner among some boxes of tinned milk, petrol-cans, and other stores. A bright fire of wood flickered in a rusty little grate, sharing about equally with the plastered lamp the duty of lighting the room.

After tea I found John Oldham again. He was in a cellar, with low-arched roof, lying on his back on a stretcher under a blanket, just above the edge of

**Good-humour of the wounded** which appeared the glowing tip of a cigarette and his face.

"How goes it now?" I asked him. He grinned, and said, in a voice full of mock woefulness: "Well, Ah'm just about as well as can be expected, thank ye, sir."

Other patients lying on their backs on the cellar-flags near him all laughed at this, and I gathered from a friendly corporal that this was the recognised reply of Tommies who, while feeling in pretty good spirits, were anxious not to be regarded as well enough to be sent back to the trenches. For a little hospital treatment, even in the dark cellar of a shelled villa, came like a spell of paradise to lads who had been weeks in the dreadful trenches of the Somme. Not that Oldham, with his thigh wound, ever stood any risk of being sent back. Still, it pleased him and his sense of mischief, as active in him as in all good soldiers, to pretend that he was shirking going back. It was one of the forms of humour at the front to pretend to be "funking" or shirking. As they lay helpless I could hear them joking one to another about their illnesses and wounds. I remember one big fellow, whose face had been half blown away by a shell, and who, when he thought no officer was about, said, in a mock, pathetic voice, for his fellows to hear: "I think I could just take a little gruel now, doctor." And then he himself and all his pals laughed as at a joke of priceless merit—the truth being, of course, that if he did manage to eat even a little gruel that would be all that he could manage. But that same spirit of fun-making seemed to hang about some of our British wounded even to the end; they died mocking their wounds.

As soon as the shelling stopped the patients were carried to more airy quarters upstairs. The change was, no doubt, welcome enough, for the fire which had been lit in the cellar to take the chill and dankness off the place was behaving badly and sending more of its smoke into the cellar than up the chimney. The orderlies were coughing heartily enough, but the patients seemed not to notice it. The Somme had, apparently, made any other conditions seem comfortable. The stone steps leading to the basement had been covered with a smooth plank, and up this inclined plane the patients' stretchers were slid with greater ease and steadiness than would have been possible if they had had to be carried. "It's as good as th' toboggan at Blackpool," said one voice; and from the voice and the accent—which made "pool" rhyme with the word "foal," as a Piccadilly "johnny" might pronounce it—I recognised friend Oldham, of Lancashire.

From the cellar the patients, who numbered perhaps a dozen, were carried to more airy quarters in the attics. Here they lay anxiously speculating as to their fate. Would they be kept here for a day or two and then sent back to the trenches, or would they be passed on to a base hospital or to "Blighty"? This last was what every man hoped for; but, of course, for all of them it was impossible. Slight cases of injury or sickness would lie here perhaps for a day or two and then go back to duty. Others might go only a little way down the lines of communication, there to lie up till better. Others might get as far as the sea-coast of France to one or other of the base hospitals. Every type and condition of hospital, in fact, between the trenches and home would sift out some patients for treatment, and only the lucky few would ever achieve their dream of being sent home to "Blighty" and seeing their friends once more. Once when I went upstairs to have another look at the patients a discussion was going on between two or three of them as to their respective chances of being sent home. They were lying on their stretchers, some smoking and talking, others asleep. A solitary lamp shed a faint, flickering light over their recumbent forms.

"Ay," said one voice, as though in disputation over some point a neighbour had raised, "it's true enough that I've only a bullet wound in the arm, as you say, but I've got a touch o' bronchitis an' all! Heard the orderly say so when he heard me wheezin'!"

"That's all very well," said another voice, "but did he write it down on yer ticket? You could have 'hydrophobie' also, an' it wouldn't help you two-penn'orth if th' doc. didn't write it down on yer ticket!" (The ticket to which he referred was the little label—white for non-dangerous cases, red and white for dangerous cases—which was tied to the jacket of every patient at the regimental aid post, and which, with any necessary emendations or additions made at intermediate dressing-stations, went with the

patient from first to last as the medical summary of his case and symptoms.)

"Can't say as it's on my ticket, as I knows on." Here the voice was raised to call to the orderly, who was not far away: "Hi, matey, you might read us out what's written on my ticket!"

"Wait till daylight, and get to sleep, my lad," said the orderly not unkindly. "It's latish. You ought all on yer to be getting a bit o' sleep instead of chattering away there like a girls' school. Be good lads an' get to sleep." He reminded me of a mother. There was silence for a while in the little whitewashed attic, and then the voice went on in a whisper: "Yer bronchitis will be a good help if it's on yer ticket. We'll read it in the mornin'. My chance is pretty all right, I think. I've got a 'temperachure,' besides my wound. 'Undred it were when it were last took. Pretty good that! They think a lot about temperachures. Orderly told me so. Very particklar about temperachures." So they talked, on their stretchers, in that dimly-lighted attic. Oldham, I noticed, was asleep.

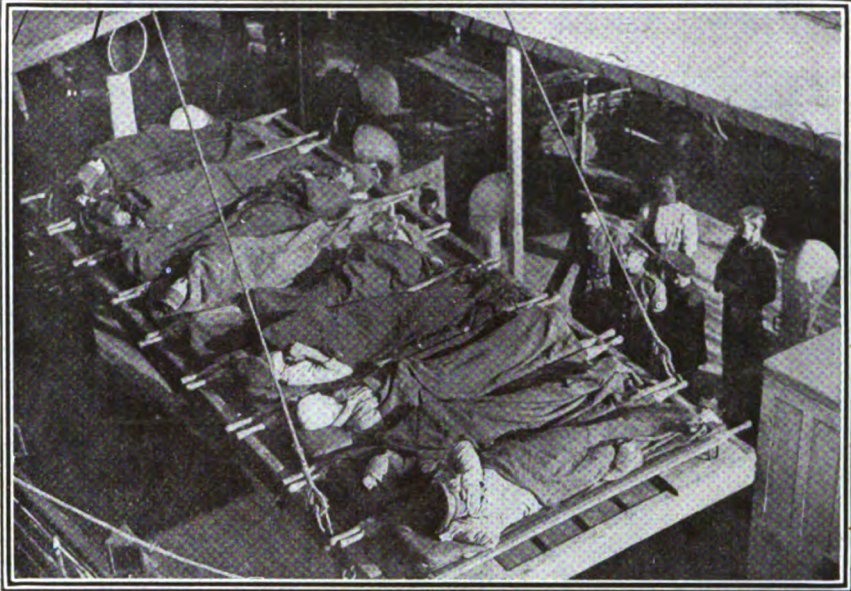
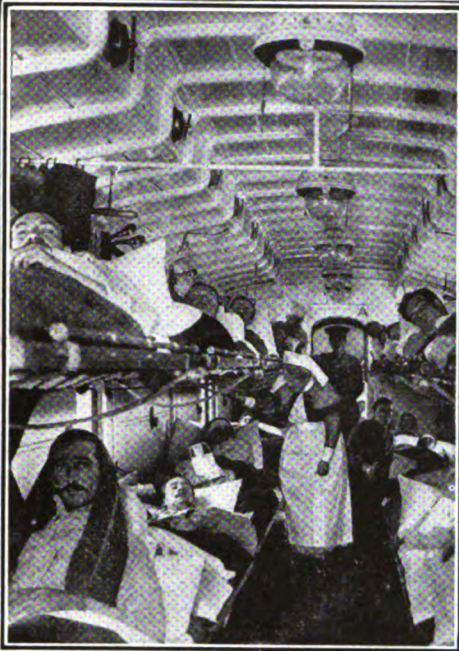


WOUNDED MEN CROSSING THE CHANNEL.

"Walking cases"—that is to say, wounded men who were able to move about by themselves—could enjoy the sea-breezes on deck during the Channel crossing en route for hospitals at home.

**Patients and their tickets**





Hoisting cot-cases on shore by crane from the hospital ship for transference to the train alongside the quay. Left: Interior of a corridor ward in the hospital train.



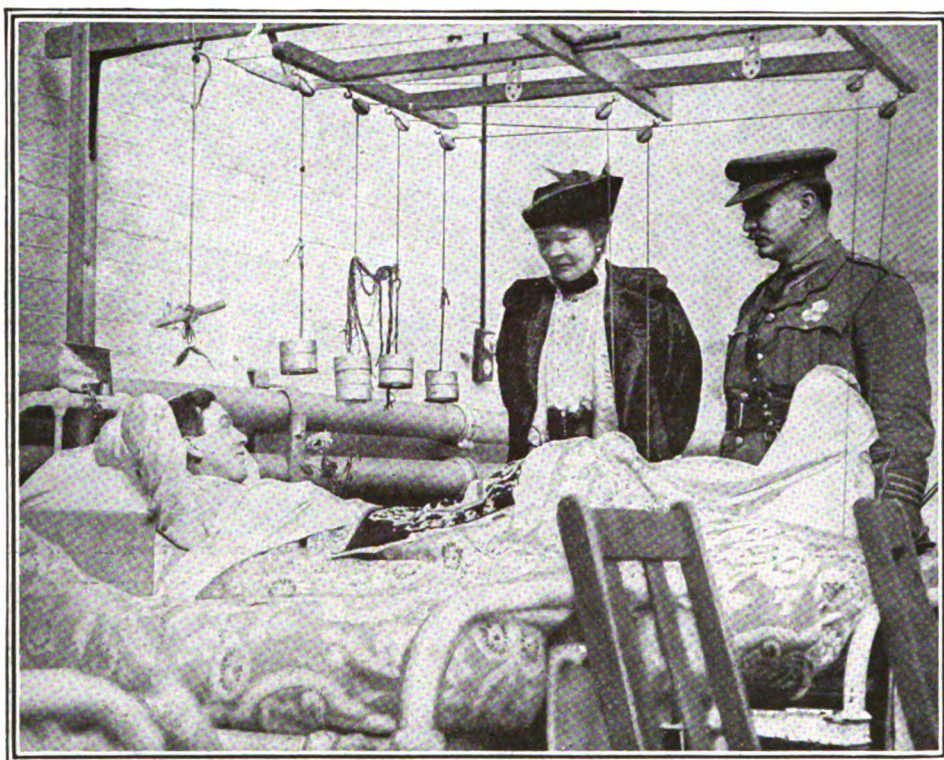
Right: Stretcher cases arranged on the platform ready to be placed in the train. Left: Ambulance men lined up at the station waiting to disembark the wounded.



"Special" cases coming ashore from the hospital ship. Right: The end of the journey. Carrying the patients from the station to the ambulances waiting to convey them to the hospital where, if within the competence of man, their cure would be completed.

SCENES ON THE HIGHWAY OF SUFFERING: FROM PAIN TO HOME AND HEALTH.





THE DUCHESS OF CONNAUGHT AT THE CANADIANS' HOSPITAL, TAPLOW.  
Mrs. Astor opened a hospital for wounded Canadians near Taplow, and the first task the Duchess of Connaught performed when she returned to England in 1916, after the Duke retired from the Governor-Generalship of the Dominion, was to visit the Canadians under treatment there.

I went downstairs again, and into the room opposite the doctor's. This was the receiving-room and dressing-room. A big Primus stove sent up a dull droning from a point near the empty fireplace. By lamp-light a surgeon was dressing a dark-red gash in a man's back. Another patient waited near, sitting on a form. Very interested he seemed in all that was being done to his colleague. He caught an orderly's eye, and, speaking with difficulty through a swollen mouth, he explained his case. "Small tube blew out of our gun. Got me fair in the teeth it did, and laid out a tidy few of them on the floor. Guess I'll have to have a nice new set of top ones from the dentist when I get home. Fancy me wi' a nice set o' false teeth! Won't I be a swank!" And he laughed at the prospect.

A huge box stood in the middle of the floor, and every now and again the dressers threw into it bits of wound-stained lint. With these grim tokens of war and casualty it was full. "We empty it once a day in slack times,"

#### Anti-tetanus Injection

said an orderly, "and three, four, five, or even twenty times a day in busy times." I noticed that one of the treatments meted out to all wounded dressed at this station was a hypodermic injection of some white-coloured fluid. This was to guard against the deadly disease tetanus, or lockjaw, the germs of which live and thrive in the yellow mud of the Somme. As it was almost impossible that any wound incurred in this district could have escaped contact with mud, the anti-tetanus injection was given in every case.

John Oldham was sent farther down the line that night, and I went in the same motor-ambulance with him. It was moonlight now, and the gun fire had ceased, though an occasional star-shell soared into the air and whitened the sky over in the direction of the German lines. The roads were quiet. At first we talked—he lying on his stretcher on the right side of the car, I sitting on the seat on the other side. He told me he was a spinner by trade, and that he and many other spinners had joined up at the beginning of the war in a Pals' battalion recruited in the

neighbouring city of Manchester. He went on to tell me of his pals, and what had happened to them, and of the places they had been in on the line. But, sitting there in the darkness of the ambulance-waggon, rocked by the lurches of the car on the uneven road, he seemed to tire. His voice became more of a monotone, and I ceased to answer any of his remarks; and, sure enough, before many minutes he was asleep again. I turned aside the back flap of the car and looked out. The moon, though hidden now, was sending a soft luminousness over things. Now and again we passed a soldier in an iron helmet plodding along the road. In one ruined homestead, without roof, was a tiny fire, round which three or four soldiers were sitting. The earth round about was strewn with barrel-shaped coils. The spot was a barbed-wire "dump." Once we passed a little train of supply-waggons, empty and halted by the roadside. A lantern glowed under each tarpaulin roof, showing that each was in use as a tent or shelter. From one waggon, in passing, I saw the faint, blue light of a Primus stove. Between

the two sides of the waggon were frames of wood with sacking stretched tightly across them to serve as beds.

Sentries and military police with lanterns were posted along the roads at intervals, but they did not trouble us much. Our driver and his car—which did this particular run many times a day—were too well known for them to need to stop us. And so, in good time, we arrived at the next halting-place for wounded from this particular part of the Somme front. It was a "main dressing-station," and it was in the village of Bertrandcourt.

#### Main dressing-station

Switching sharply to the right, our car passed under a brick archway and into a big open square. It had been the yard of a farm, and was flanked on all four sides by low farm buildings—those curious buildings of bricks and beams and plaster common to all the farming villages of the Somme. In normal times that farmyard at this time of night would have been dark and quiet, save, perhaps, for the lowing of cattle in the byres. But now dim lights twinkled from every side of the square, and uniformed men, some carrying lanterns, were moving busily about.

A little squad of R.A.M.C. orderlies came at a trot to meet our incoming car, and as we came to a standstill they formed up in line at our back without question or word, each man ready to make things easier for any poor wounded lad that might be inside. As the canvas flap of the waggon was pulled aside I stood up and leapt out, but before I reached the ground stout arms caught me suddenly under the armpits and lowered me to the ground as gently as though my twelve-stone weight had been twelve pounds. "Take it gently, sir," said a reproving voice, "you might 'appen to do yourself harm if you don't go gently." In the dark they had mistaken me for a wounded officer—as was natural, perhaps, seeing that I was riding in an ambulance-motor and that my uniform was that of an officer. I may mention now that on all my journey from the front to home R.A.M.C. men of all grades showed the same inclination to treat me as an invalid. I had to explain to them that I was neither wounded nor ill, but even then they would sometimes look me over carefully for a casualty



card, or "field medical card" as it is called. Some of them seemed disappointed that they could do nothing for me; and the way they leapt away to help any wounded Tommy or officer was evidence enough of their real keenness.

The commanding officer of this main dressing-station—an R.A.M.C. colonel—had himself come out to see what cases our ambulance-car and others behind it had brought along. I made myself known to him, and presented my

**Feeding the wounded**

credentials. He took me with him while he saw to the disposal of the cases, and then said I must have something to eat before I looked over the station in more detail.

Along a muddy lane we plodded to a little white cottage, by the door of which were painted the words, "Officers' Mess. Field Ambulance. No.—" In a plain kitchen some half-dozen officers were sitting round a rusty fire-grate before a fire which shed a thin fog of smoke into the room. A lamp-light shone upon the remains of dinner—for dinner, late in this busy camp, was just over. I made there the acquaintance of officers some of whom (as I learned later) had given up medical practices and positions at home to come out and "do their bit," and it was no rare thing to see streaks of silver in the hair of an officer wearing the modest two stars of a lieutenant. An orderly of size and venerable age found me some mutton and cabbage on a tin plate, and, in a confidential whisper, asked me whether I would like whisky-and-water or tea. I have noticed before, in Canada and elsewhere, how hard work in primitive conditions conduces to the tea habit. When I remarked something of the sort to the colonel he mentioned that almost the only drink and the only thing asked for by the wounded men and sick who came up from the trenches was tea. "They are offered cocoa or coffee or soup, or a hot meat-drink of some kind, but almost all of them," he said, "ask for tea."

"It's a curious thing, too," added the colonel, as we walked down the lane again to the station later, "that they won't eat meat. At first, when they come in, muddy and tired and weak, they don't seem to want anything much, but a mug of hot tea brightens them up, and then they feel they can eat. And what do you think they like best? Bread-and-jam! Wounded Tommies who will not look at sandwiches or meat-stew or anything else will eat ravenously of bread-and-jam. My own belief is that you can't do better for a wounded man, especially walking wounded, than feed them up, and I have watched a good deal to see the thing that they like best. Bread-and-jam comes an easy first."

By this time we were in the receiving-room of the dressing-station. A barn had been provided with a canvas roof and partitions, and also with a big waterproof ground-sheet for a

flooring. Acetylene lamps gave quite a good working light, and the chamber was kept at a pleasant warmth by a circular stove, the flue-pipe of which passed through a tin panel let into the canvas sides of the chamber. This tin-plate—it was no more than a petrol-tin cut up and flattened out—struck me as an ingenious way of overcoming the risk of a fire in the canvas wall due to a too hot flue-pipe.

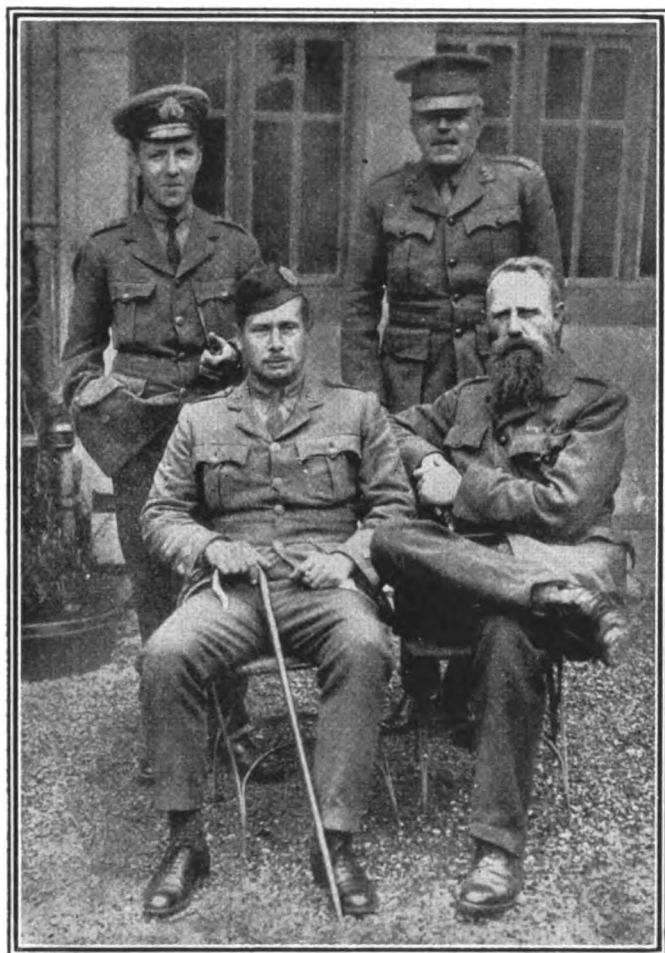
The first thing that happened to every wounded man who entered that reception chamber was to have details taken of his name, regiment, wound, and conditions as shown on his little field medical card, and after that to be fed, washed, and tidied up, and given new garments if necessary. Most wounded were able to walk, and they were told to pass over to the refreshment buffet, which, with a bright light of its own, stood in a separate partition under the presidency of a cheery-faced orderly in shirt-sleeves and a white apron. Before him was a counter filled with eatables. His opening question to each man was this: "Now, my lad, tea, coffee, cocoa, soup, or



PRINCESS PATRICIA OF CONNAUGHT VISITING WOUNDED CANADIANS. Wounded soldiers readily relieved the tedium of convalescence with unaccustomed tasks, and many and wonderful were the things which many of them learned to make. Princess Patricia, whose name will ever be linked with that of one of the many brave regiments from the Western Dominion, interested herself in this soldiers' special form of art needlework. Men of Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry were among the earliest of overseas troops to take part in the war on the Western front.



stew?" It might have been all one word and one dish by the businesslike way he rattled it off. But the Tommies understood all right, and one and all chose tea. As he filled mug after mug it struck me that he did it more by his sense of touch and weight than by sight, for his eyes were roaming about all over the wounded, and his lips were repeating again and again the cheerful invitation: "It's all right, my boys, pick up anything you fancy. It's all yours, and it's there to be eaten." And with his eyes and a nod of the head he would beckon to any soldier who seemed to be hanging back and press him to choose something from among the great platefuls of sandwiches, bread-and-butter, bread-and-jam, cake, and so on which filled the counter. The artillery man with the damaged mouth mumbled, on being pressed to eat, that he could not eat anything because of his sore jaws, whereupon the attendant



WOUNDED BRITISH OFFICERS AT CHATEAU D'OEX.

Comrades in misfortune who spent eighteen months in a German prison before they were transferred to Chateau D'Oex, in Switzerland. Seated (right), Lieut.-Col. Maxwell Earle, D.S.O., Grenadier Guards, and (left) Capt. Henderson, London Scottish. Standing (right), Major R. A. Birley, R.F.A., and (left) Lieut. T. Dobson, R.N.D.

said: "Oh, I'll soon fix you." He busied himself behind the counter for a minute and then presented the artilleryman with a basin of hot bread-and-milk.

The stretcher cases lying in another canvas partition were feeding or being fed by orderlies when I went in to see how friend Oldham was getting along. "Just had a cup o' real good tea," he said cheerily, "and now I am going to slip my face round this." And he held up for my inspection a big slice of bread-and-jam. "Makes you hungry motorin'," he added quite seriously. My mind went back to that solemn and jolting night ride of ours in the darkness of the motor-ambulance car, and I thought I had never heard the word "motoring" more curiously applied.

There was to be no transport of wounded that night to stations farther down the line, and when I left the main

dressing-station for the officers' mess again the patients had been "bedded down" for the night. The colonel had taken me round various dark canvas wards, with an electric pocket torch to light us, promising me a more detailed "look round" in the morning, and I walked up the lane with him to the mess with curious memory pictures going through my mind of recumbent figures of wounded men in all positions—pictures of men with placid faces, calmly sleeping, of men with faces furrowed by pain, of men lying with bodies bent and limbs awkwardly extended—and all these pictures were cut out in circles from surrounding blackness by the white glow of a pocket torch. It was as though I had been in a dark room, watching lantern slides on a screen; circular slides showing poor wounded, bandaged, and "splinted" humanity in vivid lantern pictures.

I slept that night on a camp bed in a cottage in the village. There had been some discussion in the mess earlier as to where I should be billeted, and someone had said: "In the padre's billet." The padre was away on leave, it seemed, so I was given his bed. They took me along a muddy lane, then through a gate in a wall and up a garden path to a white, low-roofed cottage. In a ground-floor room, littered with ornaments and furniture and luggage, were two soldiers' beds. By the light of my candle I could see that a man was already asleep in one of them. Upon the other, a few inches above the wooden floor, were some blankets and an officer's greatcoat. Three stars on a black ground on the shoulders told me that it was the padre's. May I thank him now for the comfort of his greatcoat that night. For it was bitter cold.

I did not feel like sleep. For a time I lay awake with the candle on the floor near my face, watching the flickering shadows it threw upon the whitewashed ceiling. Everything was quiet save for the ticking of a watch somewhere in my neighbour's clothes and the quiet moaning of the wind in the wide chimney of the cottage. Then he began to breathe heavily, and in a minute a loud voice came to me from his bed, saying: "Look here, you'll have to get those waggons into better shelter than this, and quick, too."

Halted for the  
night

"Sorry, what's that you say?" I replied. He did not answer. He was asleep. I learnt next day that he was an officer of motor transport. His cares were evidently following him in his dreams.

At length I seized my boot, and with the heel of it knocked out the candle, trying then to sleep. But after perhaps ten minutes the solemn "crump" of a shell somewhere in the neighbourhood made me wide awake once more. I listened for another. It came along, and though it was well distant the cottage and my bed gave a little shiver. There came another, and I felt certain I heard the fall of a "dud" shell in the near neighbourhood of the cottage. I felt for the candle and found it, but there were no matches. I got up and searched, but could find none. The room was inky dark. Feeling my way I found the door, went out into the passage and opened the front door. A cold wind rushed in. Here in my pyjamas I stood watching the restless swaying of the bushes in the garden and the white flashes of guns and star-shells in the sky away to the east. There was not a sound in the village of Bertrandcourt; not a light. The moon, behind banks of clouds, cast a filmy pale-blue light on the white walls of the cottage. If shells were causing those dull, flat thuds that I could hear every now and again, certainly no one was taking any notice. I went back and crept in among the blankets and the greatcoat once more, and was half asleep when sounds, as of a fierce quarrel—in French—and moans came from the neighbouring room of the cottage. For two or three minutes it went on in most amazing and unnatural fashion—all in one voice, till I guessed that here again was someone talking in his sleep—some old Frenchman apparently infirm and short of breath, for he gasped as he talked and scolded.



An orderly standing at my bedside with a candle woke me next morning. Then he flung back the heavy wooden shutters and let the morning sunshine into the room.

As I stood washing, the door of the further room opened, and out came the queerest old man. He was dressed in some quaint dressing-gown and a little black skull cap, from under the sides of which protruded fuzzy tufts of silvery hair. His head, under the skull cap, seemed to taper almost to a point. He had a round, clean-shaven face, ruddy as an apple; heavy white eyebrows, and beneath them little twinkling eyes of extraordinary brilliance. As I did not know him from Adam I was not a little surprised when he trotted up to me playfully, and with many smiles patted me on the bare back.



A HAVEN OF REST.

Chateau d'Oex, Switzerland, where British sick and wounded, released from Germany, were sent for internment.



GUESTS OF THE POLYTECHNIC AT LUCERNE.

A number of French and British prisoners of war interned in Switzerland were sent to the hospital at Lucerne, which was specially arranged for operations rendered necessary by faulty treatment by German surgeons. Mr. and Mrs. Robert Mitchell entertained this party at the Polytechnic Chalets, Lucerne.

"You Engleeshman? Yes? Very bon," he said, all in one breath. "Germans—Allemands—no bon, no bon." He shook his head fiercely, then he calmly looked me over as I stood there in my pyjama trousers. He stroked my bare arms, and went on: "You soldier? Engleesh soldier? Very bon, very bon." He never waited for an answer to anything, but went on: "You marrié? You got pretty wife, very bon, yes?" I could not help grinning, and he continued: "Bon, very bon." He passed his hand over my chest and back, then hit me on the chest with his fist.

"You fort, yes? Very strong, very bon, yes?" I replied in French to the effect that I was very well, thank you.

He cocked his old head on one side. Then he turned, and, repeating:

"Very bon, very bon, very bon," he trotted back to his own room.

I learned later that the old gentleman was the village curé—very old indeed, though growing younger in manner every day. It was his cottage in which I had slept. The war had upset his mind very much, and he was very, very old; so I felt glad I had not chased him out the bedroom with my shaving-brush as I had once thought of doing.

The main dressing-station at Bertrandcourt, seen by daylight, looked much bigger than it had done the night before; one saw that in addition to all its farm buildings, made habitable and usable by canvas roofs, floors, and partitions, it had also many canvas

marquees, stretching out into the orchard behind. Here, too, was a dug-out for "shelly" days, as my guide expressed it, capable of sheltering a hundred patients if need be. This was one of the best specimens of British-made dug-outs I saw on the Somme, and it disposed effectually of the statements one often heard that only the Germans could build dug-outs.

The equipment of the main dressing-station was considerably more extensive than that of either the advance dressing-station or the aid post. Quite extensive medical work could be done here if necessary. One interesting feature was the oxygen tent, in which stood an oxygen cylinder with a cunning little contrivance (made from

Equipment of  
dressing station

N N





OFF FOR A TRIP ON THE THAMES.

Grateful London overlooked nothing that could contribute to the pleasure of the convalescent wounded. Thames steamers, which had long lain idle at their moorings, were recommissioned to take them on trips up and down the river.

a petrol-can, a tin bath of water, and some tubing), with which oxygen could be administered to half a dozen patients at once from the one cylinder. An incinerator was busily at work in one corner of the grounds, making a merry smoke of its own. In another corner were good-sized kitchens with cooks busily at work. As I walked round with the colonel, men were busy improving the pathways between the various tents or wards by laying "duck-boards" upon them. Duck-boards laid on wet and slippery mud make perhaps the most slippery pathway possible—a pathway most dangerous and difficult for a wounded man or for a stretcher-party. But this path can be made "non-skid" by the simple device of laying wire-netting such as is used for chicken-runs over the surface of the wood. This plan had been followed at Bertrandcourt, and the paths were quite safe and comfortable under foot.

Oldham had passed a fair night in one of the canvas wards of the dressing-station, and it was decided to send him on that day to the next medical post on the long journey home—a casualty clearing-station. He heard the news secretly from me with a pleased grin, for it was not always an easy thing for a wounded man to learn whether he was to be moved and what his destination was. In fact, he could be kept at any of these medical posts on the line, if his case was capable of treatment there—and if there was room to spare—and eventually he would be sent back to his regiment without ever getting nearer to the one great place he hoped to go to—"Blighty." Every move farther down, therefore, was regarded as a "score." The parties of wounded leaving any medical post for the one lower down were all smiles and good-humour. They would be that much nearer "Blighty."

One point interested me as the big "Bulldog" motor-ambulance car was being loaded up with its freight of wounded. The driver was signing his name in a book

held open for him by the sergeant in charge of the camp "pack store." The sergeant explained to me that every article found on a wounded man had to be accounted for on every stage of the journey from trench downwards. Every wounded man's pocket possessions and luggage were entered on printed forms, item for item—knife, watch, rings—even down to simple, valueless things such as "a key-ring without keys," which item I saw figuring solemnly on the list of personal possessions of my friend Oldham. The driver of any car receiving a patient had to give a receipt for any kit and personal possessions of the patients he received. When he delivered his patient to the next medical post he took a receipt from the keeper of that station's pack store, into which they were put



LEAVING THE TEMPLE PIER.

A party of wounded soldiers embarked at Temple Pier on board the Port of London Authority's steamer *Conservator* for a day on the Thames.

pending the wounded man's recovery or removal to another post. In the case of officers all luggage, as well as equipment, had to be signed and accounted for in the same way. The list of a man's belongings had at the first opportunity to be signed by the man himself as being correct. In the case of an officer his servant's signature was regarded as sufficient. If a man were too ill to sign, then one of his officers had to sign. Money and jewellery and other small valuables were put in a little bag and tied upon the patient.

Our carload for the journey to the next post consisted of five patients and myself as inside passengers. There were only two stretcher cases—Oldham and a young Scottish soldier, who, though suffering from a most painful shell wound, lay quietly on his back smoking cigarettes. The other passengers were "sitters," as walking wounded or sick were called for purposes of transport. Among them was a young officer suffering very badly from bronchitis. He spent much of the journey apologising to me—and himself I think—for having left the trenches. He was ill and so weak that he only just failed to be a stretcher case. He seemed terribly depressed—not so



much by his illness as at having to "throw up the sponge," as he termed it, and leave his work. "Stuck it as long as I could," he told me. Then there was silence in the car for perhaps five minutes. I was thinking of something else when he turned to me again and said: "Wouldn't have cared if I could have stuck it till we were relieved." Another pause for coughing, and then: "We'd only another day to go." He made more remarks of like nature before the journey was finished. His failure was on his mind, it was clear.

It became cold as the sun sank, and one could see that the patients tired. The men sat or lay with closed eyes. There was no talking for the last half-hour of our journey. When at last we ran into the casualty clearing-station, beyond Puchevillers, it was dusk. A gang of German prisoners, who had been doing some path-making about the camp, were forming up under their escort ready for the march home to their barbed-wire camp across the fields. Our car was unloaded by orderlies, whose first care was to get the patients to the receiving-shed, where their names and particulars were taken, and then on to the refreshment buffet. For the first step towards curing a wounded man

**Casualty clearing-station**

at this medical post, as at all previous posts, seemed to be to feed him—very sound treatment, too, so the wounded appeared to think. Within half an hour

sick and wounded alike were snug under blankets.

A casualty clearing-station was the nearest medical post to the battle-front that had something of the permanence and the resources of a real hospital. This casualty clearing-station covered several acres of ground. Its buildings were all huts or canvas marquees, it is true, but in them was to be found the most complete surgical and medical equipment, even to X-ray department, pathological department, and the rest. Here also, for the first time on the Via Dolorosa which the wounded man followed to get from the front to his home, were to be found women—British nursing Sisters. It was one of the greatest moments of that journey for the wounded Tommy—that moment when he met a British woman once more, perhaps for the first time after weeks and weeks in the trenches with not a soul within miles, either friend or enemy, but men.



WOUNDED MEN WHO ENJOYED A DAY AT THE ZOO.

Australians from the Dardanelles at the Zoological Gardens. Many people arranged to give outings to the convalescent wounded soldiers, and the Zoo—with rides on the baby elephant for the youngsters—proved unfailingly attractive to a large number of them.

The effect which this presence of their countrywomen had on the wounded struck me as remarkable. I watched friend Oldham being carried into his ward. He was tired and inert. As the men orderlies attended to him he lay listless and irresponsive even to pain when they moved him. The lamps were just being lit. He took no notice of anything. Then a Sister came quietly into the ward. At the voice of a woman speaking English, Oldham's eyes opened wide at once; he raised his head from his bed to see who had spoken. Other eyes than his opened, too. Of the new patients in that ward there was not one save those already asleep who did not become agog



HAPPY HOURS IN THE GROUNDS OF ONE OF THE LONDON MILITARY HOSPITALS.

It was a pleasant time for the wounded men and their families when visiting day came round, and more especially when convalescence and climatic conditions enabled the reunions to take place in the open air. In

this large hospital at Bethnal Green a concert-theatre was erected in the grounds, and the wounded men and their visitors were able to enjoy the music provided for them by a goodly band of performers.



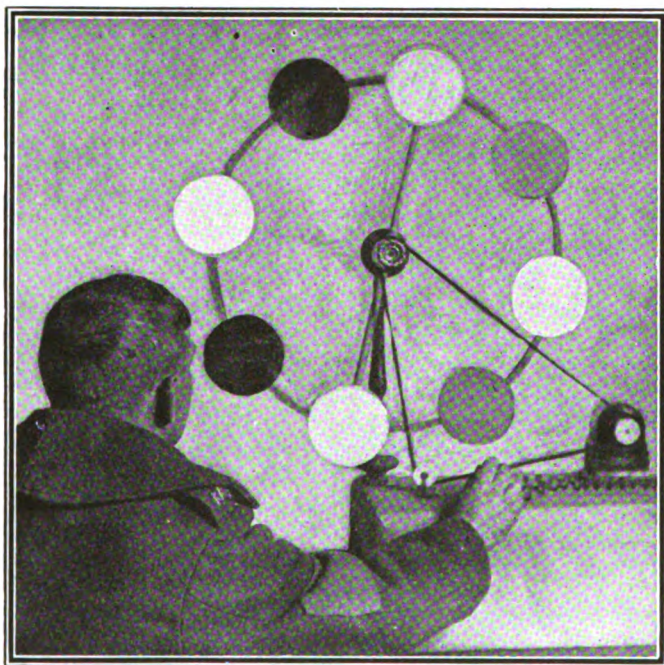
with interest at the sound of an Englishwoman's voice. They followed her about the ward with their eyes. She stood still when her work was done and spoke to the soldier in the bed nearest her. They chatted for three or four minutes, and one could see the interest of the wounded man in his steadfast gaze upon her. There was a pause in the talk, but he still looked at her. Then, feeling perhaps that some little apology for this was due

**Women nurses and the wounded**

from him, he said: "Do you know, Sister, you're the first Englishwoman I've seen or heard speak for over forty weeks."

I had a word or two with her later. She was a comely, motherly woman of thirty-five or so. "The Tommies seem interested to find their countrywomen here, Sister," I said.

"Yes," she replied, "it's funny, isn't it? I don't think there are many new patients come along here from the front who don't pass some remark to the Sisters to show that they are glad to see us. They will watch you all round the ward, and some of them, if you don't happen to speak to them, will speak to you, just asking you some little question or other. They like to keep us talking."



MAGIC WHEEL TO "MASSAGE" NERVES.

Revolving wheels, which brought a constant succession of different colours before the eye, were tried in treating men with nerves shattered by shell-shock, the idea being that the optical effect "massaged" the nerves.

We've all noticed it. Poor fellows, they tell us sometimes that it does them more good than medicine to see an Englishwoman again, and I am sure it's not just soldier's 'blarney,' you know, because they are so serious and polite to us, and tell us about their homes and their wives and mothers and sweethearts. Perhaps it is that the sight of women again makes them think of home and makes them forget for a time the dreadful things they have been seeing and feeling out yonder." She nodded her head in the direction of the German lines, whence the sound of gun fire came now faint and distant.

When Sister had left the ward I walked over to Oldham's bed. I had noticed his interested eye on Sister and me as we had stood talking. "It looks a bit more like civilisation to see an Englishwoman again, doesn't it?" I said, being anxious to know what he thought of it. "By gum, it does that there!" he said warmly. "Makes you kind of feel," he said, with pent brows that showed something of his effort to express his thoughts—"makes you kind of feel—" He stopped. He was very weak and

worn. His nether lip trembled for a second like that of a little boy and tears rolled down his cheeks. Poor lad!

An orderly came bustling along with an extra blanket, and without looking at the patient's face, he went through several bustling manœuvres—with especial vigour, I thought. "Now you're more in parade order, my son," he said, as he finished. "Give us a shout if you want anything!" I was standing at the foot of the cot looking about the canvas ward, so as not to seem to see the patient's little lapse. The orderly stood by me, and with his back to Oldham said in a low voice: "I seen him upset 'isself, sir. They very often breaks down for a minute just when they arrives. I never lets on I sees 'em, but just finds a bit o' somethink to do about their beds, breezy-like, you know, sir, and you talks a bit to 'em, breezy-like, and they pick up in a second. When his wounds is redressed, you won't hear so much as a 'mew' from 'im, no matter how we hurts him. I expect, sir, it's just the bit of 'omesickness breakin' out of them when they're weak-like!"

The point, apart from its greater size and better equipment, that distinguished a casualty clearing-station from earlier medical posts on the road home was that it was, generally speaking, on a railway. It was intended for the surgical treatment and the safe housing of wounded until such time as they were fit for sending back to their units, or for transport to some hospital of a more permanent nature. A railway ran alongside the casualty clearing-station of Puchevillers, and, as I walked round that side of the camp with the commanding officer, an ambulance train shunted slowly into position in the nearest siding, ready to take down to the coast a new load of wounded. It was a train of great length—seventeen long coaches in all—and they were coloured a pale khaki brown and a deep brown, almost black, with red crosses on a white ground coming at frequent intervals on their sides. The train seemed empty, but my guide climbed up to the door of a coach on which were painted the letters "C.O." (commanding officer), and along the narrow corridor inside the coach we met that officer himself coming out to meet us. He wore the three stars of a captain, as did also his assistant, a young man perhaps half his age. The older officer had been a lecturer and examiner in medicine at one of the leading universities of Scotland, and now, after twenty odd years spent in turning out medical men and officers for the R.A.M.C., he had left this work to come out and "do his bit" as an officer himself. One of the many oddities of his position was that men whom he himself had trained were now in the Service high above him. Some of them had to give him orders—for which in some cases they apologised profusely—still calling him "Sir," as in their old student days.

Learning that I wished to travel in a train down to a "base" with a load of wounded, the train commandant pressed me very warmly to make my quarters with him until such time as the train should start, an offer of which I thankfully took advantage. I spent three days with that train as my home—most comfortable and most interesting days, too.

**In an ambulance train**

The train officers' coach was an English railway coach of the ordinary corridor type, but divided in the middle of the corridor by a door. At each end of the coach was a little sitting-room, and towards the centre were separate compartments, used as private bed-sitting-rooms by officers of the staff. The captain and his helper and I had one end of the coach up to the dividing door; the other half was occupied by the three nursing Sisters attached to the train staff. The forty or fifty male orderlies, nurses, cooks, etc., who constituted the remainder of the train staff were housed at the other end of the train. In the middle of the train were the kitchens and administration coaches. All the other coaches were "wards" for wounded and sick. The last coach of the train—that is to say, the one immediately behind ours—was the isolation ward for infectious





*General Mangin, who commanded the troops that recaptured Douaumont, October 24th, 1916.*

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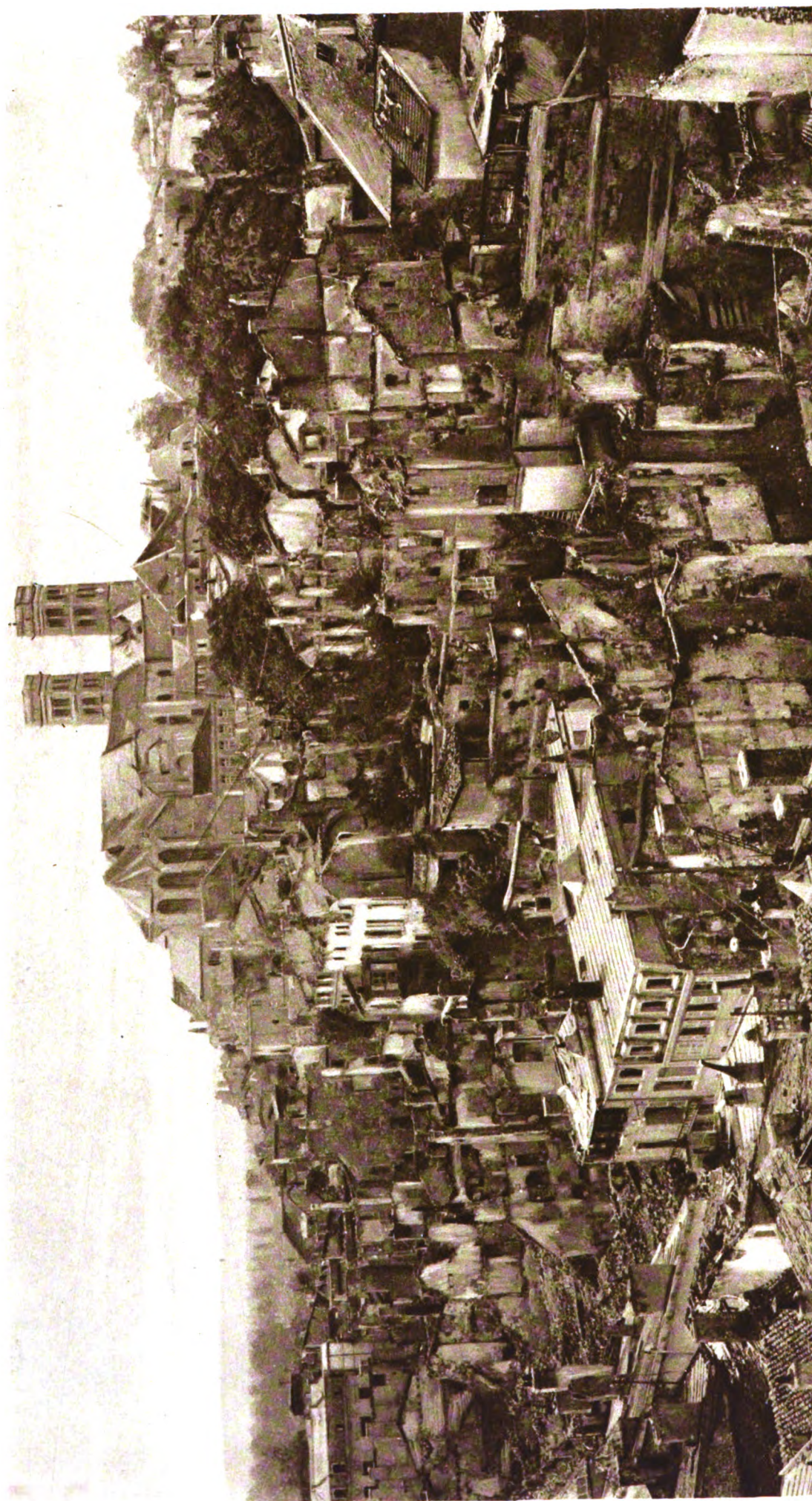
*French soldiers in the sleeping-cabin of a bomb-proof casemate in recaptured Vaux Fort.*





*Verdun in 1916: Its streets sand-bagged, shell-shattered, but still French.*





*Verdun, heroic city of France, viewed after the siege of 1916 from the spire of the Église du Collège.*



cases, should there be any. Thus the medical men of the train and the Sisters could visit from their coach either the wounded wards or the isolation ward, whereas all the patients and orderlies were cut off from the isolation ward, unless they visited it by passing through the officers' and Sisters' quarters.

In these small but cosy quarters that night I dined excellently, chatted with the commandant, and slept. Sitting there on a bleak siding in that tiny cabin, with the wind playing shrill little tunes through our ventilators, reminded me very much of being quartered in a yacht lying in some harbour or quiet waterway. Just before turning

City of tents  
and wood huts

in that night I did look out of the window, half expecting to see water about us; but the moonlight shone only on the quiet siding and the casualty clearing-station

round about us, upon the wet canvas tents of which it threw a faintly glimmering sheen like that of shot silk. Once in the night a train passed us, from which came the murmur of innumerable voices and a most curious stamping noise, like the clumsy beating of many wooden drums. I leaned up on my elbow to see what made it. The train was full of soldiers. They were stamping their feet on the carriage floors to keep warm.

On the following day, after a breakfast of "ration" bacon—which struck me as the best bacon I had tasted since the war made good bacon impossible for civilians—I looked more closely into that little city of tents and wood huts that formed the casualty clearing-station of Puchevillers. This was one of the normal casualty clearing-stations of our Somme front. There were special clearing-stations elsewhere for special types of casualty. For instance, stomach wounds all went direct from the advanced dressing-station or main dressing-station to a casualty clearing-station specially set apart for stomach cases; head wounds all went to another casualty clearing-station direct. Other cases came to a clearing-station of the type of Puchevillers. The size of the place was considerable. It covered many acres of ground, and had its roads and cinder-paths laid out with all the trimness and permanency of a home hospital. There was a wooden pavilion, too, with a piano and a concert-room, from which, as I passed it, came the sound of a woman's singing. "Practising for the camp concert to-morrow," my guide explained.

I looked in at the camp officers' mess that morning, and was not sorry I had taken up quarters in the ambulance train; for the officers' mess-room was a tent—into which the cutting wind found innumerable entrances—warmed by one small stove. Lunch was just over, and four or five medical men were huddled round the stove having a smoke before going back to their duties. Of what those duties consisted I could form some idea later in the afternoon, when the commandant took me into the operating-theatre, a big marquee lit by a blaze of artificial light. Here three operations were being done at once. There were operating-tables for twice as many. The place reeked of chloroform. Three supine figures, partly naked, lay inert on tables. Sitting by the head of each was an anæsthetist, patiently dropping chloroform on to the mask that covered each gently moaning mouth. White-coated surgeons with bare arms and dark rubber gloves were cutting and probing and cleansing away the corruption caused by bullet and shell and bomb; white-robed nursing Sisters stood by with bowl and swab and other appurtenances of this craft ready for handing to the surgeon at even a nod from him.

I walked back from the operating-theatre to my quarters in the ambulance train with my respect—and distaste—for a surgeon's handiwork both enhanced. Poor Oldham was to go through something of the same sort later on; but my resistance to chloroform fumes had not been sufficiently cultivated as yet to enable me to stop and see him through, as I had intended. Rather did I feel that yearning for a cup of tea such as the sick and wounded Tommies felt, and I climbed from the siding into our



MRS. ST. CLAIR STOBART.

Mrs. Stobart was one of the British nurse-heroines of Serbia during the period of that gallant kingdom's most terrible trial. Her field hospital did invaluable work, and she was devoted in her attention to the poor Serbian refugees as well as to the wounded. Mrs. Stobart received the Serbian Order of St. Sava and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

railway carriage full of hope, for I had caught the passing glance of an orderly carrying a teapot. Alas! it was going to the Sisters' sitting-room in that *terra incognita* at the other end of the coach. But I was in luck that day, for on entering the commandant's cabin he informed me that I had been invited to take tea with the Sisters that afternoon. He himself took me along and presented me to them—Sister Paul, Sister Mahoney, and Sister Thompson.

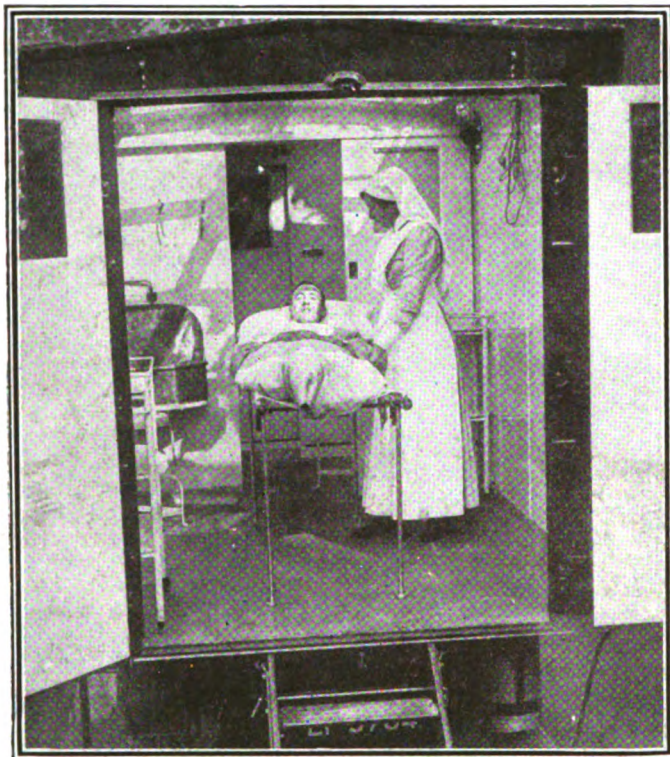
Very shyly and very kindly they gave me tea from their excellent brew. This with their Garibaldi biscuits and Scottish shortbread proved an excellent antidote to chloroform fumes and surgical sights, and I found my joy in life slowly returning under their cheery stimulus.

Good, jolly women were those nursing Sisters, practical, natural and friendly as are most British women who have seen life and done things and faced the world. As I sat chatting with them it dawned upon me that, with the brief exception already noted, I had not spoken to an Englishwoman for five weeks, and I realised faintly some of that queer satisfaction which the Tommies showed when they came, after weeks of men and war, to set eyes on a country-woman once more.

Preparing the  
hospital train.

The day of the train's departure came at last. A medical transport officer mounted to the footboard of our carriage and announced the news through the window. "We'll make you half a cargo here," he said, "and then you can back up to Varennes for the rest of your load. You'll have something over four hundred in all 'liers and sitters.'"





MOTOR HOSPITAL.

Operating-theatres on wheels, which proved of great value to surgeons in the field, were simply and efficiently designed and arranged for emergency work.

Everyone in the train seemed glad at the news, for pleasant idleness in a siding did not seem to appeal to them at all. "Oh, yes," said one of the Sisters to me, "we'd sooner be running with a load of patients than be standing doing nothing." People who are in love with their work can talk like that. Soon both the camp and the train were all activity. A big Belgian locomotive, in control of an English driver, backed slowly down on to us from somewhere and coupled up. Before long a new and pleasing warmth was creeping through the train from the steam-pipes in every coach. Big double doors in the centre of each ward-coach were thrown open. Train orderlies with masses of blankets, pillows, hot-water bottles, and cushions were scurrying along the train leaving little "dumps" of these things at the end of each coach. Other orderlies seized them and began the making up of beds on the iron-frame bedsteads that stood three by three, one above another, ship fashion, along the sides of the coaches. The kitchen coach was a pleasing litter of peeled potatoes and food tins, steaming coppers and roaring fires, with half a dozen men galvanised into double activity by sudden orders for "lunch for four hundred" in two hours' time. Such an order would tax a shore hotel on the fringe of a Covent Garden, let alone an ambulance train tucked away in a remote French siding where not even a loaf could be bought.

In the camp "ashore" things were just as active. I followed round one canvas ward-tent an orderly who was tying upon some patients' stretchers a little strip of red

ribbon and on others a strip of white. I little thought that I was watching the distribution of pleasure and pain such as only a wounded Tommy can know. But the glittering, glad eyes of the lads who received a red ribbon and the smothered groans of those who were given a white showed me that the distinction was of great moment to these men. One poor lad who had been leaning up in bed watching with feverish eyes the orderly with his ribbons and his written lists, fell back with a groan on seeing a white ribbon tied to the handle of his stretcher.

"Oh, heavens!" he exclaimed, and then shutting his eyes he took no more interest in the proceedings. The red ribbon was the distinguishing mark for patients who were to go on the outgoing train to the coast, perhaps even to "Blighty." The white was to mark those who were to stay behind. The soldier's only recompense for being wounded is to be sent home. To get the white ribbon, therefore, was hard.

Orderlies came into the tents in couples and carried out the stretchers bearing the red ribbons. There were great leave-takings. Some of the men had been as long as a fortnight at the clearing-station, and a fortnight in a sick-tent is the equivalent of months of ordinary life, especially so far as the making of friendships goes. "So long, old pal; better luck to you with the next train down. If I get 'ome I'll go and see your folks as I promised. So long,

Colours of  
pleasure and pain



REMOVING THE PATIENT AFTER SURGICAL ATTENTION.

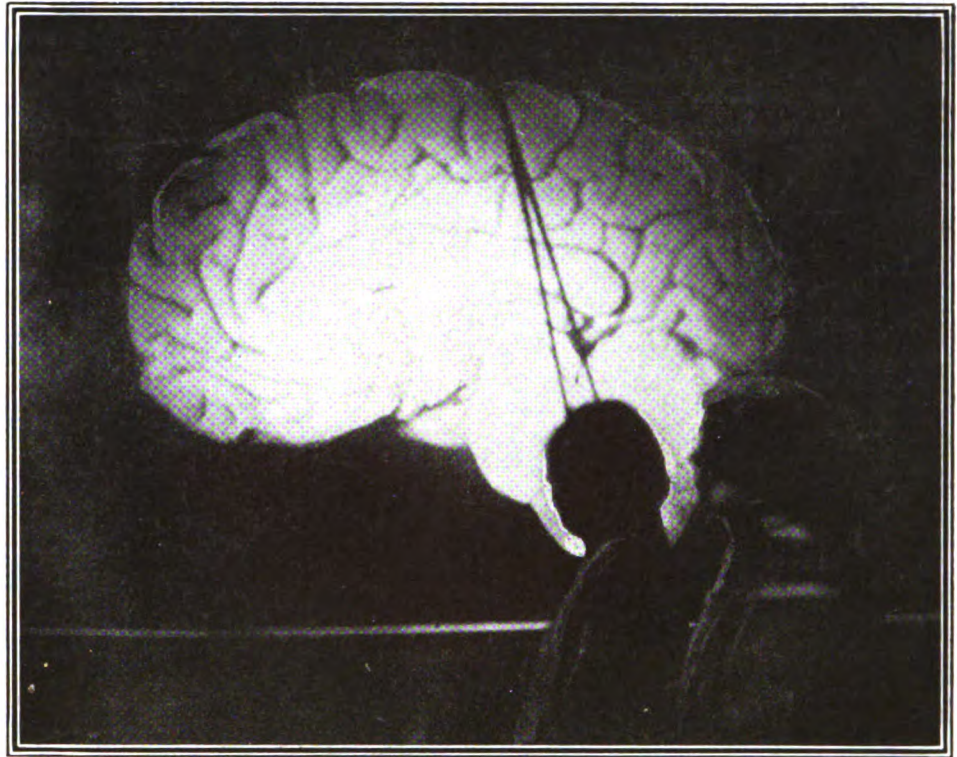
Testing the field operating-theatre, which was presented to Italy by the Wounded Allies' Relief Committee before it left London. Everything was arranged for maintaining perfect steadiness while the theatre was in use for the great purpose for which it was designed.

old lad." And a hand from a bed in the dimness of the tent waved to another hand that was waving from a stretcher being carried out towards daylight and the train, and perhaps "Blighty." Glad were the eyes of the men on those moving stretchers, but they left heavy, weary eyes in the tents behind them.

No sooner had the last "red" stretcher been borne on its way than from the other end of the tent, casually, and as though by accident, strolled "Sister." She went round the beds doing little tasks and talking to the patients as she worked. It was by no accident that she came. I accused her later of a motive in coming. "Yes," she admitted with a smile. "I knew the last patient had gone, and I came along just to have a look at those who were left. Train time is one of their bad times, you see, when they are not going." Then she began to busy herself again with the patients. I don't know just how much or how important



work those British nursing Sisters did at Puchevillers, but whether that work was much or little, important or trivial, their mere presence and womanly good sense and kindness were a tremendous help to the curative resources of the station. Let me say here, too, that right through our hospitals in France—and in Britain for that matter—good womanly nursing and sympathy, so far as I saw it, had everywhere a curative value that vied with that of any medicine. It was whispered to me in the base hospitals nearer the coast that Sisters and nurses were expected to be more “distant and dignified,” that they were kept under a much stricter discipline, and that the reason of this was the number of distinguished visitors—women among them—who came to these places with a sort of policeman’s eye for everybody and everything, especially for their fellow-women, the nurses and Sisters. If this accusation was true the Army and the nation suffered a loss.



HUMAN BRAIN SHOWN BY THE EPIDIASCOPE.

By means of the epidiascope opaque objects can be projected on a screen in natural colours, microscopic subjects being highly magnified. The light used is 10,000 c.p. electric arcs playing on a series of mirrors. This photograph was taken at Bedford College for Women.

Outside the tent-wards orderlies were lifting the stretchers on to pair-wheeled, rubber-tyred ambulances. Upon one of these each patient was wheeled by an orderly along the smooth cinder-paths of the camp to the train siding. Friend Oldham was there,

**At “Blighty Junction”**

mist was on the ground, and it was cold and cheerless enough, but there was not a man who did not look happy. And when they caught sight for the first time of the name of that simple railway siding, posted in white letters on a black signboard, more than one throat raised a little shout of pleasure, for the name of that siding was—“Blighty Junction.”

The joke may strike one as simple enough, but to those poor lads it was priceless. “Blighty Junction!” they chuckled. “Very good, that is; very good!” And they continued to smile at the happy memory of it. Or was it perhaps at the happy memories and prospects it evoked?

There were some handshakings, much shouting of “Good-bye!” and “Good luck!” Patients had to shake hands with orderlies who had tended them, and there were one or two surgeons I noticed who had friends among the patients. “I want to thank you for all you’ve done for me, sir,” I heard one lad saying to an R.A.M.C. officer, who before he donned the King’s khaki was a specialist of some repute. “Oh, that’s all right; don’t speak of that,” said the surgeon cheerily as he took the hand that reached out from under the coverlet and shook it. “Good luck to you, lad, and let me know how that leg of yours goes on.” The boy was lifted into the train, and as his orderly tucked him into his bed the patient was saying: “What he done for me would have cost any ‘civvy’ (civilian) a hundred guineas—no less. He never operates for less than that. Took my leg off for nothink, ‘e did—for nothink. I meant shakin’ ands wiv ‘im afore I left.”

The train was slowly on the move by this time. The steam of the engine added its whiteness to that of the mist, and the casualty clearing-station of Puchevillers was blurred out for us tent by tent as it were. The last figure I made out was an orderly with his wheeled ambulance

empty going back towards camp. He turned to wave us another good-bye.

The casualty clearing-station at Varennes, which emerged suddenly from the mist, after an hour or two of slow running and stopping, was very like Puchevillers, but here they brought down the wounded men’s stretchers to the train either by hand or loaded upon trucks on a hand railway. Three on a truck, laid crossways upon it, the wounded were rolled along rails made of wood, which left the camp by three paths, meeting the ambulance train at right angles. From here they were lifted into the train. To learn what the task of carrying the wounded is like I was allowed to take one stretcher along the little platform beside the train. Its occupant was a thirteen-stone Irish soldier. After going some fifty yards with him I realised better—and with aching arms—the work done in the trenches, where men might have to carry a wounded comrade for a thousand yards or more, and over rough ground and slippery mud instead of on a smooth plank platform, before they could put down their burden—to go back for another.

Before getting back into our carriage the train commandant and I had a word with the engine-driver, whom it was odd to see pull himself smartly to attention. Before the war he had been a driver on a Midland Railway engine at Leicester and Derby, and when volunteer drivers were called for he had responded. He wore dark blue overalls and a peaked blue cap on which were the crown and the “R.E.” of the Royal Engineers Corps. He dabbed a handful of oily cotton-waste into his pocket, I noticed, ere he saluted the commandant.

**Out of sound of war**

We steamed slowly away from Varennes in the half-light of a wintry afternoon. The guns up at the line were booming a dull and distant note, and as we crawled farther away they grew feebler and feebler, and finally faded out. Thus did we leave the war behind us at last—and even to me, unwounded, its absence was a relief. For five weeks I had lived ever within sound of the guns and their rumbling drone, near or distant, and though one becomes used to





AN AMERICAN BENEFACTRESS.  
Mrs. W. K. Vanderbilt in the American Hospital at Neuilly, near Paris, of which she was one of the founders.

their sound, the absence of it comes as a relief. To wounded men it is an especial relief. Medical officers at aid posts, advance dressing-stations, main dressing-stations and casualty clearing-stations alike, had assured me that of all the things a wounded Tommy resents most about these places is the fact that the guns and the din of battle can still be heard from them. Often, of course, the wounded lying in these places had to be carried down into cellars and dug-outs to avoid shell fire, and in their weak and helpless state this, I was told, annoyed them beyond measure.

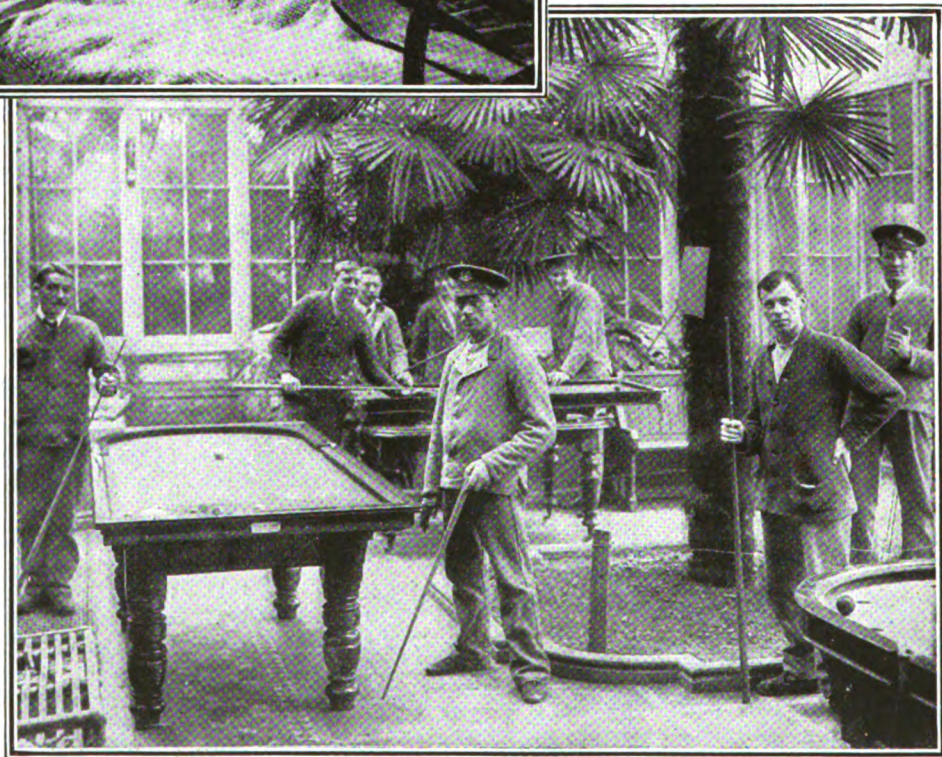
The next coach forward from ours was the wounded officers' coach. Half of it had been converted into a little saloon for use as a mess by "walking" cases, or "sitters," as they are called on the train. I looked in in the course of the afternoon, and found half a dozen or more officers pretty comfortable, reading, or sleeping in easy-chairs. One party were playing bridge.

#### Patients on the train

Farther along this coach were officers' stretcher cases. Among them I found a young Flying Corps lieutenant, whose machine I had seen hit by a German "Archie" gun one day when I went into the trenches beyond Beaumont-Hamel. The engine of the machine had been carried away, and the machine had half floated, half fallen to earth. The airman was not hurt by the fall, which occurred, fortunately, just inside our lines, but a shrapnel fragment had hit him in the back. He was very cheery, and we had an interesting chat. He could have

been hardly more than twenty. I passed through the kitchens on my way forward in the train, and the quartermaster, a genial Irishman, once retired but now returned to the Colours, invited me to sample some broth that was just being served out to the patients. It was made from tinned "Maconochie," with added water, seasoning, and beef-juice—and excellent fare it was.

As I stood taking my broth a bright little orderly caught sight of me as he dashed through the coach with a tier of mugs, and, pulling himself smartly to attention, asked: "Can you speak German, sir?" If so, would I help him with some sick German prisoners who were in his ward. He was anxious not to give them the wrong kind of food, he said, but to continue the diet they had been having in the casualty



GROWING HEALTH WHERE ORCHIDS ONCE WERE GROWN.

Highbury, the beautiful Birmingham home of the late Joseph Chamberlain, was converted into a V.A.D. hospital. Billiard and bagatelle tables were placed for the amusement of convalescent soldiers in the house once devoted to the famous orchids with which Mr. Chamberlain was associated in the public mind.

clearing-station. I went along with him and asked the Germans, of whom there were eleven, what each had been having to eat. There is, perhaps, no race which answers a question about food more readily than the German. Several robust-looking men among them said they had been having meat and chicken and bread and—as one man expressed it enthusiastically—"Alles was gut ist" (everything that is good). Another poor soul in spectacles said he had been given only rice-pudding and milk, "for eating gave him great 'belly pains,'" he added, dolorously. He was a poor, feeble little fellow and had worked as a chemist in Germany. The war, he said, had undermined him quite. He was not strong before, but now he was like



a gnat ("So wie eine Mücke"). He had been very kindly treated, he said, as a prisoner. Another of the Germans had been captured in Beaumont-Hamel. Our shell fire, he said, had been dreadful; but, as all the garrison were well underground, they thought to be able to hold the place. Their officers had said that the British were fools even to attack it, and had prophesied that we should have finally to leave off the direct assault and try some other means.

Cigarettes were being served out to the British soldiers by Sister Paul from a big tray. Before she came to the Germans I had handed them a few of my own, fearing that they would get none. The quartermaster passed at the time and said: "You needn't have done that, sir; we give them a smoke or two. All fare alike in this train, Germans and all. When a man's sick or knocked out of action that's excuse enough for treating him kindly."

Certainly the British Tommies, who fought the Germans—and

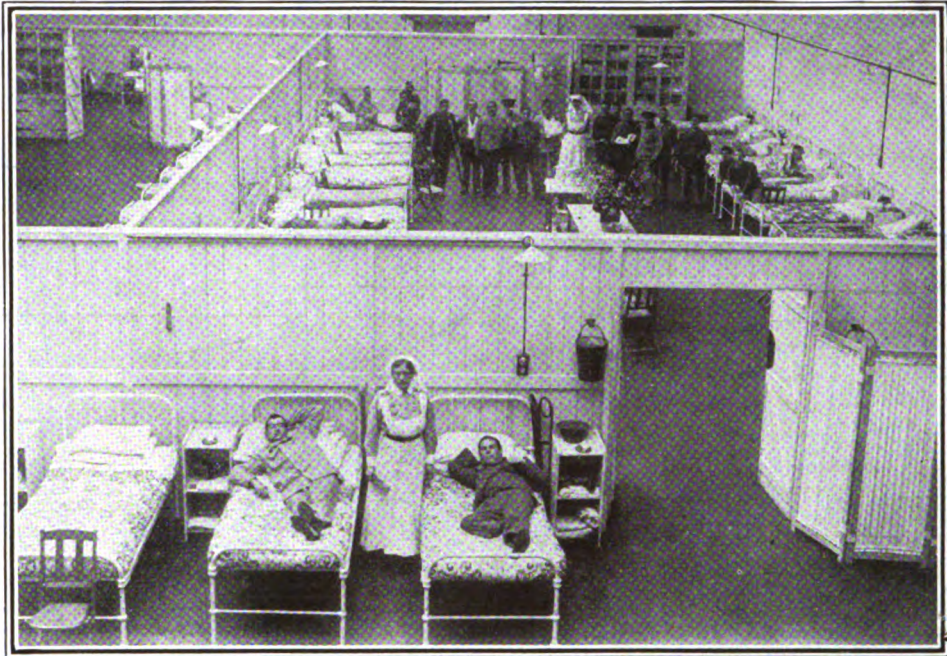
#### The give-and-take of war

whose view ought, therefore, to count for at least as much as those of people who didn't fight him—always treated the German prisoners and wounded in a friendly way. In that train, though they could not speak together, they were exchanging friendly signs and nods. Some exchanged small souvenirs. One German soldier had a British bullet that had been taken out of his lungs. A British Tommy, who had come from the same part of the line, asked to see it. As he weighed it in his hand, looking thoughtfully before him, he said to his nearest pal: "It would be a very funny thing if I had shot that bullet, wouldn't it? But who knows I didn't?" He looked at the German, who,

of course, understood nothing. Then the speaker made a curious request to me: "Tell him what I have just said, sir." With some curiosity I translated for the German this odd speculation. He smiled and shrugged his shoulders, and replied calmly as he puffed at his cigarette: "That doesn't matter to me. Perhaps I shot him." Thus impartially and dispassionately was the give-and-take of war recognised by soldiers who had fought and suffered. It was something of a lesson, perhaps, for less tolerant people who have not fought.

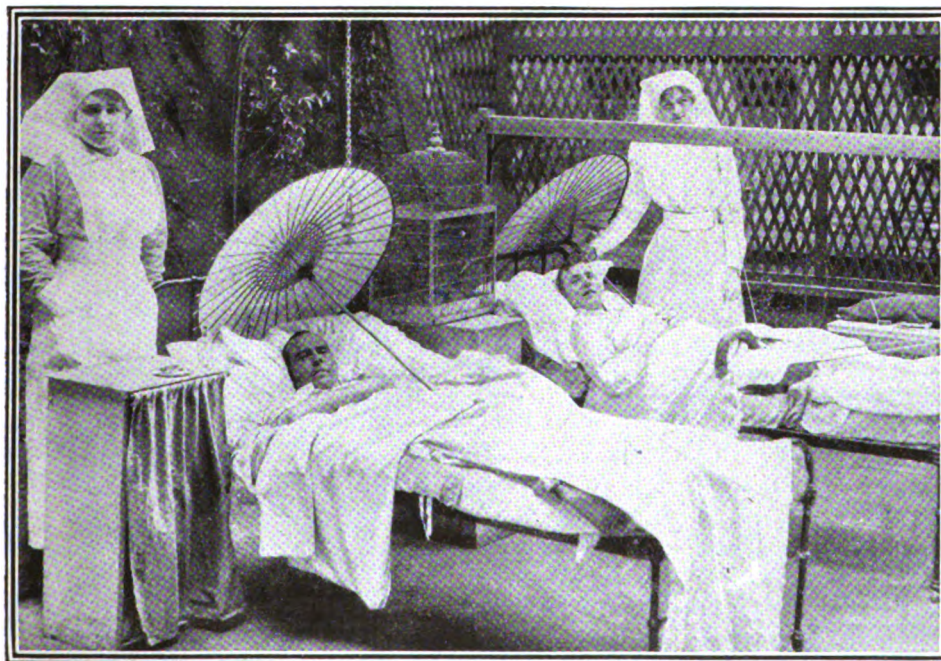
Tea in the commandant's cabin that afternoon was a hurried affair for all save me. There was much work to be done, and I was left alone with my second cup. The lamps

had been lit. Outside the weather was raw and dark, with some mist. The long, heavy train was rumbling rhythmically at a sober pace over the metals. The electric light in the white ceiling brightened and waned at slow, regular intervals. I sat back in the comfortable seat watching it, and with my mind wandering, dreamily perhaps, over the events of the day and that week, and earlier weeks. I had seen these young soldiers, or their kind, in the full vigour and rigour of war—war that admitted of no comfort, no softness, or even gentleness; grim, hard, unfeeling war, coldly callous and horrible. Now these among them had got their quietus—some for a time, some for a longer time, some for ever—for not all among that trainful of wounded men would pull through. You would have thought to find them much subdued. I had looked for traces of this, and had seen hardly one. Even as I sat there they began singing comic songs. I walked along to the first ward-coach. A chorus



CLIVEDEN HOSPITAL: JUST BEFORE VISITING HOURS.

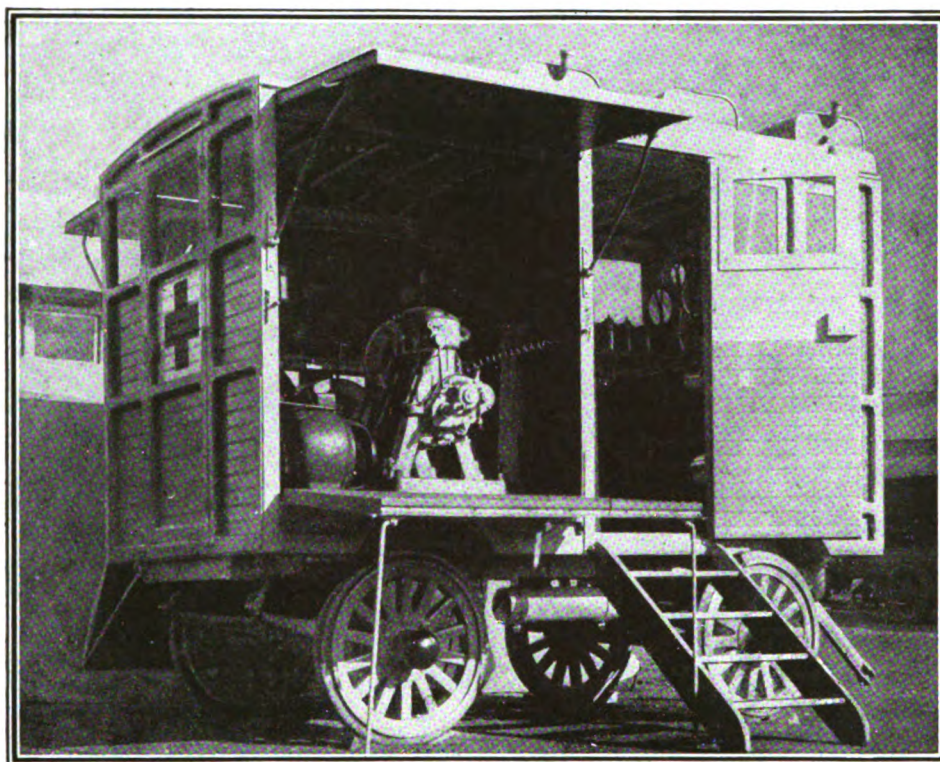
Visitors' Day, one of great expectancy in every hospital, was a day of especial interest for soldiers wounded in the war and for their friends. This photograph shows a ward in the Cliveden Hospital prepared for the admission of visitors.



OPEN-AIR TREATMENT AT THE COULTER HOSPITAL.

Corner of the open-air ward at the Coulter Hospital, Grosvenor Square. Londoners became very familiar with the picturesque sight of these hospital wards set up on the leads and balconies of the great houses, where wounded men got full benefit of the air.

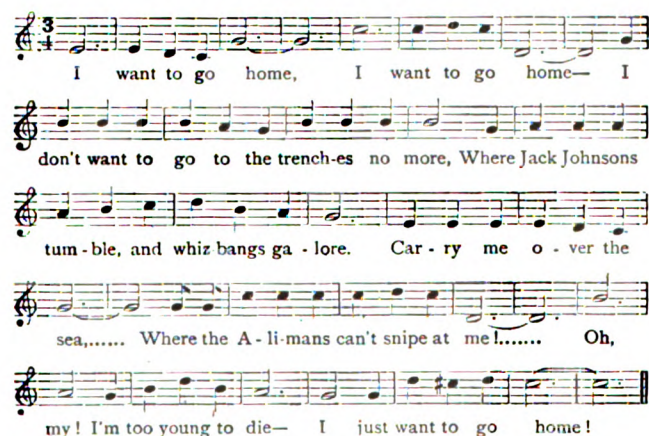




MOVABLE ICE-MAKING PLANT AND KITCHEN.

The equipment of the British Army Medical Service was as near perfection as human organisation can attain, and was the only matter in respect of which Germany frankly admitted British superiority and imitated British methods. This was one of the Red Cross vans containing ice-making plant and kitchen.

song was in full progress. The words of it struck me cold. They were singing this:

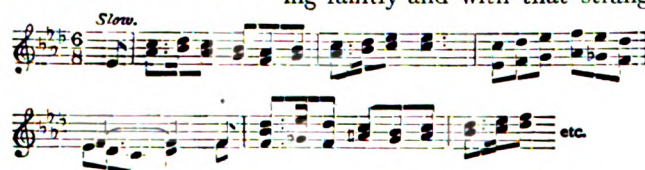


A not inappropriate song, you say, for wounded men to sing. True enough. But not as they sang it. They were singing it as a comic song, with laughing faces. I stood, almost in horror, watching one poor wreck of humanity, whose face peeping from a mass of bandages was almost whiter than his wrappings, as he sang "Oh, my! I'm too young to die!" actually with a happy grin, and with his one remaining hand beating time above his stretcher. He wore the "dangerous case" ticket, red and white, and had death written all over him. One of the surgeons

who saw my fascinated gaze halted for a second as he passed me to say, in a grim sotto voce, "He'll do well if he gets his wish." "Shouldn't they stop him?" I asked. "Not a bit of it!" he said cheerily. "That's the spirit that may help him dodge death after all. I like to hear them." From this song they turned to queer songs of their own making, sung to hymn tunes—songs that scoffed at duty and war and death, and many serious things—in fun. Finding that

they were in a mood for music, the ward Sister disappeared, and in a few minutes an orderly appeared carrying a gramophone and some records. Some light music and songs were played, and the men listened from their beds with keen attention. And then it remained for that gramophone to reveal in them their real nature—a gentler, deeper nature than that shown in their songs laughing at death. The orderly put on a record of a little violin and piano piece. The Sister had said it was getting too late for more music; it was bed-time. But in answer to several pleadings she had said they could play one more record if they chose a "quiet one" that would not disturb men who by now were ready for sleep. The piece opened with a haunting little melody, almost like a cradle-song. I jotted down the few bars of it which are given below.

The violin played the melody with its childish thirds and sixths, played it softly, wistfully, soothingly, naively (Fritz Kreisler, I think, was the player), and the piano accompaniment, coming faintly and with that strange



elfin tinkle that the gramophone lends to the piano's tone, had about it a curious prettiness and sweetness like distant and tuneful fairy bells. The ward grew quiet; men who half an hour before had been singing a lusty defiance to all the gentler moods of life, listened now with rapt eyes and with faces curiously relaxed, like those of sufferers suddenly released from pain. The second movement of the piece was struggling and fretful music. The men fidgeted a little and some closed their eyes. But the opening refrain, in all its childishness, came back again before long, and again they listened—listened as a sleepy child to a mother's crooning. The piece finished. They did not speak. The instrument was picked up and carried away without one remonstrance. They did not even look; they lay there with closed eyes as though to keep with them for the night the visions and the thought-pictures to which that plaintive child-music had given rise. The lights were turned down. Soon there was not a sound save an occasional sigh and the rhythmical rumble of the train over the metals. And I caught myself tiptoeing out of that coach as I might have done out of a children's nursery. Poor lads! Right through the livelong day they had been full of "go," "full of fight," full, even though wounded, of the healthy animal spirits which the British soldier, like every healthy child, knows. But with the evening, and dark, and the coming of weariness due to their weakness, the softer, gentler side of their nature shone through—shone through at the subtle crooning of a gentle bit of music. It might have been a mother song and they little toddling, sleepy tots again.

I asked the Sister later to show me the gramophone, for on it I had noticed a little brass plate and some printing.

**Influence of  
music**

**Spirit of the  
wounded**



The printing said: "From Members of the Dunhill Parish Church, Dumbartonshire, Rev. Dugald Clarke, October, 1916." I thought the givers of that gramophone and my unknown namesake the minister would like to know something of the pleasure they had given by their gift.

The train stopped during the night at the long, deserted platform of a deserted station, Abbéville, I think. The commandant jumped out and beckoned me to follow him. He walked to the front of the train before it had started again, boarded it and walked through, inspecting each ward and coach on his way. The patients were asleep. You could stand at the end of a ward-coach and count before you thirty-six beds, in threes, one above another as on board ship, and see in each bed some figure of pain. The dimness of the lighting seemed to make even more grotesque the strange and unnatural positions in which wounded men lie. Here and there an arm or leg extended from a bunk, and part way across the narrow passage between the beds. You had to walk carefully so as not to touch it and disturb the sleeper. You had to take care also not to tread on the men of the undermost bunks, some of whom preferred to hang limbs or shoulders half out of bed and on the floor. "They find the position that is most comfortable," said the captain, "and we try to let them lie as they like."

Once, I remember, a battered and bandaged hand suddenly reached out right in front of me as I passed along the narrow centre aisle and hung most pleadingly, and, so it seemed in the half-light, like that of a beggar in a Bible picture asking for alms. The captain had gone on in front. I thought the patient wanted someone to look at his hand, but a glance at his eyes showed me he was sound asleep. Involuntarily the paining limb had stretched out suppliantly, seeming to beg for itself for ease from its pain, to plead for itself while the owner slept. I took the hand and gently put it back across the patient's heaving chest

Reaching the coast

and under the sling from which it had escaped. He sighed, but did not even open his eyes, then lay peacefully. Unseen by me, the commandant had turned back to wait for me and had been watching me from the end of the coach. "We shall have to find you a job in the train's nursing crew," he said with a smile.

Near the door of the next coach Sister Mahoney was putting a hot-water bottle to a sleeping man's feet. The captain felt the man's pulse and asked her some questions. They spoke in whispers. On the corner of the man's bed hung the little red-and-white "danger" ticket. I recognised in the patient the singer of "I'm too young to die."

We reached the coast in the wee small hours. Motor-cars in scores it seemed, and bearers in dozens, were there. By the wan light of white arc lamps the stretchers were lifted out of the train; some of the patients did not wake, and were carried over the cobbled streets of the old French

town to base hospitals, there to rest till cured or till ready for sending oversea to that longed-for haven of all wounded, "Old Blighty." One glimpse of the busy workers and motor-men and orderlies as friend Oldham was carried indoors at one of these hospitals, and I turned away. No need for me to describe a base hospital again. Oldham would be in safe keeping and would not be moved again for at least many hours. I should find him again. I walked back through the quiet streets. No bed was to be had, but I slept quite soundly that night on a wooden form in the railway transport office at the station, with a small heap of railway guides for a pillow. The corporal in charge of the office, formerly a clerk at the Railway Clearing House, London, made me a sandwich and a cup of tea. A deep rumble shook my form an hour later. It was my ambulance train going back to the front for another load of wounded.

"Blighty" at last

A big ship, painted a bright apple green and bearing on its side a mammoth Red Cross, waited at the quayside not many days later. Again the string of motor-ambulances, again the careful carrying of maimed men on stretchers—Oldham among them, the lucky ones—again the filling of bed bunks one above another. And then the big green ship glided noiselessly away from the quayside of that old French port. She flew a red-and-white flag as the sign of her merciful calling, and when daylight ebbed at last and the sun sank into a mush of heavy brassy clouds away on the sky-line, she lighted up a girdle of green lamps about her waist—a girdle as of rich sparkling emeralds that enveloped her all about. Set among them on each side, as in rubies, were red lights in the form of the great Red Cross.

In the pallid light of an early morning a magic word went to and fro among the worn men who filled the cabins fore and aft of that apple-green ship. That word made lame men and sick men drag themselves up in bed on their elbows; it made men who could even hobble get out of bed to look out of the port-holes. And through those little brass-ringed circles of weather-smear glass they gazed rapturously at the dark grey slabs of a dock wall, at the black-timbered walls and the wet, slate roof of some dock warehouse, at a dock crane with thin outstretched arm that reared backwards and upwards till lost to sight in the mist. The rain fell. Fog rose from the yellow-green water of the dock. An old man hobbled from under a shelter to a plump bollard near the dockside. He looked at the murky sky both to north and to south. Then into that dock he spat deliberately. That was what those worn soldiers gazed out upon through the little round brass-rimmed windows, and their eyes sparkled with moisture at the mere sight. Throats moved without words issuing forth, till at last pent-up feelings found vent in one hoarse murmur—"Blighty!"



WOUNDED SOLDIERS ENTERTAINED AT VOLUNTEER SPORTS.

Sports at North Ealing arranged for the entertainment of wounded men by the London Volunteer Rifles. The visitors were watching a ceremonial parade.





# RUINS OF THE ARMoured CONCRETE FORT DOUAUMONT ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF VERDUN.

Two views of Fort Douaumont, a focus of some of the fiercest fighting in the Battles of Verdun. Its capture by the Germans on February 26th, 1916, provoked from the Kaiser one of the most flamboyant proclamations that he ever issued. Retaken by the French and lost again, it was finally recaptured by them in their magnificently successful counter-offensive towards the close of the year.





POILUS ADVANCING

## CHAPTER CLXII.

TO THE ATTACK.

# THE COUNTER-OFFENSIVE OF THE ARMY OF VERDUN.

By Edward Wright.

Noyon and Falkenhayn's Miss—Nivelle Awaits His 16 in. and 20 in. Guns—Germans Vainly Attempt to Distract the French—Terrific Battle of Thiaumont—Knife-like Drive Against Souville Fort—New German Method of Infiltration—Crown Prince's Army Exhausted—Nivelle Wins Mastery of the Air—Brandenburg Troops Reproached for Cowardice—Hindenburg Prepares a French Victory—Remarkable Genius of General Nivelle—The Storming Return to Thiaumont—Enemy Provoked to Attack—Battle Around Souville Fort—The Deceptive Tactics of General Nivelle—Germans Move Half their Guns from Verdun—How the British Army Helped the Army of Verdun—Nivelle Uncovers His New Big Guns—Consternation of Enemy—30,000 Frenchmen against 63,000 Germans—Swift and Smashing Victory of Douaumont—Strange Adventure of a Zouave—The "Black Friends of France" and the Heroism of a Sahara Prince—Ironic German Staff Publication—Lardemelle's Division Advances on Vaux—Enemy Retires without Battle—Superb Engineering Feat by General Nivelle—New French Commander-in-Chief—Retirement of Crown Prince—Battle of Vacherauville—German Line Pierced on Pepper Hill—Great French Flanking Movement on Louvemont—Passaga's Division Storms into Bezonvaux—Extraordinary Gains and Small Losses—Significance of General Nivelle's New System of Attack.



WHEN, in the last week of June, 1916, the guns on either side the Somme thundered a message of relief to Verdun, the situation around the citadel of Lorraine was such as to cause anxiety. At a disastrous sacrifice of men and material General von Falkenhayn had penetrated to the inner ring of defence of the gateway of the Meuse. But it can now be frankly stated that Falkenhayn made a mistake in strategy in selecting Verdun for a concentration of two thousand guns and a million and a half men. The sector he should have attacked, in the judgment of French military authorities, was that between Lassigny and Soissons. At the point of this angle was the historic town of Noyon, held by the Germans, and only fifty miles from Paris. An overwhelming and sustained thrust from Noyon, if conducted with as much success as the preliminary drive at Verdun, might have alarmed the French people and provoked a premature reaction from the British Army. Noyon, it can now be admitted, was the real point of hazard in the view of the French Staff. Our allies did not fear the actual

piercing of their line, but the spirit of the public might have been disturbed if a battle had opened with unparalleled violence only fifty miles from the capital.

As Falkenhayn aimed above all at a moral effect on French opinion, he failed in the aim which led him to concentrate against Verdun. It was his superior railway facilities in the Metz area and the desire to increase the prestige of the heir to the Hohenzollern throne that led him to select Verdun as his grand objective. Even had he taken Verdun he would not have seriously weakened the French

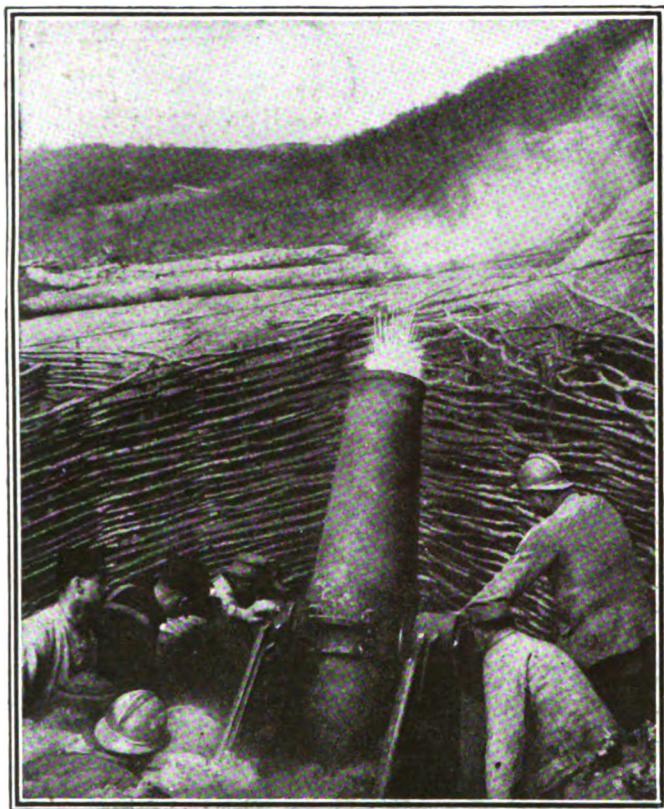
front. For on the western bank of the Meuse the French held another line of fortified hills that would probably have cost the German Army another half a million casualties to capture. Behind the western heights of the Meuse the French had a third great line of defence in the upland Forest of Argonne, and again behind the Forest of Argonne, going towards Paris, was the long line of cliffs of High Champagne. Having regard to the superb condition of the French Army and the experienced skill of its chiefs, the attack on Verdun did not, from the beginning, promise any decisive break in the



FORT VAUX'S ONLY ENTRANCE AFTER THE BOMBARDMENT.

How effective had been the terrific bombardment by the French which caused the Germans to evacuate Fort Vaux is seen in this photograph of the only way that was left by which the French could enter when they finally retook the stronghold.





[French official photograph.]  
AN OLD MONARCH OF WAR.

French monster mortar at Verdun. In ten days this old warrior hurled nearly a thousand shells, each of 1,100 lb., at the enemy. The French soldiers knew and liked its roar.

French line, such as the enemy produced in Galicia in 1915 and in Rumania in 1916.

It is said that Marshal Joffre was relieved when the expected thrust occurred at Verdun instead of at Noyon. The Noyon problem had been openly debated in the French Senate by that past-master in the art of upsetting Ministries, M. Georges Clemenceau. For political reasons the French Commander-in-Chief was glad that the blow fell where it did. It enabled him to give Sir Douglas Haig four more months to train the new British levies and accumulate munitions.

France also required time to produce in effective quantities her new 16 in. howitzer, which was a complete answer to the old 16.8 in. Krupp howitzer. By June, 1916, the speeding-up of French munitions of war was fairly complete. In fact, little more could be done without entirely new machinery in the way of peat furnaces to increase the native resources of France. She had lost most of her iron-fields around Verdun, and most of her coal-mines around Lille. To supply the place of black coal, she had developed her "white coal," and erected an extraordinary number of turbines and dynamos in the Alps and other centres of water-power.

Then, with help from British and American steel-makers and colliery owners, the captains of French industry enormously extended their output. In January, 1915, the total production of small French shells was only 65,000

a day. It was nearly double in six months, and later increased to a great figure which it is best not to state. But it was more than forty times the production of the French light shell in August, 1914. The rate of production of light field-artillery was increased thirty times; that of heavy artillery twenty-four times; while the manufacture of heavy shell was ninety times as great, and the manufacture of machine-guns one hundred and seventy times as great. The French 16 in. howitzer was ready for action on a large scale in July, 1916, and in an astonishingly short time it was succeeded by a masterpiece of appalling range and smashing force—the 20.8 in. Creusot.

It was the production of the 16 in. gun and the approaching completion of the 20.8 in. monster, with an abundance of shell of these calibres, that inspired the French commander with confidence in the issue of the Verdun campaign. There were not, however, immediately available sufficient guns and shell of the new type to enable a double offensive to be conducted on both the Somme and the Meuse. Neither France nor Great Britain, in the summer of 1916, had arrived at such a pitch of power in munition manufacture as would allow them to press the enemy to breaking point by hammering simultaneously from Verdun, from both sides of the Somme, and from Loos and Arras.

The army of Verdun under General Nivelle had still to stand on the defensive, for lack of heavy artillery and heavy shell, in order to allow the armies of General Foch to co-operate with the British forces in further wearing down the enemy's strength. But the heroic defenders of the gateway of Lorraine knew that the first part of their work was completed, and that they would swing forth in a counter-offensive in the autumn. On June 12th, 1916, an Order of the Day arrived from General Joffre. He said:

The plan matured by the Councils of the Coalition is now being fully put into execution. Soldiers of Verdun! It is to your heroic resistance that this is due. Your defence was the indispensable condition for success. On that rest our victories, now close at hand; for that is what has created in the general theatre of war in Europe the situation, out of which will arise to-morrow the definite victory of our cause.

On June 23rd, General Nivelle issued the following order:

The hour is decisive. The Germans, feeling themselves hemmed in on all sides, are delivering furious and desperate attacks in the hope of reaching the doors of Verdun before they are themselves attacked by the united forces of the allied armies. Comrades, you will not let them pass! Your country calls for yet this supreme effort from you. The army of Verdun will not allow itself to be overawed by shells or by that German infantry whose efforts it has smashed for the past four months. The army of Verdun will know how to maintain its glory intact.

Holding the  
gateway



A STRONGHOLD OF FRANCE IN FRENCH KEEPING AGAIN.

Despite the terrific intensity of the many bombardments to which it was subjected, and the mass of metal hurled upon it, much of the interior of Fort Vaux was found intact when the French reoccupied it in November, 1916.





ON THE WAY TO THE RELIEF OF THE GLORIOUS FRONT LINE NEAR VERDUN.

Behind all that was left of a shell-destroyed wood in the neighbourhood of Thiaumont—to the north of Verdun—the French Poilus had a brief rest on their journey to the relief of their comrades in the front line, and to taking their part in the driving back of the enemy.

On the day on which General Nivelle's order was issued the British guns opened their bombardment from Ypres to the Somme, and warned Falkenhayn of what was about to happen. The German Chief of Staff thereupon asked the commander who was in active control of the Crown Prince's army to make one more attempt to snatch a decision at Verdun. It will be remembered that General Nivelle had recovered, on June 23rd, the northern key position of Thiaumont Work, between Douaumont and the ridge of Froide Terre. The recovery of this fortified height left the enemy powerless to close upon the old inner Fort of Souville. Souville Fort had been constructed, with the neighbouring north-eastern Fort of Tavannes, after the war of 1870, and before the invention of the high-explosive shell in 1886. The two old forts were therefore of little direct, practical value against the enemy's gigantic array of heavy siege ordnance, ranging from 16·8 in. Berthas to the 8 in. howitzer which was the principal German weapon against Verdun. The 8 in. howitzer had a range of about six miles, and was employed in parks, and not in batteries, to produce an overwhelming hurricane of trench-smashing shell.

#### Struggle for Thiaumont

Towards the end of June the Germans turned hundreds of these 8 in. guns upon the Thiaumont Work and Souville and Tavannes Forts and Froide Terre. Then after days of bombardment, which the French guns answered with telling vigour, a terrific infantry battle raged in and around Thiaumont.

The French lost the work, but stormed back on the morning of June 30th, through a series of dreadful hostile curtain fires, and recovered the position. In the afternoon the Germans returned in dense columns, and were mowed down by gun fire and machine-gun fire. By persistent pressure of packed waves of attack the Germans at last re-entered the work at three o'clock in the afternoon,

but at half-past four they were again thrown out by strong storming columns of French infantry.

The next day the German commander made another succession of grand attacks on Thiaumont, and apparently, in his report to the Great Staff, claimed to have entered it, after a struggle of forty-eight hours. He attacked on a wide front from the Damloup Hill eastward to the height of Froide Terre northward, and while pressing the French on both these flanks, drove in at the centre, which was Thiaumont. But the Second French Army stood firm all along the line on the historic day when the Allies were breaking the German defences on either side of the Somme.

#### Premature German claims

The German eastern wing stormed up and into Damloup, rising south of Vaux Fort. The French surged back and recovered Damloup, were again driven out on July 3rd, and once more went back and re-established themselves on Damloup. Meanwhile, the awful struggle on the Thiaumont Hill went on with increasing fury, each side concentrating by telephone control the fire of all available heavy guns, over a wide arc, upon the few furlongs of the coveted key position.

The Crown Prince was in one of those desperate positions in which German Army commanders on the western front were frequently placed, owing to over-confidence. He had rashly claimed, in a public communiqué, to have reconquered the Thiaumont Work.

He also claimed to have conquered and occupied the Damloup Hill. And though the French were in both positions, he brazened out his false claims, while using his men up by the forty thousand in order to palliate by ultimate success the mistaken reports he had made to his own General Headquarters. The Berlin communiqué of July 4th was written in an extraordinary style. It ran: "The reputed official French reports regarding the recapture of the Thiaumont Work and the Damloup battery are



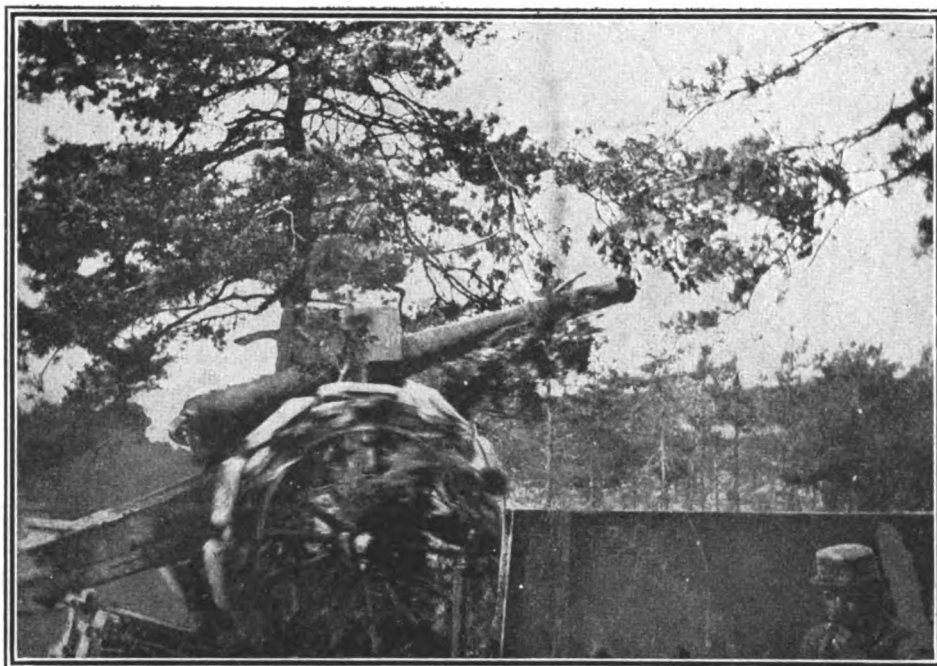
invented fables." Somebody was very angry, but whether it was the Crown Prince and General von Mudra who were vexed with themselves, or Ludendorff and Hindenburg who were raging at the mistake of the younger Hohenzollern, is not clear. At an inordinate waste of life in the Fifth German Army under the Crown Prince, the Chief of Staff at last managed to cover up the early false claim in regard to Thiaumont Work by burying the hill in explosions of heavy shell and launching column after column of storming infantry, who regained the work for the fourth time. The French troops remained in immediate contact with the position, and at Damloup Hill, in spite of violent bombardments and continual infantry actions, they continued in possession.

The enemy's recovery of Thiaumont was an affair of importance. It again opened the way for an advance upon the old inner defences of Verdun, and enabled Falkenhayn to proceed with his plan of obtaining a success on the Meuse that would divert French forces and munitions from the Somme. The village of Fleury, lying at the mouth of the long Vaux ravine and giving access to the slopes of Souville Fort, became the immediate objective of the enemy's operations.

After a long and intense bombardment, in which Verdun Cathedral was spitefully smitten with salvos of heavy shell, the German infantry was launched on July 7th against the French positions between Thiaumont and Fleury. The Germans took the front French line, but were completely thrown out of it by a French counter-attack, and when night fell the defending front was unbroken. Another prolonged artillery preparation went on for four days. Then on July 11th the hostile infantry made an assault on a large scale, closing upon Damloup Hill, Fumin and Le Chenois Woods, Vaux-Chapitre Wood, Fleury village, and the ground south of Thiaumont.

General Nivelle and his brilliant lieutenant, General Mangin, had no reason to expose their men to great wastage. They gave ground at last at Damloup, as this position was exposed to flanking fires from Vaux Fort, Vaux, and the eastern plain. It had been held while the shattered wood behind it, Laufée Wood, was strongly entrenched and linked more firmly with the three wooded heights running north-westward and known as Le Chenois Wood, Fumin Wood, and Chapitre Wood. These four woods, seamed with trenches, dotted with redoubts, and lined with deep communicating ways, formed the real defences of the two old forts, Souville and Tavannes, rising immediately behind them. The enemy was badly defeated in all the woodland battles, and though he got a footing in Chenois and Fumin Woods, the French returned in the night and recovered most of the ground, so that the capture of Damloup cost the German commander the best part of two divisions. The enemy was being worn down at Verdun as well as on the Somme, for the losses of the Verdun army were slight when compared with those of the Crown Prince's army.

After the vain grand attack of July 11th the Chief of Staff to the Crown Prince concentrated two fresh divisions for a different kind of attack. He tried a knife-like drive along a very narrow front, at the village of Fleury, directly against Souville Fort. The grey columns heaped in the



WELL-MASKED FRENCH GUN ON THE VERDUN FRONT.

Maintaining the guns at points providing the maximum of efficiency with the minimum of exposure was one of the problems on a front where long shelling had destroyed most natural cover. Any such remaining stretch of woodland as this proved valuable for masking artillery from aerial observation.

old formation into the valley where the ruins of the Chapel of Sainte Fine scarcely showed in the chaos of shell-holes below Souville Fort. As brigade after brigade was shattered by shell fire and raked by machine-gun fire, the enemy brigadiers employed an extraordinary method in order to maintain the strength of their attacking front. The method was known as infiltration. It appears to have been first worked out by General von Mudra in the Verdun operations, and it testified to the mechanical perfection of the Prussian drill system.

Each reeling and heavily punished mass, at a signal, re-formed in such a way as to leave lanes running almost straight from the front to the rear. Through these lanes a fresh brigade then advanced in sections and, smartly opening fan-wise at the head of the fighting-line, furiously continued the action. All this was done on a closely engaged front, with both the outworn force and the fresh force maintaining the attack during the manoeuvre of infiltration.

This new and remarkable way of driving home an assault at any cost had been prepared by several months of practice. As the British and French did on the Somme, so the Germans did before them at Verdun. They reproduced the hostile positions in great detail on a large practice ground behind their own lines, and also constructed a copy of their own attacking parallel. Then over the model works they continually worked their troops and practised the new infiltration technique of massed attack, until the operation was carried out with mechanical precision.

But on July 12th the French light field-gun and the French machine-gun sadly interfered with the funnels of fresh troops that came through the broken brigades up the slopes to the fort. The inclines were held unpregnably, and at the close of the day all that the Germans gained was a little ground at the cross-roads between Vaux and Fleury and around the ruins of Sainte Fine Chapel.

This great but fruitless effort exhausted the forces under the Crown Prince. Before his Chief of Staff could arrange another operation the British Army broke the second German line on the Bazentin ridge and compelled Falkenhayn to collect men and guns from Verdun and pour all available shell towards the Somme. Verdun was relieved.

**New method of  
massed attack**



General Nivelle, however, was not yet ready to begin the great counter-offensive. He had to wait for his new 16 in. guns, and build a closer network of two-foot gauge railways, along which little, toy two-funnel locomotives could haul the one-ton shells. This large work of engineering preparation was one of considerable difficulty. An abundance of railway bridges and motor tracks had to be thrown across the gorge of the Meuse at a time when the hostile heavy batteries, including naval guns of enormous range, daily and nightly maintained a bombardment of systematic destruction upon the rear of the French lines.

In spite of the number of guns gradually moved by the enemy from Verdun to the Somme, his gunners remained for months arrogantly superior in striking power to the gunners of the Second French Army. This was seen in the persistence of nocturnal bombardments of great violence regularly undertaken by the Crown Prince's army. Only the stronger side, possessing guns of longer range, systematically fired at night when flames from the gun-pits enabled every principal battery to be spotted. From February, 1916, to October, 1916, the German gunners around Verdun maintained nocturnal bombardments at long range upon the French positions. If the medium heavy French ordnance attempted to reply by night to the German 8 in. batteries, the Germans in turn answered at a secure range with 15 in. cannon and 16 8 in. howitzers. In these circumstances the army of Verdun retired in part to the subterranean shelters of the tunnels beneath the old forts, and left only a thin and flexible line of advanced machine-gun posts to guard against any hostile infantry surprise. When abruptly attacked the advanced French line often withdrew on the principal defensive position.

But, as it withdrew, the French guns prepared for action, and, working with mechanical precision on marked ranges, destroyed the German forces occupying the lost positions. Thereupon, the French infantry returned in strength, and recovered and reconsolidated its line of advanced posts.

In consequence of these flexible tactics of the French Command, only strong and sustained attacks could succeed against the Verdun defences. In making sustained attacks the enemy commander had to expose from twenty thousand to forty thousand of his troops to French shell fire and machine-gun fire to win any considerable ground and retain it. Nothing was to be purchased cheaply from the army of Verdun. Moreover, though the German artillery remained predominant for nearly nine months, its mastery was reduced to a sort of blind, mechanical outburst of power.

**French gain  
air mastery**

In the late spring of 1916 General Pétain obtained machines capable of dealing with the Fokker. In the summer of 1916, General Nivelle, profiting by the splendid reorganisation of French aeroplane production, definitely won the mastery of the air at Verdun. He repeated on the Meuse the aerial successes the Allies were winning on either side of the Somme. His airmen brought down the kite-balloons that directed the fire of the heavy German pieces. His fighting pilots swept the

Fokkers aside and convoyed scores of large bombing squadrons that shattered every hostile railway centre near Verdun, destroyed the blast furnaces in the Lorraine mine-fields, and attacked the German troop trains.

By the end of July, 1916, the gunners of the Crown Prince's army could do little more than fire by the map against the French rear, and by fire-trench and hill-top observation against the French front. Their observation balloons could only swing low on the horizon for brief periods, when no French planes seemed to be near enough to swoop down with fire-balls.

**Arrival of new  
French guns**

The high positions which the Germans occupied on the Douaumont ridge gave them a wide field of vision over the lower heights the French occupied around Souville; but the French in the valleys and ravines could not be kept under observation by German artillery observers. On the other hand, owing to their recovery of the mastery in the air, the French possessed an entire power of observation over every daylight movement in and behind the German lines.

General Nivelle and his Staff soon knew more about the disposition of the enemy forces in front of them than was revealed in the operations the Verdun army conducted. The position of practically every German gun was known, especially the long-range guns that seemed to be beyond the reach of a French shell. The new 16 in. French guns arrived secretly by night, and were placed in the pits prepared in advance and then covered up; 16 in. shells arrived also by night, and were accumulated in underground store-places. The telephone system was extended by networks of underground wires, and the little railways threaded all the ravines and went under new tunnels into new centres of distribution.

The much enduring army of Verdun, engaged in alternate spells of navy work and hand-grenade fighting, knew what was impending, and heartened by the tale of victories on the Somme gained with the new 16 in.

gun, the men went daily into action round Fleury in a cold fury that appalled some of the best German troops.

Even the famous Brandenburg troops, under General von Luchow, faltered when again brought to Verdun. In an order, afterwards found on prisoners, Luchow complained of the way in which his men straggled to the rear when led to the attack, and ordered his officers either to shoot the stragglers down on the spot or punish them sternly by legal sentences. He further ordered that troops should be used in close formation, to keep them from running away, and that all men who strolled from the firing-line should be left without food.

All false pity, all weakness, all pardoning and letting things drift make superior officers accomplices of the criminals (said another German general at Verdun). You must intervene with a hand of iron on all occasions when demoralisation is setting in, or about to set in. Make the men understand that the French regard each bomb of theirs that remains without reply as a sign of mastery, and that every wounded prisoner who falls into their hands is proof of the demoralisation of the German Army.

General von Luchow seems to have become the Commander-in-Chief of the principal forces under the Crown Prince



*[French official photograph.]*  
**POILUS WOUNDED IN THE VERDUN OFFENSIVE.**

Duly ticketed with particulars of their injuries, these French soldiers, who had taken part in the great struggle in front of Verdun, awaited at the entrance of a massively-built dug-out the arrival of the ambulance men.



as soon as Falkenhayn was succeeded in the High Command by Hindenburg. The command on the Argonne front was given back to General von Mudra, a capable man of the sound, professional type, who continually emerged as business-manager for the Crown Prince when famous Field-Marschals like Heeringen and Haeseler failed to accomplish the glorious manœuvres they had planned. The position of the Crown Prince became doubtful. All along he had only been a figurehead; every military leader of high reputation on the western front had directed his Fifth Army, and both the former Chiefs of Staff, Moltke and Falkenhayn, had arranged a great campaign with a view to producing a grand and decisive victory on the sector where the descendant of Frederick the Great was in nominal command.

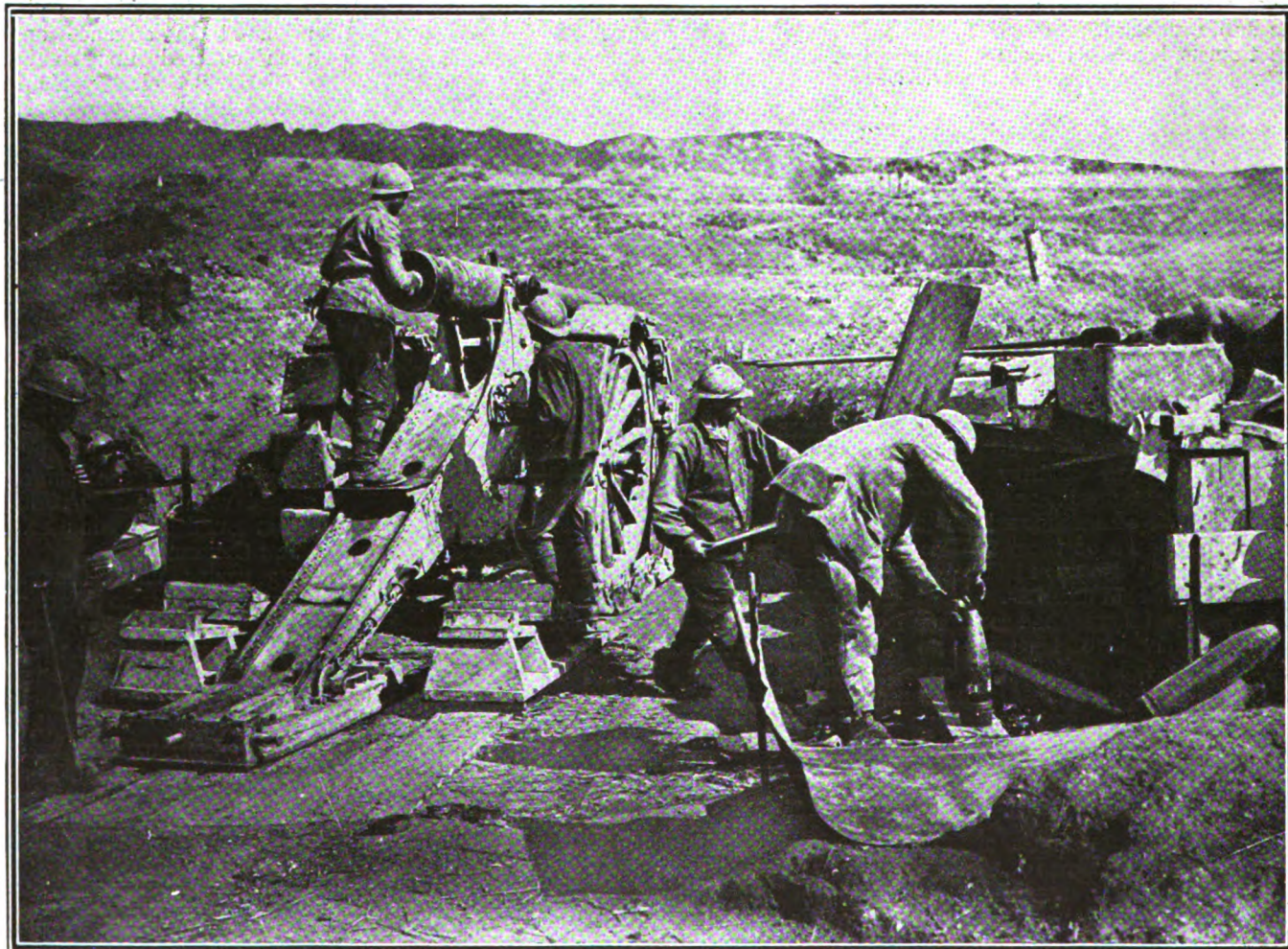
Hindenburg was no courtier. Having the German people strongly behind him, he was more the master of the Hohenzollerns than Bismarck had been. It was an open secret that the conduct and character of the Crown Prince did not please the grim old Field-Marshal. In his view, military considerations had been sacrificed in a perilous manner to dynastic motives.

As the salvation of Germany was more important than the prestige of the Crown Prince, Hindenburg decided that he would give no help whatever to the Fifth Army beyond that which Luchow could provide.

It would be going too far to say that Hindenburg engineered the overthrow of the Crown Prince by reducing the Fifth Army to a state of weakness. Military necessities compelled him to withdraw a thousand guns at least from the battlefield of Verdun, and to diminish the troops

there by army corps after army corps. The furnace of the Somme had to be fed, and the vast army that the Crown Prince had vainly used before Verdun was the only immediately available store of human and mechanical fuel. Nevertheless, both Hindenburg and his assistant, Ludendorff, by relying upon the calculations of the General Staff which they took over from Falkenhayn, laboured under a disastrous error during the rearrangement of their Verdun forces. **German underestimate of Nivelle** They reckoned that General Nivelle was reduced to a position of permanent weakness. The General Staff had most of the factors carefully tabulated. They knew what forces General Foch had employed on his long line of attack, from Combles to Chaulnes, they could estimate, roughly, the wastage of the French armies on the Somme and at Verdun, and they concluded that France could no more undertake a fresh offensive in the region of Verdun than Great Britain could undertake a new attack on the grand scale in the region of Loos.

It must be admitted that these calculations of the enemy were sound so far as they went. But they only dealt with material factors, and there was an incalculable element in the Verdun situation in the personal genius of General Nivelle. In the course of the war France had produced a brilliant succession of men of genius. Colonel after colonel had become army leader and even commander of army groups. In March, 1916, General Pétain seemed to be the supreme military genius of France. But when he took over the command of the armies of Champagne, and left the task of holding Verdun to the Franco-British officer who had come as a colonel from England in August, 1914, General Nivelle was given the opportunity of proving



FRENCH ARTILLERY THAT MADE THE COUNTER-OFFENSIVE POSSIBLE.

It was owing to their heavier artillery that the Germans got as near as they did to the centre of the Verdun position—it was thanks to their obtaining a superiority in heavy guns that the French were able to carry out their successful counter-offensive.





[French official photograph.]

#### A MARKET-PLACE THAT BECAME THE KITCHEN FOR A GARRISON.

The covered market-place at Verdun was one of the very few buildings that were not entirely destroyed by the German bombardment which, characteristically, became more spiteful and wantonly destructive as the

siege proceeded unsuccessfully. Although considerably damaged, as this photograph shows, it remained more or less weather-proof, and was used as a kitchen by the cooks of the army defending the famous citadel on the Meuse.

himself the master of war that France was seeking. France was running short of men and growing mighty in mechanical power. Her knowledge of military science had been wrought to incomparable acuity by the urgent need, impressed upon all her Staff officers, of accomplishing large results with the utmost economy of human resources. Verdun had been the grand school in the fine French art

#### General Nivelle's mastery of war

of winning battles cheaply. General Nivelle, with General Mangin, one of the comrades of General Marchand at Fashoda, with General Passaga, General de Salins and General de Lardemelle, was master of the new method of warfare towards which the leaders of all the belligerent nations of Western Europe had been working. Very patiently did General Nivelle await the opening for a grand counter-offensive, which was being made for him by the terrific Franco-British pressure upon all the German forces. He firmly established the army of Verdun beneath Souville Fort and below the lost ridge of Thiaumont and the Froide Terre Hill. For months the hamlet of Fleury, by the cross-roads to Vaux and Bras, was the scene of hand-to-hand grenade conflicts. The enemy held the eastern ridge by Fleury and Thiaumont, and surveyed from Douaumont and Vaux the uplands that remained in French possession. But he was so weakened by losses and calls for reinforcements from the Somme front that his apparent advantage of working on all the highest ground on the eastern side of the Meuse did not enable him even to hold his own in the hand-bomb, shell-hole battles around Fleury.

After the violent, vain German attack of July 11th, General Nivelle's troops worked back toward Thiaumont by gradual rushes with bombs. All the ground was

a wild sea of earth, owing to the storms of heavy shell overwhelming both sides during the prolonged and intense action. Cover was therefore abundant, and lines of defence could be rapidly made anywhere by digging in the already ploughed earth between the craters. Rains falling in unusual quantities, succeeded by burning August sunshine, made shell-hole warfare a grievous test of endurance. But the Frenchmen lost none of their ardour of attack, for they could feel the Germans weakening in front of them. Daily they took prisoners, sometimes by rush attacks between Fleury and Thiaumont and sometimes by waiting at night for utterly discouraged men on the other side to creep out and give themselves up.

Between July 15th and July 20th General Nivelle's men took eight hundred prisoners, and carried several important points around Fleury and Thiaumont by means of continual small operations in which scarcely more than a battalion was engaged. On some occasions a single French company suffered comparatively little loss in winning an important redoubt or stretch of trench. By the end of the month this method of little warfare brought the army of Verdun back to the Thiaumont Hill. Thereupon the German commander was compelled to use large forces in a defensive way. After a fierce nocturnal bombardment, on August 1st, 1916, he sent forth columns of assault against the new French positions west and south of the Thiaumont Fort. His massed ranks were completely broken by curtains of shell and streams of machine-gun fire from the alert troops of General Nivelle. Instead of the French losing any fraction of trench, they pursued their shattered foes and bombed them out of part of their line on the southern slope of Thiaumont ridge.

Cumulative effect of little operations





MAP SHOWING THE TERRAIN OF THE GREAT FRENCH COUNTER-OFFENSIVE AT VERDUN.

The Great War



At the time the Germans made this worse than useless thrust upon the French centre their forces on the eastern wing endeavoured to break through the woods in front of Souville Fort. They maintained the conflict for two days by their new method of infiltration. With gusts of hurricane gun fire and clouds of poison gas the hostile eastern wing tried to balance the Thiaumont defeat by sweeping through the woods right to the inner fortress. In the terrific heat-wave in the first week of August the fight went on. By August 2nd the French lost ground in the woods. They fell back, and, as his men on the eastern side retired, General Nivelle struck out strongly northward, on a wide front from the Meuse to Fleury village. He adopted the échelon form of attack, with the regiments tailing out sideways behind each other, and moving up successively to the wood at Vacherauville and the ridge of Thiaumont. The Germans lost a line of redoubts, eight hundred prisoners, and sixteen machine-guns. Then, as they reinforced the northern front, the French échelons manœuvred eastward and stormed around Fleury village and the railway-station, broke the German line between Thiaumont and Fleury, and finally recovered most of the lost ground in the woods beyond Souville.

Again the German commander was compelled to another action on the grand scale, at a time when his General Headquarters were anxiously asking him for reinforcements for the Somme front. In a night battle of a dreadful kind the army of Verdun stormed back into Thiaumont Fort on August 3rd, and though the victors had to retire owing to the blasting force of the answering German bombardment, they withdrew with eighty prisoners. When day broke the men of Verdun again stormed up the Thiaumont Hill and won the site of the fortress for the second time in twelve hours. Having been driven out of the larger part of Fleury village by another blast of heavy shell, they merely waited until the German infantry occupied the ruins, then, having something human  
**Desperate fighting for Thiaumont Fort** to attack, they went into Fleury again with bomb and bayonet, and recovered it likewise, except for a clump of ruins on the eastern outskirts.

From the evening of August 4th to daybreak on August 5th the Germans continually attacked Thiaumont with desperate but unavailing courage. Defeated at this point, the German commander swung a fresh force into the eastern woods, and, after having his first assault completely checked by curtain fire, launched another column that reached the French trenches only to be destroyed in a counter-attack of the army of Verdun. Incessant fighting went on day and night on the Thiaumont-Fleury line, and at the close of the first week in August General Nivelle



GENERAL ANDLAUER.

Who was in command of the division which relieved that commanded by General de Lardemelle at the historic Fort Vaux in November, 1916.

was clearly exercising the power of initiative, and forcing the enemy commander to answer his movements and neglect every call for help on the German side of the Somme front. In the afternoon of August 7th the French garrison of Thiaumont Hill moved out in a fresh attack towards the ridge running up to Thiaumont, capturing an important position and several machine-guns.

To this direct challenge the Chief of Staff of the Crown Prince replied with all his available forces. After a furious nocturnal bombardment he sent out, at dawn on August 8th, a succession of large masses of men who attacked from Thiaumont to Fleury, under cover of a creeping barrage of a park of 8 in. guns. The French infantry held up all assaults on the Fleury line by means of machine-gun fire, but northward they were driven from the Thiaumont-Work, where they only had the cover of shell-holes against the tempest of shell.

When, however, the German infantry in turn occupied the shell-holes, the Frenchmen stormed back into Thiaumont and held it until nightfall, when they were again compelled to retire.

This last retirement was brought about by the fact, already remarked, that the German artillery remained superior in range and in weight, and could therefore bombard furiously at night, and either compel the French guns to remain silent while the French infantry suffered, or to reveal their positions by their flash, and engage in a counter-firing combat at a disadvantage. General Nivelle preferred as much as possible not to reveal the position of his guns. Therefore, he withdrew his men from the Thiaumont Work in the night of Tuesday, August 8th.

But he still held firmly to the line running just below Thiaumont to Fleury village, and resuming the little war of company rushes and hand-bomb raids he again worked forward at small expense. At the end of three weeks he had recovered all the ruins of Fleury and made a new line east of the village and along the road leading back to Vaux Fort.

Thus at the beginning of September the German commander was again obliged to make a strong, sudden effort to recover



GENERAL PASSAGA.

Commander of the French infantry division La Gauloise, which won particular glory in the Verdun victory in December, 1916.

the series of important points that had been gained from him bit by bit. On September 3rd he gathered all his remaining forces for a grand assault on the old battlefield below Fort Souville. The woods, the village, cross-roads, chapel, and the slopes south of Thiaumont once more rocked under tornadoes of shell and vanished under smoke and poison gas. The struggle lasted until September 6th. In their first series of rushes the Germans



broke into a French salient on the Vaux road, but by a balancing movement the French northern wing scaled the crest running above Fleury to Thiaumont, taking there three hundred prisoners. The Germans then pressed more fiercely upon the Vaux road front and captured another redoubt. When this was recovered by the French the enemy commander ceased to manoeuvre on the wings, and, thinking he had at the end of the third day weakened the French centre, he attempted his grand stroke. At eight o'clock in the evening column after column of grey figures charged upon Fleury village. But not a column was able to deploy in the waves of attack. What Germans

remained in formation after passing through the curtains of French gun fire were caught by the machine-guns of the Colonial Moroccan infantry. It was the final movement of offensive by the Fifth German Army, and it was so weakly or so unskilfully conducted that the attacking forces melted away before they were able to debouch. The next morning the army of Verdun sprang upon the enfeebled enemy, and, thrusting through the woods, captured a mile of German trenches and numerous prisoners. It took the Germans a day to gather troops for a counter-attack, and this flicker of fight ended in the men surrendering by the hundred wherever, with uplifted hands, they were allowed to reach the French line.

There then ensued a long lull on the Meuse, during which the army of Verdun gradually worked forward eastward, and the army of the Crown Prince assumed definitely a defensive attitude. **Germans deceived by French finesse** Men and guns were removed in increasing proportion to meet the needs of Falkenhayn on the new Rumanian front and fill the gaps of the enlarged German armies on the Somme. It was in this period of veiled crisis, when Hindenburg was making his final dispositions for the winter season in the west, that General Nivelle was rewarded for the restraint and patience he had displayed. He still allowed the enemy to prevail in nocturnal bombardments, and himself made no infantry movement in force by daylight. Consequently, the Crown Prince in person was convinced that the French forces in front of him were at last permanently weakened by their own long effort of resistance and by all the divisions moved westward since the Iron Division was transferred



[French official photographs.]

COOLNESS AND COURAGE OF FRENCH SOLDIERS AMID THE RUINS OF FORT VAUX.

Carrying a despatch across the No Man's Land of shell-holes and ruined masonry to the only entrance that was left into Fort Vaux. Above: Three French soldiers who with machine-rifles stubbornly held a shell-hole during an attack before the fort.





PRISONERS OF WAR: THE ONLY GERMAN SOLDIERS WHO SET FOOT IN VERDUN.

For the best part of a year a million and a half German soldiers hammered at the doors of Verdun. A few got in—but only as prisoners of war, and when they passed through the gateway of the Meuse it was on their way

to internment. This photograph shows German prisoners lined up in the shattered Place de l'Archevêché while their officers were undergoing interrogation by the officers of the victorious French Army.

to the Somme. This view of the situation agreed with that taken by Hindenburg's Staff and, as Hindenburg did not intend to resume the Verdun offensive, more guns and men were shifted westward.

By the middle of October, 1916, the German batteries on the eastern bank of the Meuse were reduced to one hundred and thirty. It was much less than half the number employed in June, 1916. Great was the opportunity offered to General Nivelle, but he refused it. He could foresee from his knowledge of the enemy's requirements on other sectors and other fronts that the Crown Prince would be further weakened. All that the French commander did in an active way was to maintain, by means of Adjutant Lenoir and other fine fighting pilots, a complete mastery of the air. By bombing raids on the enemy's artillery positions at Montfaucon and Spincourt, and on all his centres of traffic and distribution, he challenged the German airmen, who were just arriving on the new Halberstadt and Spad machines, to trials of strength. There was proceeding in the French lines an enormous labour of preparation, that needed the utmost secrecy in order to issue in the most astonishing success in the war. Happily, in spite of the new machines the enemy possessed, he was too much preoccupied with his anxieties on the Somme line to make any unprovoked effort to rule the air above the quiet, muddy chaos around Verdun.

Being unable to reconnoitre the field of great activities on the Meuse, the German High Command relied on its sound knowledge of the infantry forces at the disposal of General Nivelle and, on October 20th, took the fatal step of moving two divisions from Verdun to Bapaume. These two divisions had constituted the strategic reserve of the Crown Prince's army and had been held so that they could strengthen any point, from the Argonne Forest to the plain of the Woevre, that was menaced by General Pétain's group of armies. The British forces pressing on Bapaume, and threatening the enemy's lines there at Le Transloy,

were directly responsible for the condition of things at Verdun. They prepared the first great French victory on the Meuse. There was, however, no time for General Pétain to throw fresh forces into Verdun to take advantage of the weakening of the enemy's lines. He could only ask General Nivelle to do all he could with three French divisions that still faced seven German divisions.

But General Nivelle did not require more infantry. Since June, 1916, he had waited only for the new gun—the 16 in. howitzer, with a range exceeding that of the 16.8 Krupp guns at Spincourt. He now possessed the new piece in considerable number, as well as long-range naval cannon of 15 in. calibre. And with abundant machinery, but scarcely more than 30,000 men available, he opened the most remarkable counter-offensive movement of modern times. His preliminary bombardment, started on October 21st, 1916, was an overwhelming surprise to the enemy. To the over-confident and self-flattering Staff of the Crown Prince this sign of the resurrection in greater strength of the army of Verdun was a terrifying thing. The smitten troops in the first zone of defences sent by carrier-pigeon messages praying for instant relief. One pigeon, shot down over the French lines, showed that the German brigadier-generals along the front were fearful their men would not sustain the coming assault.

The thunder of the new heavy artillery increased during the night, imposing for a few hours on the German soldiers the ordeal of blasting fire that French troops had endured for eight months without losing heart or nerve.

When day came, enabling French airmen to direct the guns, the work of destruction went on rapidly under the favouring influence of clear weather. The Germans, kept in uncertainty of the point of the coming attack by the amplitude of the French artillery action, revealed, little by little, all their batteries. One hundred and thirty were traced by the French, and in furious counter-battery firing nearly half of these were silenced. At the same time all the

**Opening of the counter-offensive**



ravines in hostile territory were searched with heavy shell; the Damloup position was wrecked, and the shelters in the quarries of Hardaumont were destroyed or blocked. One of the new French 16 in. shells penetrated the thick concrete of Douaumont Fort and exploded some of the enemy's ammunition, causing a fire and great loss of life.

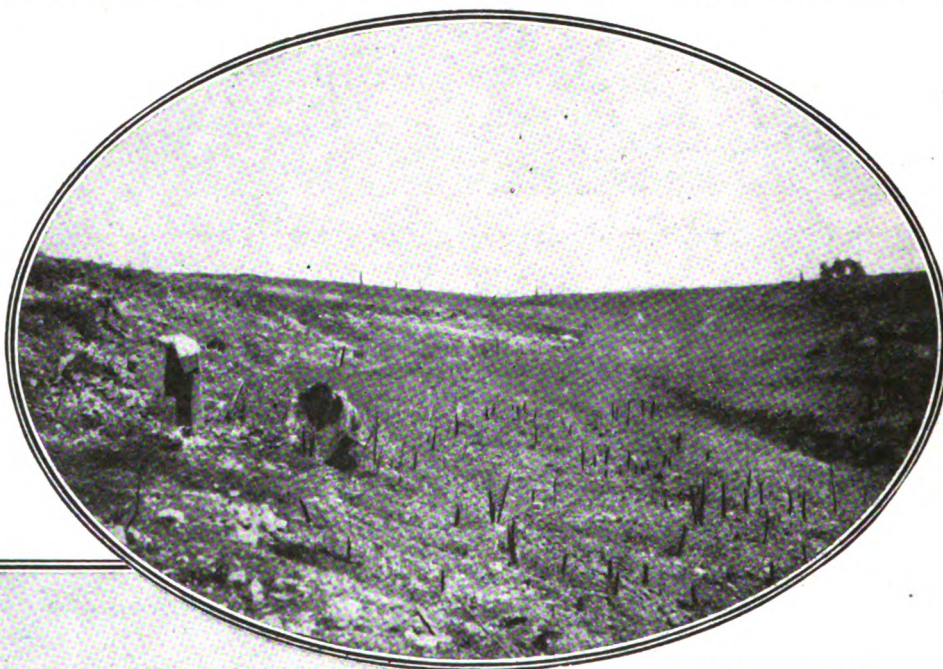
On October 23rd, when this terrific explosion occurred, the three attacking French divisions were drawn up for the assault in wet, sticky clay, broken into innumerable holes of mud and water and rumples of slippery ground. On the left was a division composed of Zouaves, Sudanese

negroes, two companies of Somalis, and a fine Colonial Moorish regiment that had distinguished itself in the fighting at Fleury. This division of Africa was under the command of General Guyot de Salins, whose objective was Douaumont. On the right of the African division was a French division commanded by General Passaga. It contained contingents from almost every region of France. Then operating on the right was the third attacking division of troops of the line and light infantry from Southern France, under the direction of General de Lardemelle. Altogether there may have been, with a brigade held as a reserve on the left, a total of 33,000 bayonets, directed against nearly double the number of German infantry.

The Germans held their threatened lines with seven divisions. Among them were traced regiments of the 13th Reserve Division and the 39th Active Division, constituting the Seventh Army Corps of the Fifth Army that held the ground about Haudromont and Nawé Wood. From this wood to the Thiaumont Work the lines were held by the 25th Division. From the north of Thiaumont to the north of Fleury the 34th Reserve Division was deployed for action. Chapitre Wood was held by the 9th Division, the positions near the Vaux road

by the 33rd Reserve Division, and finally, the ground in and around Damloup was occupied by the 50th Division. As all these divisions were formed on the new model of only 9,000 bayonets each, the actual strength of the Germans was about 63,000 bayonets to 33,000 bayonets or less.

On the night of October 23rd General Nivelle did not deliver his bombardment with any intensity. He endeavoured to mislead the enemy by withholding the full strength of his artillery for a whirlwind of heavy shell fire on the morning of October 24th. He managed, however, to provoke a reply from the German batteries that led to a great artillery duel in which many German guns were destroyed. But when day broke over the waiting troops it looked as though the attack, that had been fixed for 11.40 a.m., would have to be postponed to another day. For the clear weather had gone, and a thick mist covered all the crests and valleys of the Meuse. But General Nivelle would not alter his plan. Months he had spent in preparing it, and the work had been done with such comprehensive minuteness that many guns could work in the fog in conjunction with the troops, almost as if the field of vision had been clear.



THIAUMONT FARM.  
Ruined, devastated, and watered with the blood of thousands shed in almost daily battles for weeks together.



PARTIAL REPARATION: GERMAN PRISONERS MENDING ROADS IN FRANCE.

German prisoners of war were employed on much useful work in France, but always with strict observance of the settled international rules on the subject. Particularly appropriate was their employment in mending and repairing the roads which their own guns had been mainly instrumental in destroying.

Some of the contact patrols of the French Flying Service went up through the mist and then descended low over the hostile positions, and in continual swoops observed what the enemy was doing. All the French guns began to fire at top speed on targets that had been registered in advance, and, helped a little by some of the low-flying airmen, made terrific shooting in the most difficult of circumstances. At the arranged instant the gunners suddenly lengthened their range, and, with the fog still gathering thickly, the three divisions advanced to their great work.

The action was arranged in two phases. In a single leap forward the troops were to reach



Haudromont Quarries, the northern slope of the Ravine de la Dame, and the entrenchment north of Thiaumont Farm, the battery position on Fausse Côte, and the Ravine of Brazil. They were then to stay for an hour in the positions they had conquered and consolidate them. In the second phase of the operations they were to reach the village and fort of Douaumont and the ridge beyond Fausse Côte, the pond near Vaux village, and the position around Damloup Hill.

The Hill of Douaumont is flanked like a cathedral by a succession of buttresses, formed of lower hills lying westward and divided by deep gorges. The Ravine de la Dame was the first of these cuttings. In the side formed of an angle of dead ground the Germans had excavated a



AFTER EIGHT MONTHS.

Douaumont Fort, captured by the Germans February 25th, 1916, as it was when recovered by the French on October 24th.



WRECKAGE OF LIFE AND LANDSCAPE BY MODERN WAR.

Carrying wounded across exposed ground on a French farm. It is pictures like this—of what was once a prosperous farm surrounded by good timber—that convey some faint idea of the utter devastation wrought in a countryside by hostile invasion.

subterranean city. The armoured caverns were constructed so as to resist the heaviest shell and provided with electric lighting and the conveniences almost of hotel life. Two German battalions, driven underground by the bombardment, were having their mid-day meal and waiting without anxiety for the gun fire to end. But, a few seconds after the shells ceased to fall, a battalion of Zouaves clambered into the trenches and began to explore the subterranean city. Here and there small groups of Germans tried to resist, but a few hand-grenades broke their spirit, and the battalion of Zouaves captured the ravine, with 1,545 men and forty-five officers, at a cost of only fifteen wounded men. The surprised Germans practically surrendered in a body only two minutes after the Zouaves leaped into the ravine at a distance of twenty-five yards behind their barrage.

Having only an hour before they moved forward upon Douaumont, the Zouaves were not able fully to explore the ravine, and a company of Germans, with six machine-guns,

was left untouched in one of the caverns. This led later to an extraordinary incident. A sergeant of the Zouaves, engaged in re-victualling duties, lost his way at night in the chaos of shell-holes, and perceived what he took to be a party of Colonial troops. He went up to ask the way, was roughly seized and made prisoner, and pushed down a sap leading to a lighted hall. There some German officers were being served with dinner, and they roughly asked him how he came to be in the German lines. It was clear they knew nothing of the events that had taken place over their heads on that historic day. The sergeant said he had come from Douaumont, and explained that all the ground as far as the fort and village was again French. "I am not your prisoner," said

the sergeant; "you are my prisoners." As the sergeant talked, the tone of the German officers became more polite. Finally, the strangely isolated underground force, numbering two hundred men and officers, went with the sergeant, who returned triumphantly to Douaumont, not with the food he should have brought, but with six machine-guns and a column of captives.

All along the line marked for the first phase of operations the attack was delivered with the same mechanical precision. The only difficulty resided in the nature of the ground, which compelled the advancing troops to work forward very slowly so as not to lose touch in the fog. On the other hand, the fog made the most perfect of smoke-screens for the two leading divisions of attack, who escaped from the hostile shell curtain, and followed their own creeping barrage with extraordinary closeness and with overwhelming surprise effect. Connection with the guns was maintained by carrier-pigeons and optical and acoustic



posts, as well as by ordinary and aerial means ; and as all the systems had been worked out in the mists frequent on the Meuse, they operated with practically perfect precision. The Colonial regiment from Morocco, acting with a Senegalese battalion and Somali companies, went over the German line with great driving power and collected below Fort Douaumont.

They were the favourites of General Mangin, who was in immediate control of all the operations as lieutenant to General Nivelle. Mangin was the most learned of the African school of French officers. After he met Lord Kitchener at Fashoda he had made it the object of his life to create from the new colonies of France a black force to supply the lack of equality in men with Germany. Some years before the war, a book by him, "La Force Noir," made him famous in his own country and notorious in Germany ; for he considered that, with proper leading and special tactical dispositions, black and brown troops from the tropics and sub-tropics could be used on the French frontier against the best German infantry—and used with success, in spite of the adverse climatic conditions and the dismaying power of modern massed artillery.

In February, 1916, a Moroccan division, with Senegalese troops, made a fine stand north of Douaumont, until they were caught by terrifying salvos of 12 in. shell. Even then their officers had been able to rally them. And now, with a fine sense of irony, the author of "La Force Noir" gave the fighting men of African races a leading position, alongside the French planters from Algeria, Tunis, and Morocco, in the work of thrusting the Germans from the strong position which their Kaiser had boasted was the pillar of Verdun.

The second phase of operations opened by an enveloping movement by the French infantry division under General Passaga. In a single bound his troops advanced over all the German lines south and east of Fort Douaumont, to a depth of nearly two miles, and took Caillette Wood between Douaumont and Vaux. On the right wing, from Vaux to Damloup, the division under General de Lardemelle met with more resistance, and had to wait on the Vaux road until the artillery hammered the German redoubts there when the fog cleared off. Then the Savoyards carried the Damloup height at a run, while their comrades captured the ravine by Vaux village and cleared the enemy from Fumin Wood.

Meanwhile, the African division went forward with an impetuosity that triumphed over the difficulties of the ground. Slipping, sliding, and falling, with the mud up to their knees, soaked through by rain and mist, in bitterly cold weather, Zouaves and Moorish Colonials and Sudanese

worked up the hills and along the great ridge, with the shells of their creeping barrage making a line of geysers of mud and smoke in front of them. Every hill and valley flickered with tongues of flame, and from the hogsback of Froide Terre to the dome of Douaumont the line of shell-bursts moved like a heralding cloud of victory, close in front of the white, brown, and black troops.

About 2.30 a wind arose and blew away the mist. Marshal Joffre, who with General Pétain had arrived at Verdun to watch the first great offensive movement of General Nivelle, spied through the rents in the fog the soldiers of France silhouetted, like figures in a shadow play, against the skyline above the crest of Douaumont. Through field-glasses the figures could be seen approaching the fort on either

side, entering the fort, and then returning from it with grey columns of prisoners. It was a Moroccan battalion, commanded by Commandant Nicolai, that won the glory of capturing the famous fort, owing to another battalion, which had been designed to make a direct attack, being held up.

But this grand crowning success was largely due also to the energy and initiative displayed by the subaltern of a Sahara battalion, Second-Lieutenant Abdelkader Mademba. Lieutenant Mademba was one of the most romantic figures in the French Army. He was the son of King Mademba of the Sahara, who had been a loyal and daring ally of the French in their great desert campaign. The young Sahara prince had fought in France since the beginning of the war, and showed the same gifts of leadership as his father. During the closing attack on the Douaumont height Lieutenant Mademba was at the head of his men, who were in front of the rest of the battalion. Seeing the advance was held up by a nest of German machine-guns on his right, he swung round, shouting to his tribesmen, and, as they followed him, he fell upon the flank of a German redoubt, stormed it, and enabled the general movement to

successfully proceed. Afterwards he fell badly wounded.

Generally speaking, however, there was not much fighting around Douaumont. It was not so much a battle as an overwhelming surprise ; and the Germans had so many guns damaged that, when all their positions were lost, nearly three hours passed before they began in

#### Importance of Douaumont

turn to shell Douaumont. The three French divisions had altogether about two thousand casualties, many of them slight, while their prisoners numbered more than six thousand, and included ten battalion commanders. Five heavy and ten light guns were taken, fifty-one trench-mortars, one hundred and forty-four machine-guns, and an enormous quantity of war material. Having regard to the political and moral importance of Douaumont,



A STUDY AT VERDUN BY A FAMOUS ARTIST.

"A big black man ; round his neck a scarf of brilliant red ; helmet, all dented, balanced on his head ; body a mass of dirty-yellow cloth shapeless with mud ; a wounded hand wrapped in a white dressing which threw the whole into relief." Sketched by M. Georges Scott.





"From Verdun": German prisoners being escorted to the rear.



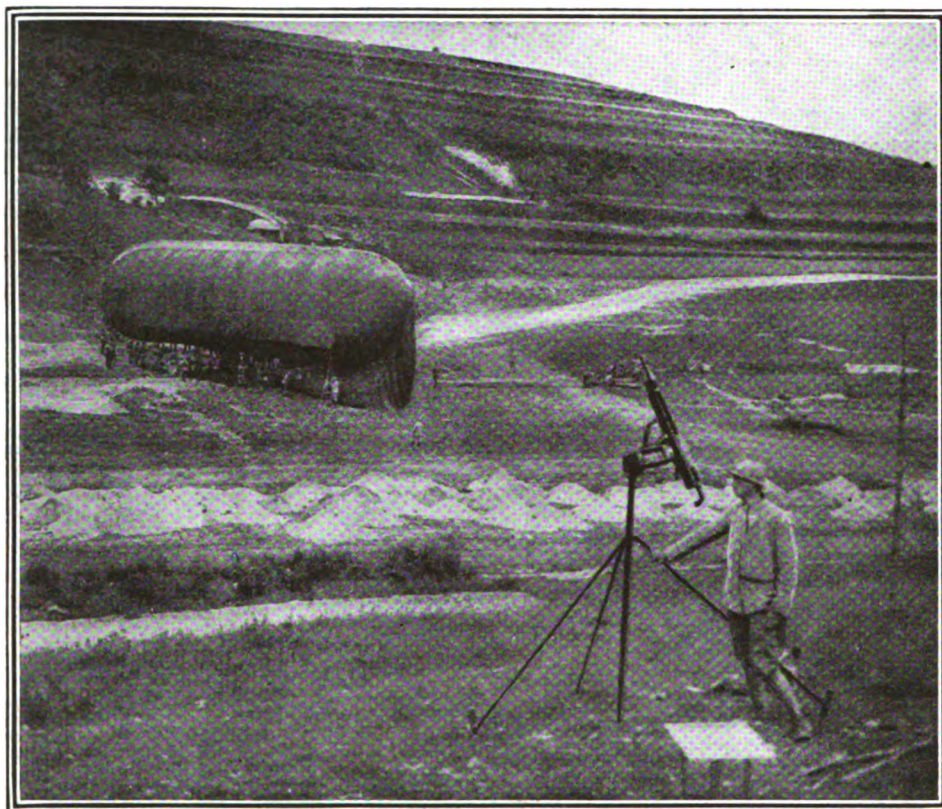
French soldier about to pick up and carry an exhausted comrade.



French wounded coming into a regimental aid post. German prisoners on the right.

SKETCHES MADE BY M. GEORGES SCOTT, THE FRENCH WAR-ARTIST, AT VERDUN, 1916.





WHERE A LOOK-OUT WAS KEPT BEHIND THE VERDUN HILLS.

Observation balloon and mitrailleuse in the Verdun region. The balloon section were preparing to send their "sausage" aloft. The terraced hill, beyond which was the fighting-front, indicates something of the character of the country in this sector, where the Germans maintained long, constant, and continuous pressure.

due to the braggart claims made by the German Emperor in February, 1916, it may fairly be contended that the first great French offensive movement at Verdun was the most brilliant victory won by a belligerent during the war. At a slight cost in men, less than that incurred in many raiding operations, General Nivelle crowned the allied operations on the Somme by a feat of peculiar range and significance.

There was a poetry about the victory of the army of Verdun that was not unlike that of the victories of the Maid of Orleans.

By one of the most poignant of ironic coincidences, the German Staff prepared, a few days before they lost Douaumont, to publish an official account of the operations at Verdun. Its first article appeared on October 25th, alongside the news of the loss of Douaumont, Thiaumont, Haudromont, and Damloup. An opening passage in the account ran:

Verdun is the north-eastern corner pillar of the entire defence system of the East of France. But this is neither the sole nor the principal importance of the fortress. Verdun occupies a far more significant position. It is the French sally-port against Germany. The attempt to break through our front and get in the rear of our forces of Belgium and Northern France was to be renewed from Verdun. In addition to all this, there was a high industrial value attaching to the sally-port, in that it led to the coal-mines and iron-fields of Briey. A French advance from Verdun against Metz would have afforded a possibility of attacking the ironworks of Lorraine and thereby striking

#### Germany's strategic aim

at one of the vital points in the German production of munitions for war. Verdun was also a bridge-head guarding the most important road and railways leading from Paris to Metz. Our campaign was planned with the strategic aim of closing completely the sally-port of France, and making use of it ourselves as a wedge for a further thrust into French territory.

The design, apparently, was to palliate the failures of the Crown Prince by showing that the sally-port of Verdun was such a menace to Germany that it was worth closing at a cost of half a million casualties,

even if at this price it could not be transformed into a new gate of advance towards Paris. Only seven days before General Nivelle made his first attack the Kaiser came to the Verdun front and reviewed the Brandenburg troops that took Douaumont Fort, and received from the commander the public assurance that the men of the Mark were ready for another achievement of the same order.

A week later a mere remnant of the broken Brandenburg division was fugitive, some two miles in the rear of the front it had held, and the "black friends of France," as the Germans had scornfully named the African troops, were chasing German soldiers through the sombre galleries of the great hill fortress.

Four hundred of the men of the garrison of Douaumont surrendered in the afternoon of October 24th, but the work of completely clearing out the underground recesses was not finished until midnight. The German commandant of the fort was captured, and the large stocks of water, food, and bombs and other ammunition were of considerable service to the victors.

The rain that had been falling while the French attack was made increased in the night and the following day. The bad weather told against the enemy while he was frenziedly preparing his counter-attacks. He opened with a movement of blind fury in the morning, and made four efforts to return to Douaumont. He first launched against the fort two frontal assaults, which were broken easily by artillery and machine-gun fire. Then he made his third and chief counter-movement on the flank, from the Wood of Hardaumont. Large forces were employed in four dense waves of attack. But the French guns covered all the ground, and in hurricanes of high-explosive and shrapnel overwhelmed each wave and left only a few broken companies the opportunity of approaching the French lines with uplifted hands and becoming prisoners. The fourth counter-attack was weaker, and vainly directed only against a trench in one of the woods. On October 27th another counter-attack of a feeble kind made on the village of Douaumont was prevented from developing by the fire of the French artillery.

#### Frenzied German counter-attacks

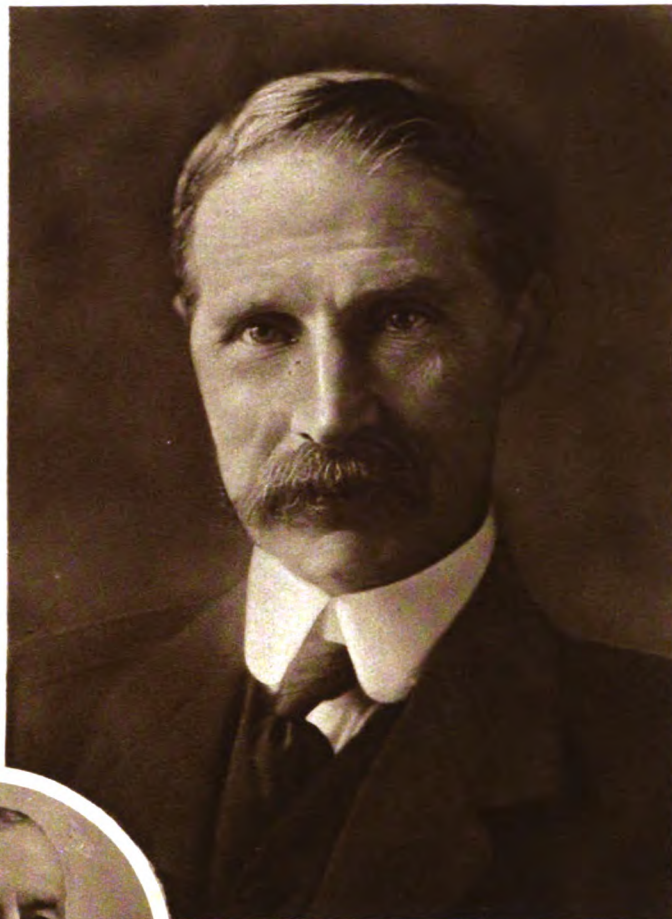
General Nivelle had sent his men to a line absolutely dominated by his guns, and, as he had temporarily or permanently put out of action nearly half the German batteries, the new French front was less assailable than the old front had been. The only check in the French operations was that which happened to the division under General de Lardemelle around Fort Vaux. The division had been fighting since September in the woods between Vaux and Souville, and therefore knew the ground thoroughly. But the fog hindered the French artillery from shattering a series of fresh machine-gun redoubts, newly built in the enemy's second line, and the infantry had slowly to work round each obstacle that resisted their frontal attack.

All the night of October 24th the struggle with bomb, bayonet, and machine-gun continued in the famous Ravine of Death, running westward from Vaux





RT. HON. D. LLOYD GEORGE.  
PRIME MINISTER.



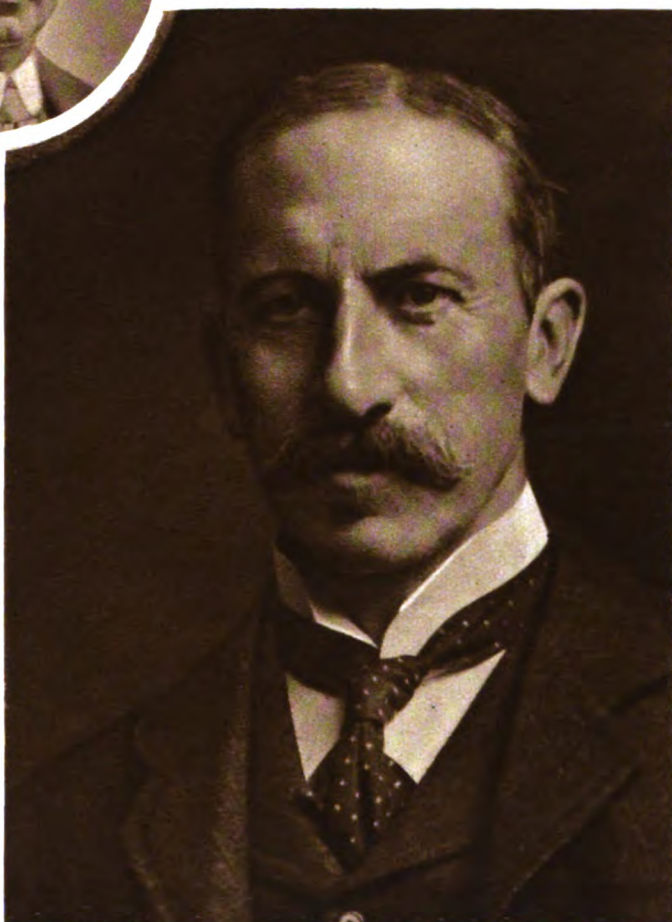
RT. HON. A. BONAR LAW.  
CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.



RT. HON. ARTHUR HENDERSON.  
WITHOUT PORTFOLIO.

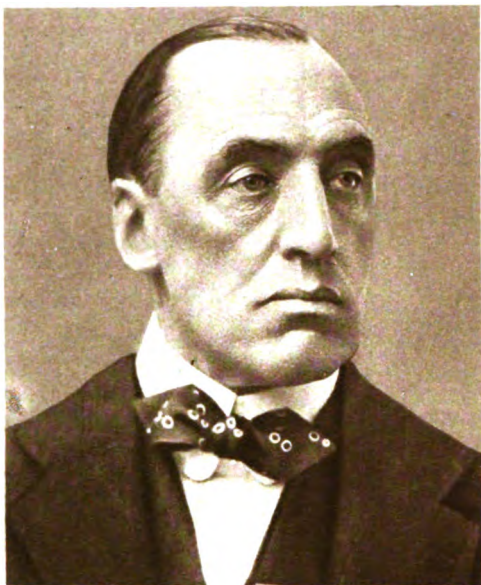


RT. HON. EARL CURZON.  
LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.



RT. HON. VISCOUNT MILNER.  
WITHOUT PORTFOLIO.

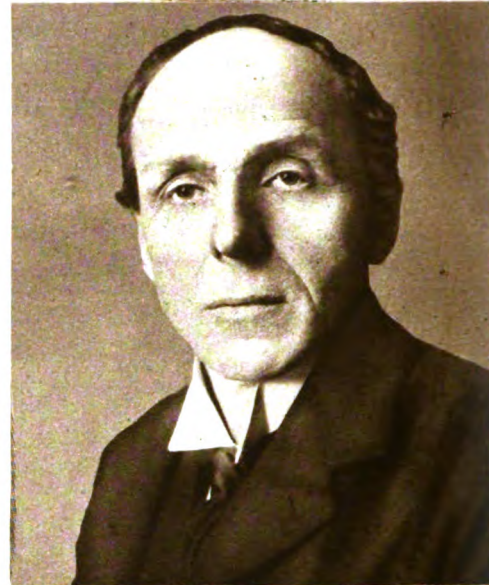




[Russell]  
RT. HON. SIR EDWARD CARSON,  
FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY.



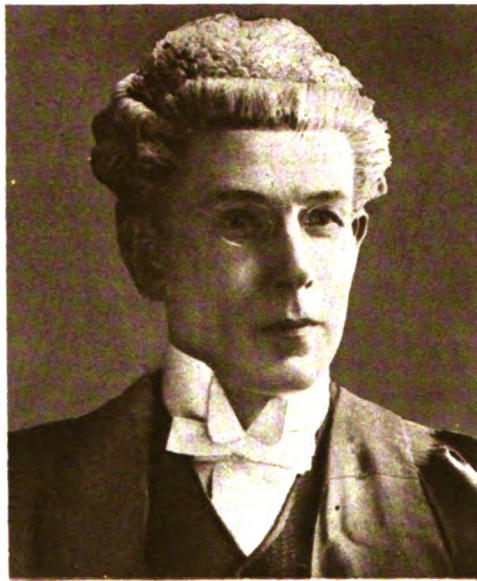
[Lafayette]  
RT. HON. LORD DEVONPORT,  
FOOD CONTROLLER.



[Seymour]  
RT. HON. LORD ROBERT CECIL,  
MINISTER OF BLOCKADE.



[Walter Barnett]  
RT. HON. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN,  
SECRETARY FOR INDIA.



[Lafayette]  
RT. HON. ROBERT MUNRO, K.C.,  
SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND.



[Russell]  
RT. HON. DR. ADDISON,  
MINISTER OF MUNITIONS.



[Mott & Fry]  
RT. HON. H. E. DUKE, K.C.,  
CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND.



[Lafayette]  
RT. HON. SIR FREDERICK CAWLEY, BART.,  
CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER.



RT. HON. SIR JOSEPH MACLAY,  
SHIPPING CONTROLLER.





*[Elliott & Fry]*  
RT. HON. DR. H. A. L. FISHER.  
PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION.



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POSTMASTER-GENERAL.



*[Lafayette]*  
RT. HON. LORD WIMBORNE.  
LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.



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RT. HON. SIR ALBERT STANLEY.  
PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE.



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RT. HON. GEORGE N. BARNES.  
PENSIONS MINISTER.



*[Elliott & Fry]*  
RT. HON. VISCOUNT COWDRAY.  
PRESIDENT OF THE AIR BOARD.



*[Elliott & Fry]*  
RT. HON. LORD RHONDDA.  
PRESIDENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD.

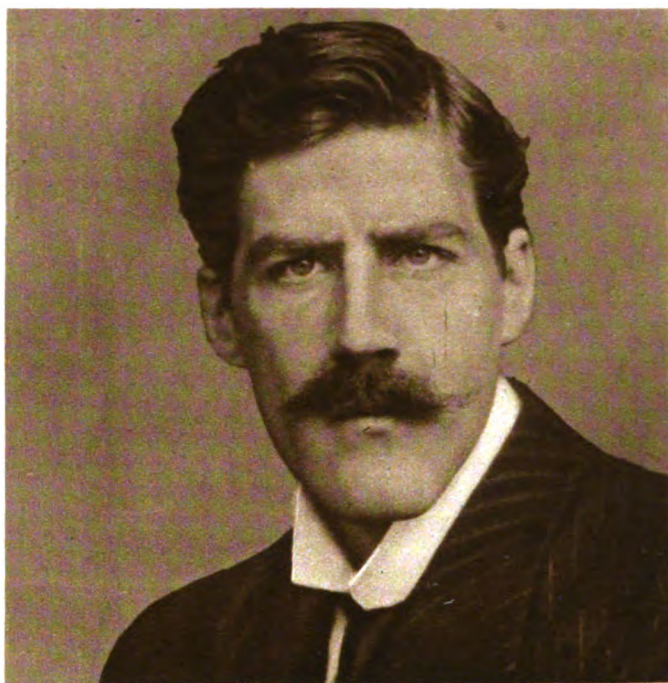


*[Walter Barnett]*  
RT. HON. SIR ALFRED MOND.  
FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS.





RT. HON. SIR ROBERT FINLAY, K.C.,  
LORD CHANCELLOR. [Ritton & Fry]



RT. HON. THE EARL OF CRAWFORD,  
LORD PRIVY SEAL. [Barnard]



RT. HON. SIR GEORGE CAVE,  
HOME SECRETARY. [Lafayette]



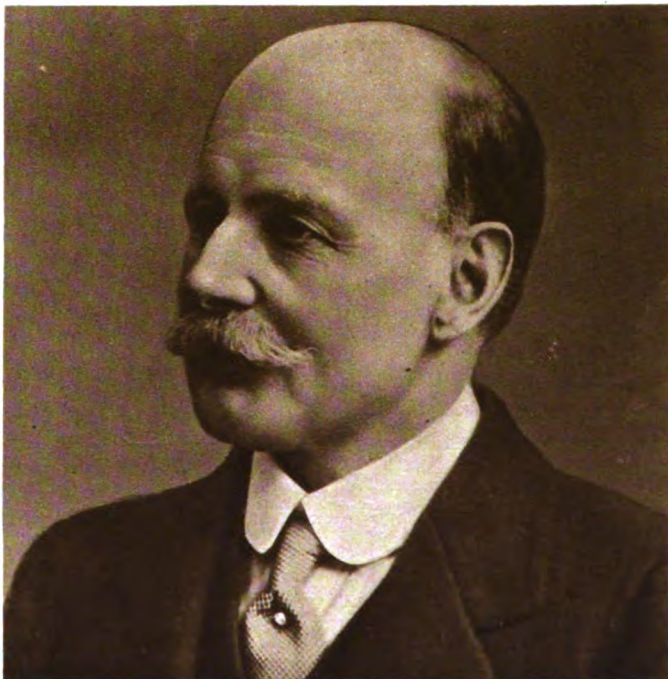
RT. HON. R. E. PROTHERO,  
PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE. [Swaine]



RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR,  
FOREIGN SECRETARY. [Russell]



RT. HON. THE EARL OF DERBY,  
SECRETARY FOR WAR. [Lafayette]



RT. HON. WALTER LONG,  
COLONIAL SECRETARY. [Lafayette]



village. When clear daylight came at 8 a.m. on October 25th, both the light and the heavy French artillery intervened. The guns smashed a path to the pond of Vaux, and poured upon the fortress promontory above the ravine a torrent of shell. Then, reinforced by two brigades of another division, the troops of General de Lardemelle reached the pond, and stormed a line of redoubts defending the northern corner of the fortress.

Vaux could then have been carried had General Nivelle cared to lose another 2,000 men in order to win another swift and striking victory. But the French commander refused to pay the price that any German general in the same circumstances would have given. He postponed the assault, and for eight days and eight nights turned his 16 in. guns upon the fortress. The result was that the German commandant lost so many men and was left with so demoralised a remnant of the original garrison that—unlike the brave and heroic Frenchman, Major Raynal, in June, 1916—he made no attempt to resist to the last, but evacuated the stronghold.

In the morning of November 2nd the Germans were seen to be leaving the fort, and explosion after explosion occurred which could not be traced to the action of the French shells. The enemy had blown up his stores of ammunition. Very cautiously in the evening a French company surrounded the promontory, while a lieutenant, with searching-parties of engineers, entered the great galleries beneath the ruined superstructure and, finding no enemy and no mine-trap, took possession of the last of the exterior forts of Verdun that the enemy had held. Verdun, the sally-port of France, was re-established in its integrity.

**Tactical value of the fortresses**

Both Douaumont Fort and Vaux Fort had long since lost all their importance as gun positions. They were designed in 1899 to contain 6 in. guns, and at the outbreak of war were scarcely stronger in striking power than the forts of Liège. Instead of being the pillars of Verdun, they became its points of weakness when the Krupp and Skoda howitzers arrived from Metz. The army of Verdun had to construct entrenchments far beyond the belt of exterior forts, and place cannon and howitzers by the hundred well in front of the old strongholds, in order to defend them. Douaumont and Vaux, however, were built in extraordinary strength. The French engineers were more thorough than the Belgian in their concrete work. None of the monster Krupp guns at Spincourt sent a 16·8 in. shell through the armoured concrete of Douaumont.

When the French, in turn, attacked their own fortress with the 16 in. shell containing a more powerful explosive than the enemy employed, the projectile penetrated only the superstructure. It did not pierce the vaults of the large subterranean galleries that sheltered the garrison. Consequently, the fortresses remained admirable machine-gun redoubts and still more important observation positions. By recovering Vaux the French overlooked the Plain of Woëvre, between Verdun and Metz, and thus enabled their long-range artillery constantly to harass the enemy. By recovering the higher northern



WELL-MASKED HILLTOP OBSERVATION-POST NEAR VERDUN.

Where a fissure in the ground on the summit of the hill provided perfect cover the French soldiers raised a natural-seeming screen, from behind which they were enabled to keep close watch over the valley that lay between them and the positions which were occupied by the enemy.

height of Douaumont they prevented the enemy over-seeing their lines, and obtained a steady view over his northern front. As outlook towers that no shell could shatter the two fortresses were of high tactical value to General Nivelle.

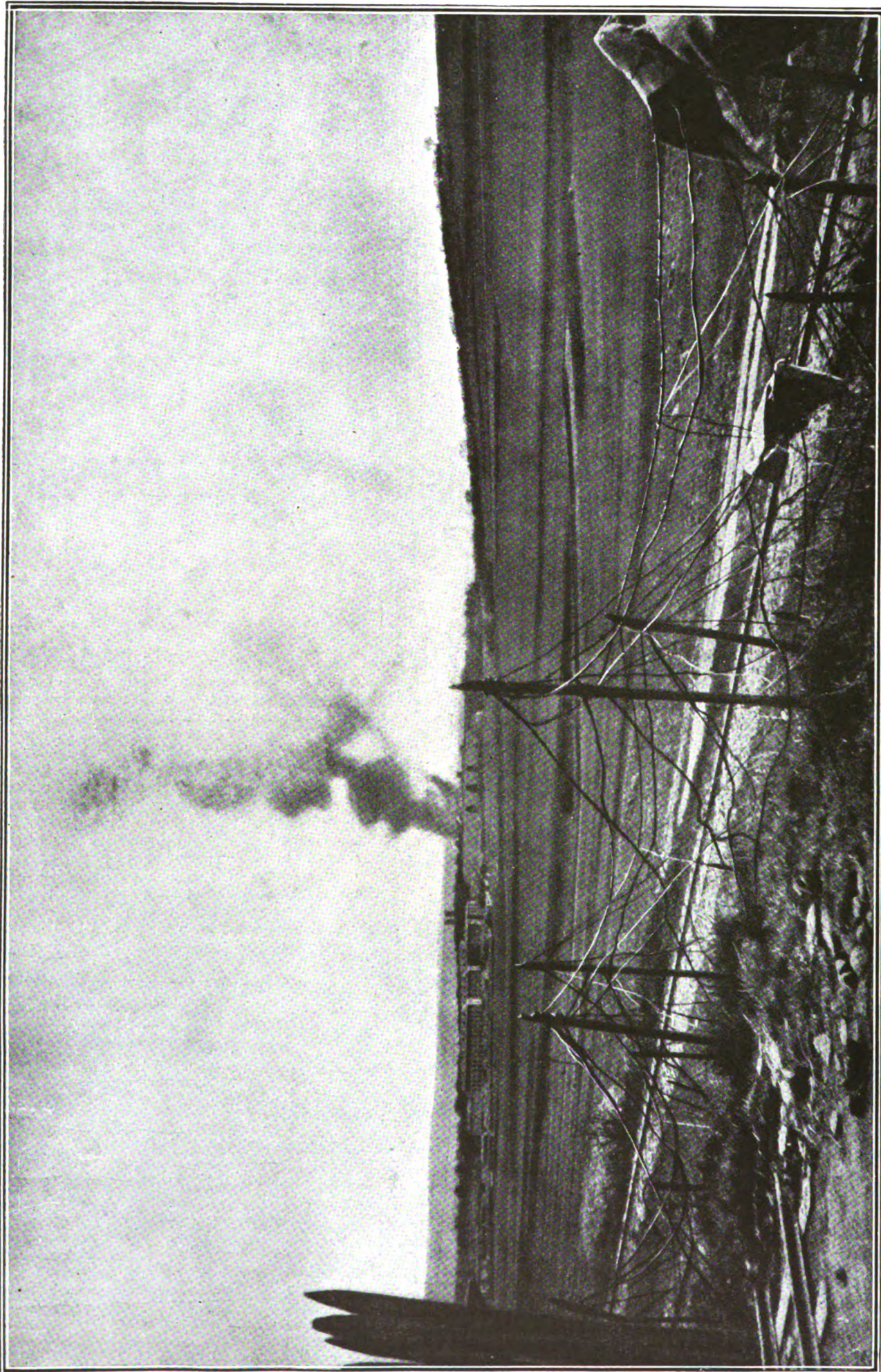
But the ground he had won required great labour to make it passable. For weeks the troops had to work like pack animals, struggling up to their thighs in mud, at a pace of often less than a quarter of a mile an hour, and carrying on their backs supplies and materials for the new front. The Algerian mules brought stores to the edge of the chaos from which the field-guns fired, but over this chaos only streams of packmen could cross. To organise the ground, forests had to disappear in other parts of France and quarries had to be opened. Yet, in less than six weeks, light railways were running through the zone of shell-pools, mud, and indistinguishable ruins. The horrible ground, from which bodies protruded by the thousand, was drained and made healthy. A great road was driven through it, and branching tracks made to all the recovered heights. This engineering achievement of General Nivelle was as masterly a work as his victory in the field.

He surprised the enemy more by the speed with which he organised the new ground than he did by his attack in the fog. Between the first week of November and the second week of December twenty miles of road were made behind Douaumont and Vaux, with seven miles of light railway line, and a special log track for hauling siege-guns close to the German trenches. The immediate consequence of the incomparable display of organising genius on the part of General Nivelle was something that surprised him and the world in general.

On November 30th, 1916, the defeated Crown Prince was retired from the personal command of the German forces round Verdun and given the nominal direction of all the German armies from the Oise to Belfort. A few days later the French Government offered General Nivelle the post of Commander-in-Chief, in succession both to Marshal

**Nivelle's organising genius**





WHERE THE GERMANS SCORED SOME HITS: INCENDIARY BOMBS FALLING ON VERDUN DURING THE BOMBARDMENT.

Despite the succession of their obstinate attacks on Verdun and their temporary occupation of some of the surrounding forts, the Germans never effected a footing in the town itself. Verdun, however, suffered considerably from the enemy artillery, which was by no means only directed against the forts. Shells and incendiary bombs were again and again fired into the place, and wrought much damage to property.



Joffre and General de Castelnau. It was the most dramatic personal incident in the war, excelling indeed in startling rapidity the rise to supreme power of Napoleon. The Third Republic of France, like the First Republic, had produced a brilliant band of great captains. Castelnau had proved his genius in the victory of Nancy; Foch had emerged triumphant on the Marne; Pétain had shown a splendid power of rapid organisation at Verdun and, with Maud'huy on the western heights of the Meuse and Nivelle on the eastern heights, had definitely turned the tide of battle in all the principal theatres of war against the Teutons.

Yet, when all the main machinery of French leadership seemed to have been fully forged in furnace after furnace of battle and finally fixed for the closing offensive, Verdun revealed a new man with a new method and, in a lightning-like movement of appreciation peculiar to the French democracy, he was abruptly promoted to the supreme command. Thereupon, he had again to display the most rapid gifts of organisation—to select, from his former peers and former chiefs, subordinates to carry out his ideas; to change many things; and to arrange his policy with that of the British Command.

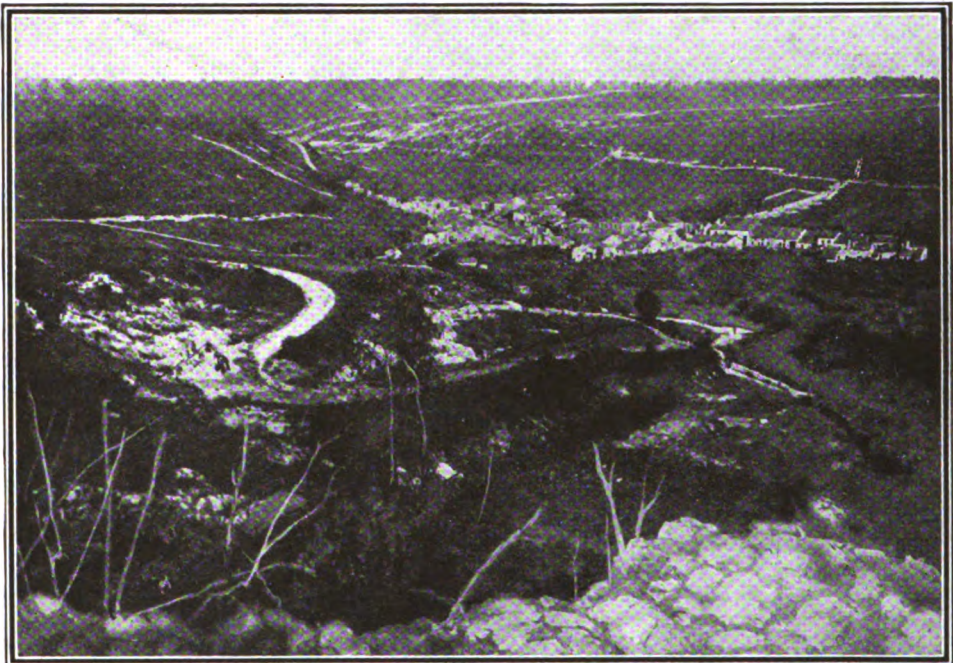
By December 13th, 1916, General Nivelle had completed his military arrangements, and on the same day the Briand Cabinet was reorganised, somewhat on the Lloyd Georgian model. The new commander selected General de Castelnau as army-group controller on the northern front, where General Foch had been acting. General Pétain was retained as army-group chief on the central front, and General Franchet d'Espèrey, who had fought on the right of the British Expeditionary Force on the Marne and on the Aisne, was made chief of the eastern front. General Mangin succeeded to the command of the army of Verdun, General Lyautey came from Morocco to act as Minister of War, and Marshal Joffre was appointed technical military adviser to the Government.

While engaged in the difficult work of making great changes in the direction of the armies of France, the new Commander-in-Chief speeded-up the preparations for an offensive at Verdun. On December 13th, as he left M. Briand to return to the scene of his October successes, he said to the Prime Minister, pointing to Louvemont and other main positions in the German line: "I am going to attack to-morrow. There are the points I shall reach. It will take me four hours to do it. I don't expect to lose many men and I shall take at least five thousand prisoners. I hope to send you a telegram about two o'clock to-morrow afternoon."

Before the time appointed, M. Briand received the telegram of victory, but the calculation as to prisoners was not entirely correct. Instead of making 5,000 captives, General Nivelle made 12,000, took 120 guns, and drove the enemy back four miles, at a cost of only 1,500 French casualties. The attack was made by two of the divisions that had taken Douaumont in October—the African division under General Guyot de Salins and the French division of the line under General Passaga. With these acted a fresh division under General Muteau, and another fresh division under General Garnier du Plessis. The enemy forces on the front attacked, running from the

Meuse to Bezonvaux village, consisted of five divisions. They were the 14th Reserve Division, the 29th Division, the 10th Division, the 14th Active Division, and the 39th Bavarian Reserve Division. During the six weeks' preparation for battle the Germans dug new trenches, with flanking works in the French style. On Pepper Hill the old organisation was strengthened with wider zones of wire entanglements, concreted galleries, and large sheltered gathering-places, transforming the long down into a huge fortress. The French troops still clung to some of the lower slopes of Pepper Hill, but all their line as far as the Thiaumont Work was overlooked by higher ground, held by the Germans on the crest of Pepper Hill and Louvemont Ridge. The length of front attacked was about six and a half miles, and with his four divisions General Nivelle employed only four men to the yard, in order to break the hostile fortress system.

The weather was again extremely adverse to all operations. It both snowed and rained, making the work of gunnery observation difficult and hindering the French airmen. But in the three days' preliminary bombardment, in the second week of December, 1916, the masses of French guns smashed a path through the German lines and,



GERMAN TRENCHES AND LABYRINTH ABOUT A FRENCH VILLAGE.  
Village in the Verdun-region, in the neighbourhood of which the Germans made a labyrinth of trenches. These are partly indicated in the photograph by the irregular lines where the earth, turned up to form the trench parapets, shows white against the unbroken surface.

working on by the map during the snowstorm, did terrible execution in the German trenches. In the October battle the Chief of Staff to the Crown Prince had tried to save his men by holding the first line lightly with machine-gun sections and massing his infantry forces in his second and third systems. This method having proved utterly unavailing, the new German commander now held his first line in great strength, and relied on the shelter of his concreted underground galleries for protection against French artillery fire. But the new 16 in. shell that broke into Douaumont Fort pierced the slighter slabs of German concrete built into the northern ridges. In the evening of December 14th, for instance, seven Germans deserted from the important position of Ratisbon Trench, and said that they were all that existed of a company that had garrisoned the entrenched slope.

At daybreak on December 15th there was improvement in the weather. The sky brightened, and the visibility became excellent. The result was that the German



artillery was completely reduced to silence by 9 a.m., and after a whirlwind bombardment the four French divisions went over their parapets at 10 a.m. By this time the French shells formed an impenetrable line of smoke and fire, drawn with mathematical precision across the German front, and at scarcely more than seventy paces behind their moving barrage the attacking troops squelched onward through the deep mud. Thereupon, every undamaged German gun resumed fire; and, knowing to an inch the range of the front French trenches, the German gunners drenched them in clouds of shrapnel. But the German barrage came five minutes too late. The French troops were well away from their own line, and before their supporting columns passed through the hostile fire curtain, the French siege-guns, directed by a row of observation balloons and low-flying airmen, smashed the German guns in a great counter-battery duel.

**French capture  
Vacherauville**

Meanwhile, the left French infantry wing, advancing without cover along the low ground by the river, reached the village of Vacherauville. Here every cellar and ruined house was a machine-gun redoubt. The French artillery on both sides of the Meuse covered the assault with great vigour, but in the close village fighting the opposing forces were soon so mixed up that the artillery on both sides could take no part in the battle, but merely played on the opposing routes of approach. Then it was

that General Nivelle's new infantry tactics told with instant effect on the issue of the day. The German division was driven out of the village at little expense in French lives and, forming a stubborn rearguard, it retreated along the road to Beaumont.

South of this road was the high, fortified crest of Pepper Hill. It seemed to be the strongest sector of the hostile front; but it was the weakest sector. This the enemy commander did not know, but General Nivelle and General Mangin did, and their plans were made accordingly.

**Conquest of  
Pepper Hill**

The force attacking Vacherauville was manoeuvred slowly and cautiously, in view of the great possibilities afforded by the bare slopes of the hill on their right. Upon these bare slopes the main mass of French artillery fired with horribly destructive power, and the French infantry moved upward quickly to the summit, completely screened by the smoke of their barrages. Suddenly the German gunners seemed to go mad, for they opened a terrific fire of 6 in. and 8 in. shell upon their own troops on the height.

The stricken German infantry sent up signal rockets, and their guns ceased to fire on them. The German gunners, however, had not been so mad as they seemed. One of their aerial scouts may have observed something, and given the range a little too hastily. The extraordinary German barrage was only a few yards short



[French official photograph.]

**POILUS' PLEASANT REST-PLACE: A FRENCH CHATEAU THAT WAR HAD SPARED.**

Behind the French front this chateau, which had almost entirely escaped damage, where so many others had been entirely destroyed, served as a pleasant rest-place for French soldiers who had been engaged in the

strenuous fighting a few miles away. While many of the men were quietly enjoying their respite in easy attitudes, others were preparing a meal for them in the wayside camp-kitchen shown in the foreground.



of the first storming French waves of attack; and, as the German guns stopped firing on Pepper Hill, the French infantry leaped into the German trenches. At the decisive point on the hill fortress the German lines ran sideways, fronting towards the river and protecting the retiring garrison of Vacherauville from flank attack. As the regiments on this flank were rearguarding their Vacherauville force, they were abruptly assailed in the back by the conquerors of Pepper Hill. Caught unexpectedly with hand-grenades and bayonets, the Germans broke, and the French went down into the valley and drove savagely into the flank of the Germans retreating from Vacherauville.

This was the grand stroke in the battle that upset General Nivelle's estimate of his probable successes, and more than doubled his captures of men and guns. To General Mangin, who executed General Nivelle's plan and gloriously improved upon it in the course of the fighting, the great break-through was due. The Germans on the Beaumont road had been maintaining a gallant rearguard defence. Although they had lost Vacherauville village, they were in strong formation and good heart. But when their flank was broken and their rear threatened, complete panic seized them. Throwing away weapons and equipment, they scattered and fled, with the French in close pursuit, and soon surrendered in thousands.

All Pepper Hill, stretching for a mile and a half towards Louvemont, was turned in less than an hour and a half. Then the victorious wing converged north-eastward towards the Louvemont Ridge, while the French centre moved directly northward, from Thiaumont and Douaumont across a valley and over the trenches seaming the slopes of Louvemont Ridge. The ground on this part of the front was extremely difficult. The mud came over the men's knees, and the snow and the night frost, instead of hardening it, had made it as sticky as glue. But winter mud was as powerless to stop the French infantrymen as German guns and German men were. The great ridge was carried practically without a fight, and the village of Louvemont was enveloped and stormed in two hours. Then, as the Germans retreated in disorder from Louvemont village, French airmen swooped down and, raking them with machine-gun fire, so dispersed them that the French centre was able to pass its final objective and continue towards Chambrettes Farm.

The troops under General Passaga, forming the right wing of the attack, were the only French force that met with serious resistance. The Passaga division was drawn up between Douaumont, Vaux, and Damloup. In front of it were three wooded heights cut by ravines—Hardaumont Wood, Hassoule Wood, and La Vauche Wood. The ground rose to the level of the dome of Douaumont, affording



[French official photograph.]

#### BRITISH PRINCE DECORATES HEROES OF VERDUN.

Prince Arthur of Connaught decorating General Nivelle and men who so heroically assisted him in the great counter-offensive before Verdun. The ceremony took place outside the Mairie in a town behind the French front, where brave Poilus in heavy marching order provided an appropriate guard of honour.

the enemy observation over the French forces when they descended into the valley in order to attack the forested spurs. Moreover, there were German batteries around the village of Dieppe, flanking the positions which the French stormed and pouring a cross-fire upon the advancing troops. Thus the task assigned to General Passaga's men was by far the most arduous. But though it took long to carry out, it was completed with almost as much success as the drive across Pepper Hill.

In the morning the promontory of Hardaumont, strengthened with numerous fieldworks, was carried through heavy hostile curtain fire coming from the north and east. La Vauche Wood proved an obstacle that delayed the division for some hours, but the remarkable team-work of the French brigade on this sector triumphed over the stubborn resistance of the Prussians. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon all the promontories were carried, together with the great earthwork near Bezonvaux village.

It was at about this hour that the French centre pushed beyond its objective and captured Chambrettes Farm. From this high advanced position, in the middle of their



new front, the French forces began to outflank Bezonvaux village and part of Caurrières Wood. All through the evening of December 15th and the morning of December 16th they pressed the Germans on both sides, and captured the village and part of the wood. Having lost one hundred and twenty guns by capture and more than three times that number by counter-battery attack, the Germans took a considerable time in attempting to recover the ground they had lost. In the afternoon of December 15th they were too busy dragging their guns out of reach of the French infantry to help their own fugitive troops on the Beaumont road sector by curtaining the French ground there. The German counter-attack did not occur until the evening of December 17th. Then, after a long and costly bombardment, fresh German forces stormed out against the new French front, but were so overwhelmed by the shell fire and the machine-gun fire of the army of Verdun that they could not reach the new French fire trenches. Only the advanced work of Chambrettes Farm was occupied, and

even this was not held for more than a few hours. After a hurricane bombardment the French troops swept back over the farm, killed or captured the garrison, and firmly consolidated themselves in this advanced position.

"The experiment has succeeded," said General Nivelle as he left his glorious Second Army, to carry on his new work as Commander-in-Chief. "Our method has justified itself. Victory is assured!" Verdun was more than a local success. The gain of four miles of ground, which prevented the enemy from seeing the famous citadel of the Meuse and which gave more elbow-room to the French forces around Douaumont and Vaux, was not of supreme importance, although the territory gained levelled up the two French sectors on either side the river, and brought the French armies around Dead Man Hill and around Louvemont in line with each other.

**Chief significance  
of the victory**

From the beginning of the struggle Verdun had been the grand testing-ground between the Gaul and the Teuton. The principal significance of the final French victory was that it showed that the French had gradually elaborated a method of fighting as pregnant with results as the new method by which Napoleon broke the Prussians at Jena. All that Falkenhayn and Hindenburg had produced at Verdun was a new French Commander-in-Chief with new tactics, against which no German defence works could stand. The new method had been tried in several of the later actions on the Somme before it was shown in full perfection at Verdun. It was no secret of General Nivelle, but was practised by the British Staff as well as by the French Staff. In the opinion of good judges, it promised to effect in modern warfare as far-reaching surprises as those created by the Macedonian Phalanx in the age of Alexander the Great and by Spanish infantry tactics in the age of Charles V.



WHERE THE ARTILLERY HAD PREPARED THE WAY BEFORE DOUAUMONT WAS RECAPTURED. In the Bois de la Caillette, immediately to the south-east of Douaumont. Above: Another scene of desolation before Douaumont, which after having been captured by the Germans in the early part of 1916 was brilliantly retaken by the French before the close of the year.





THE RT. HON. D. LLOYD GEORGE

## CHAPTER CLXIII.

WATCHING A BOMBARDMENT.

# THE SOCIALISATION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND RISE OF IMPERIAL DEMOCRACY.

By Edward Wright.

Death of Lord Kitchener and End of Era of Individualism—Lloyd George as War Secretary—Development of State Control System—Stagnation of Cabinet and Unceasing Popular Unrest—Pensions Scandal and Reform Work of Mr. Henderson—Lloyd George's Gallant Attempt to Solve the Irish Problem—Lord Lansdowne's Intervention and its Consequences in Australia and America—Middle Europe and the Scheme for Economic War—Allies' Reply by Paris Conference—Cabinet Difficulties in Regard to Execution of Conference Agreements—Marvellous Recovery of British Foreign Trade—Great Rise in Wages and Family Prosperity—Suggestions for a Negotiated Peace with the Enemy—Disasters and Dishonour Underlying the False Humanitarianism—Lloyd George Proclaims a Fight to a Knock-out—Increasing Difficulties in British Food Supplies—The Connoisseur in the Wheat Pit—Reorganisation of Volunteers—Urgent Necessity for More Men for the Army—Struggle Between Lloyd George and Walter Runciman—Admiral Jellicoe Returns to Whitehall—Negotiations between Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George—A "Times" Leader and the Break-up of the Government—Lloyd George becomes Prime Minister—Labour Party Give their Adherence to the New Government—Germany Offers to Open Negotiations for Peace—The Prime Minister's Reply—Establishment of a System of National Service—The Imperial War Conference—Policy of the Food Controller—Standardisation of Merchant Steamers—State Control of Railways—Speeding-up of British Production—Explosion in a London Munition Works—The British War Loan of 1917.



THE summer of 1916, that opened with the Battle of Jutland Bank and the Battle of the Somme, was a turning-point in the domestic history of Great Britain. The strange death of Lord Kitchener off the Orkney Islands, on June 5th, 1916, marked the end of an old epoch, and the appointment of Mr. Lloyd George as successor to the great captain in the position of Secretary of State for War, on July 6th, 1916, indicated the beginning of a new era. Lord Kitchener was a masterly incarnation of the old English spirit of individualism. He was a man of genius and telling force of character, and it was in large part due to his appeal for volunteers that a great army was available for the Battle of the Somme. But while Lord Kitchener still retained in his strong hands all control of the British land forces, the disasters which occurred at the front through lack of high-explosive shell and heavy ordnance showed that the problems of a war on a Continental scale were not likely to be fully



MINISTERS OF MUNITIONS.

The Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George, while Secretary of State for War, with the Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu (centre), and M. Albert Thomas, respectively British and French Ministers of Munitions, an office which Mr. Lloyd George had been the first British statesman to hold.

solved by a dictator of genius of the old school.

The extraordinary complexity of war in modern conditions made the task too heavy for any single soldier, however capable, to bear, and though with undaunted courage he tried to face every difficulty, events were too strong for him. Already, on January 27th, 1916, the strategic control of all British armies had been given to Sir William Robertson as Chief of the Imperial General Staff, which was reorganised towards the tragic close of the Dardanelles expedition. And the earlier appointment of Mr. Lloyd George as Minister of Munitions had diminished the scope of Lord Kitchener's practical dictatorship. No doubt the dilatory party of politicians in the Coalition Cabinet and War Committee impeded the work of Lord Kitchener and, by continually suggesting fears of labour troubles, hindered the great commander from establishing a system of national service. National service, without national control of the main resources of the country, might eventually have proved a cause of trouble.



But, though the politicians of the individualistic school could not see it, the nation was rapidly tending, under repeated checks and adversities, towards a policy of general State control.

Mr. Lloyd George succeeded Lord Kitchener as practical dictator, and greatly extended the powers of dictatorship, because he clearly divined the course of public opinion. His early political career as a Radical with Socialistic tendencies gave him large ideas. His later experiences as the most daring of Chancellors of the Exchequer, in which capacity, with the aid of great financial experts, he saved the banking position of Great Britain and the credit system of the world, helped to equip him with the knowledge that was power. Then setting out in a new direction, as an energising but somewhat inexperienced controller of the largest industries in the kingdom, he quickly learnt from his mistakes, and sought the assistance of experts of employers and of men. At the end of a year, as Minister of Munitions, he was one of the strongest minds directing the war in Europe. He could scarcely fire a rifle and he could not train a field-gun, yet as an organiser of the chief instruments of victory he excelled Lord Kitchener, and even extorted reluctant praise from the dismayed and staggering enemy.

If, in the first week of July, 1916, the new Secretary for War had received from his fellow-Liberals in the War Council of the Coalition Cabinet a fuller measure of active and instant help than Lord Kitchener had received, the victory of civilisation might have been achieved under Mr. Asquith's Ministry. But this Ministry was not representative of the new forces in the nation, of which Mr. Lloyd George, with the Labour leaders and several of the Unionist chiefs, was the interpreter and the executor. There had to be a great eruption before the new national forces won room to develop and transform the country. The talent for compromise possessed by Mr. Asquith delayed the eruption for five months. During this period the War Council was in such a state of unstable balance that it could achieve nothing of importance. At every attempt to do something of a decisive nature, the suggestion of a series of resignations led to another depressing compromise. But stagnant as the surface of things seemed during the terrible and glorious months when the British armies on the Somme were advancing from victory to victory, at a cost of a hundred thousand casualties a month, the people laboured in a profound unrest of mind, scarcely knowing clearly what it was they desired.

#### Delays and discontent

A multitude of side issues apparently engaged the full attention of the nation. Nearly everywhere there were things it wanted better done. When the slow-moving Government took steps to remedy some just cause of complaint, the spirit of public discontent burst forth in another direction. A satisfactory national pension scheme for disabled fighting men and the dependents of dead, disabled, or missing soldiers was one of the leading aims of public agitation. At one period it was reported that twenty-two thousand disabled soldiers were in misery, with their regimental pay stopped and no proper pension

supplied to them. The State had never before arrayed an army of millions, and it had no official machinery for providing adequately and nobly for the hundreds of thousands of men that would be broken in its wars.

For nearly a hundred years Great Britain had been a middle-class plutocracy, absorbed in money-making and in profitable colonising adventures. It had despised the warrior, while making more profitable use of him than any other race except the Prussians. Its Government took little or no interest in the broken soldier, whose case was largely left to voluntary charitable organisations. After the Commissioners of the Royal Hospital for Soldiers at Chelsea had doled out a starvation pittance to disabled soldiers and the dependents of dead or disabled soldiers, various charitable organisations were supposed to investigate each case and supplement the utterly insufficient pension or allowance.

The right and plain course was for the State to look after the soldiers broken in its service, and the women and children impoverished by the death or disablement of their fighting men. But this plain and right course was not taken by the Coalition Cabinet, with the result that the

#### Inadequate pension system

large suffering element in the people chafed in deep anger. A measure, passed in November, 1915, only provided a small contribution by the State to a pension fund mainly collected by charity. Not until October, 1916, did Mr. McKenna agree to increase the Government Pension Fund from £1,000,000 to £6,000,000. By that time, owing to the long delay, the number of pension cases had become unmanageably large, and the various pension authorities further mismanaged

the unmanageable. Mr. Arthur Henderson, the Chairman of the Labour Party, was then placed in control of the pension problem. Labour revolt was the nightmare of the Second Asquith Ministry, and as apprehension in regard to the most loyal working class in the world had been used by the party of compromise to cripple the New Army in the making, the same menace was at last turned against the same party, in order to induce it to consent to a just national pension scheme. Mr. Henderson was about to become Minister of Pensions when the overthrow of the Coalition Cabinet enabled him more thoroughly to complete his pension work and make the Labour Party a still stronger reorganising force in the new political era.

Another important problem that threatened to wreck the Coalition Cabinet was the Irish question. After the Sinn Fein rebellion and the visit of Mr. Asquith to Dublin, Mr. Lloyd George was asked to undertake negotiations for a temporary settlement of Ireland. With the unanimous support of the Cabinet, he approached Mr. Redmond and the Nationalist Party and Sir Edward Carson and the Ulster Party. He induced the leaders to accept, for the period of the war, a scheme of Home Rule for Ireland, with the six Ulster counties left out. Sir Edward Carson made a great appeal to the people of Ulster and, in spite of their coldness, induced them to agree, in June, 1916, to the scheme. At a Nationalist conference the temporary



MRS. H. J. TENNANT.

Director of the Women's Department of National Service.



MISS VIOLET MARKHAM.

Assistant-Director of the Women's Department of National Service.

The Women's Department of National Service was created in February, 1917, to set up "effective machinery for securing women of the right kind for substitution work and using woman-power of every kind in the most profitable way."





HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE AND LORD DERBY.  
After being Director of Recruiting and deviser of the Derby Scheme "for group enlistment," the Earl of Derby became Under-Secretary of War, and then Secretary for War in the National Ministry in December, 1916.

Home Rule measure was accepted by Mr. Redmond's party. In a signed agreement the leaders of the two parties practically consented to all the Irish Members of Parliament remaining during the war in the House of Commons, and there taking part in the direction of Imperial affairs. The governing idea of the scheme was that Ulster would accept Home Rule when the Irish Parliament had demonstrated its capacity to govern well the rest of Ireland, and when the Irish people proved that they felt it was in their interest to be loyal, and abandoned the policy of separation from Great Britain.

In effect, Mr. Redmond, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. Devlin undertook to deal in their own way with the smouldering fires of the Sinn Féin movement. Their aim was to make Catholic Ireland so orderly, loyal, and progressive under the Home Rule experiment that the Presbyterians of Ulster would of their own accord at last be willing to form a United Ireland. It was suggested, in the terms of the agreement, that at the end of the experimental period there should be a conference, representing all the self-governing Colonies of the Empire, to consider the relations of the Dominions to the Home Government, and that in the course of this conference an attempt should be made to work out what the permanent Government of Ireland should be.

It was a generous scheme, and, in the first week of July, 1916, the mediating genius of Mr. Lloyd George and the sympathetic and patriotic understanding of Mr. Redmond and Sir Edward Carson seemed about to open a new era in the relations of Ireland and Great Britain. But almost at the last moment Lord Lansdowne suddenly

intervened as the representative of the British Unionists in Southern and Western Ireland. By a threat of resignation from the Cabinet he compelled some fundamental changes in the draft Bill that had been prepared. All the negotiations were brought to an end by an alteration reducing the number of Nationalist representatives in the House of Commons, so that they could not continue to hold the balance between the Radical-Liberal Party and the Unionist Party. This was in conflict with the terms of the agreement on which the draft Bill was based. The curious explanation offered was that Mr. Lloyd George had not acted as the representative of the Cabinet, but as an agent with limited powers, who could be disowned if the Cabinet did not like the terms he had arranged.

**Experiment  
frustrated**

The situation caused by this breakdown was partly saved by the patriotic reticence of Mr. Redmond and the generous conduct of Sir Edward Carson during the debate in Parliament on July 24th, 1916. "It would not be a bad day for this country, or Ireland, or for our prospects in the war," said Sir Edward towards the close of his speech, "if Mr. Redmond and myself were to shake hands on the floor of this house." This offer of personal friendship was generally recognised as symbolic of the new relations between Catholic and Presbyterian Ireland. Though the great experiment was frustrated, yet the fine constructive work of Mr. Lloyd George seemed likely to issue in the future in the greatest achievement of British domestic politics.

In the meantime, the spirit of the Sinn Féin rebellion smouldered on and spread, not only in Ireland, but in every land where Irish emigrants and their descendants



LORD FRENCH, O.M., AND LIEUT.-GEN. SIR FRANCIS LLOYD, K.C.B., D.S.O.

Viscount French was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Home Forces in 1915, and Sir Francis Lloyd, G.O.C. London District in 1913.



were an important political force. It increased the strength and vehemence of all pro-German movements and intrigues in the United States. But, worst of all, it prevented the second greatest Welsh statesman in the British Empire—Mr. W. M. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia—from helping on the war by obtaining a vote in favour of conscription. When the Australian referendum was completed in November, 1916, Mr. Hughes' proposal was defeated only by the comparatively narrow margin of 61,000 votes.

During his stay in Great Britain, in the early part of 1916, Mr. Hughes, as the leading Labour Premier of the world, had exercised a telling influence upon the British working classes, and engineered a victorious movement against the octopus activities of German trade and finance.

Trade after  
the war

He had broken, by his personal action, some important enemy interests in the Australian key industries, and by public speeches and conversations with representatives of British Labour, he greatly reinforced the movement towards Protection, against which the pro-Germans fought determinedly. Extraordinary as it seems, a considerable party in the Coalition Cabinet remained in favour of Free Trade with Germany after the war. The Teutons, however, had elaborated a great fighting economic system—usually known as Middle Europe—in which Germany, Austria-Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Greece, the Ottoman Empire, and the British Protectorates of the Persian Gulf were to be combined in one economic and military federation. In this federation Germany was to be the leading industrial and financial force, with her markets protected from British, American, French, and other allied or neutral competition, by a Middle Europe tariff wall.

Against this formidable scheme the Allies concerted measures at a conference held in Paris in June, 1916. The Marquis of Crewe, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. W. M. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia, and Sir George Foster, Canadian Minister of Trade and Commerce, represented the British Empire. France was represented by her Ministers of Commerce and Agriculture and other statesmen of influence. Russia, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Serbia, and Portugal also sent some of their principal Ministers to the Conference. Working together from different points of view, the delegates arrived at a scheme of economic war and economic defence against the Middle Europe Union. They provided for measures to be taken in common during the war, for measures of defence during the difficult period following the conclusion of peace, and, finally, for measures to develop industry and commerce in the allied States during the period of reconstruction, and for permanent defences against the unscrupulous methods of penetration and monopoly which had been employed by the Teutons in the British Empire, Russia, Italy and France, Serbia and Portugal.

On the return of the British delegates to London a committee was appointed to consider the conclusions reached at the Paris Conference, and to work out in detail methods to prevent the resources of the Empire from falling under foreign control, to protect all industries essential for the safety of the nation, and generally develop the resources of the Empire. By July 19th, 1916, the committee, which included many business men who afterwards rose to high political power, began to labour on the plan of the Paris Conference. Some weeks afterwards, at the Trade Union Congress, the representatives of the working classes moved, by a million and three-quarters votes against half a million votes, for the restriction of foreign goods made by sweated labour. This seemed a significant

indication of a popular movement towards a system of economic defence, such as Mr. Joseph Chamberlain had vainly attempted to establish when he saw the danger of the Teutonic method of penetration. Owing to the influence which the Australian Prime Minister had exercised in Great Britain, the working classes began to see that a protective system would be needed to maintain high wages. The Steel Smelters' Union, in particular, agitated for some tariff or other means of defence against a future disastrous import of German steel. During the debates on the problem of economic defence, a section of Liberals, led by Sir Alfred Mond, Mr. Illingworth, and Sir L. Chiozza Money, abandoned the Free Trade standpoint. But the principal lieutenants of Mr. Asquith, occupying the important positions of Chancellor of the Exchequer and President of the Board of Trade, held to the old policy. Their views directly conflicted with the plans made at the Paris Conference, so that nothing of importance could be done to prepare for common allied action against the Middle Europe federation.

The Coalition Cabinet had become an unworkable instrument. It was rent by divisions on domestic, Imperial, and allied problems of the utmost urgency. Even on the all-important question of the prosecution of the war the Coalition was so divided that it did nothing. Between Mr. Lloyd George, as Secretary for War, and Mr. Walter Runciman, as President of the Board of Trade, there was disagreement of the most fundamental nature—whether the war should be fought to a finish or whether it should be ended in a negotiated peace. Mr. Runciman, with the help of Mr. McKenna, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, pursued a policy which undoubtedly produced some remarkable results. By exempting men from military service and extending the use of female labour, which Mr. Lloyd George had employed in a large way in munition work, the semi-pacifists maintained a wonderful volume of British commerce. The export trade rose in 1916 to a little over £506,500,000.

This marvellous figure much exceeded British exports in all the years before the war, except 1913. Great Britain had a fleet of 4,000 vessels engaged in military and naval duties, and a million men manning or working for it. She had placed in the field new armies numbering millions, and behind these soldiers she had millions of munition workers, withdrawn from productive labour. Yet in spite of her stupendous naval, military, and munition efforts, which seemed at times as if they monopolised all the human resources of the country, the Island State maintained her export trade close to its highest figure in 1913, when Germany and Austria-Hungary were buying in preparation for war.

The great markets of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire had been lost, and ordinary commerce with Russia was blocked in the Baltic and the Dardanelles. But Great Britain found larger markets in allied countries and in neutral States. And while her blockade slowly destroyed the sea-borne commerce of the German Empire, her own mercantile marine, with its tonnage halved by reason of the needs of the Services, maintained the energising flow of trade in supreme vigour. Considerable credit for this state of things was due to Mr. McKenna and Mr. Runciman.

By December, 1916, the wages of some three million British workers were increased by eight shillings a week each. Alongside this expansion of ordinary wages there was an unparalleled development in the income of the family, owing to women, girls, and lads engaging in productive or distributive work. The cost of living rose 45 per cent.



MR. WILLIAM MITCHELL-THOMSON,  
M.P.  
Director of the Restriction of Enemy  
Supplies Department.

Expansion of  
wages



but did not check the prosperity of the working class. The increase in the family income more than balanced the rising price of food.

The middle classes felt the strain of rising prices, and the members of various professions were impoverished. Exceedingly heavy taxation, combined with the great rise in prices and the falling value of many classes of investment, reduced a considerable section of the upper middle classes from a position of luxury to one of bitter poverty. But from a national point of view even this disaster to one class brought compensation. It was estimated that one million men and women, who had been engaged before the war in work of a non-productive nature, were liberated for labour of a directly productive or military kind. In days of peace Great Britain had been generally underworking and largely idling, and families with means had diverted from labour more servants than the nation could properly afford. The stress of the war and the appeal to the patriotism of all classes stripped the race down to its leanest strength, saved it from fatty degeneration of the soul, and gave it an athletic spirit of an incomparable kind.

Masterly as had been the effort made by Great Britain in the Napoleonic Wars, that effort was immensely surpassed by the effort made in the Great War. The British Isles are but

**Marvellous expansion  
of industry**

and, in the days of peace, there were times when both friend and foe used to think that a series of chances impossible of recurrence under modern conditions, had given the British race

so large a dominion over the earth. But by the end of the year 1916 the islanders had excelled all the achievements of their forefathers, and in an unparalleled display of naval power, military power, industrial power, transport power, and financial power they again controlled the destinies of mankind, and controlled them for righteous and noble ends.

This marvellous expansion of British industry and commerce during the violent middle period of the war was not accomplished without sacrifices of a most serious kind. A fearful price was paid for the extraordinary export trade of Great Britain in 1915 in the Battle of the Bazentin Ridge in September, 1916. Had Sir Douglas Haig then possessed an additional hundred thousand well-trained troops, the rupture of the German line would have been a practical certainty. The increase in British commerce cost the country and the Allies another year of war. Then it was that the struggle between Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Walter Runciman entered on its decisive



CONVALESCENTS AT HEALTHFUL, HELPFUL EXERCISE. With a view to cultivation of vegetables, wounded soldiers at a Hampstead hospital took readily to the work of digging up the grounds attached to the institution in which they were recuperating.



WILLING SERVICE OF SOLDIERS AS VEGETABLE GROWERS.

Men of the Gordon Highlanders, at the suggestion of Lieut.-Col. Forbes, planted potatoes between the huts at their Reserve camp, and thus utilised to good purpose land that otherwise would have remained idle. Above :

Weeding cabbages. Soldier-gardeners stationed at High Wycombe took over the task of tending the allotments of about fifty men who were away with the Colours, and faithfully fulfilled their undertaking.



phase. There was a considerable party of Liberals who did not want the war to continue. Their views were continually suggested, rather than plainly expressed, in the columns of the extreme Radical Press. We cannot, therefore, attempt to explain fully what these views were. But they seemed to be partly based upon the great British achievement in foreign trade and finance, as contrasted with the temporary condition of the enemy's commercial and financial power. The idea was that Great Britain could afford to discuss the terms of "peace without victory." This, it was alleged, Germany was ready to do. It was said, quite indirectly, that she was willing to pay an indemnity to Belgium, to hand part of Alsace-Lorraine back to France, and possibly to make some concession to Russia in the Dardanelles in return for important concessions.

In France there was only a small, insignificant section of Socialists of the German school who were willing to allow



ADMIRAL SIR JOHN R. JELlicoe, O.M., G.C.B.

Sir John Jellicoe, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Fleet on the outbreak of war and was in supreme command at the Battle of Jutland, May 31st, 1916, became First Sea Lord of the Admiralty on December 4th, 1916.

the Prussians and Bavarians to retain the great iron and coal fields of Lorraine and the enormous potash deposits of Alsace, the latter of which alone were sufficient to pay all the German expenses of the war. Republican France, unjustly attacked when labouring for peace and unprepared for war, was sternly resolute to recover her lost provinces, which were vitally necessary to her industrial and her agricultural strength. Russia also needed a decisive victory to enable her to grow to her full stature. Both for economic and religious reasons the recovery of Constantinople and the expulsion of the Turk from Europe were vital for the Empire that inherited the traditions of the Byzantine Church. Belgium and Serbia needed fuller reparation than their enemies would allow, while victorious Italy still

eyed the Italian cities and Italian territories possessed by her traditional foe, and necessary for her complete command over the Adriatic and for the growth of her power in the Mediterranean.

Of all the Allies, Great Britain, in September, 1916, only could have retired from the war with large material gains. In a purely selfish British point of view, of a low and very short-sighted kind, there may have been some prospect of gain, at comparatively small cost, in the idea of a negotiated peace. The war had increased the strength of the British Empire. Even the losses on the battlefield were counter-balanced by the decrease in emigration. The leading Dominion of Canada had scarcely suffered from the lack of British emigrants, as Americans had flowed across the frontier into her wheat-fields, factories, and expeditionary force. South Africa had greatly enlarged her territory, and being peopled by the fertile Boers as well as by the slower breeding but more enterprising Britons, was firmly established as a dominion that would grow into greatness. New Zealand, the paradise of the world and the greatest laboratory of political experiments, had only to wait until the war was ended in order to obtain a large influx of settlers. And the Commonwealth of Australia, which had also become a great Labour State and a land of high wages, was certain to have her losses in men abundantly replaced when the British national armies were demobilised.

Great Britain had occupied nearly every German colony, created an Army on the greatest Continental scale, and forced the Germans to respect its power. The sea-borne trade of Germany was completely checked, and its re-organisation would take some time, while the export trade of Great Britain was fairly maintained. In these circumstances, it was suggested, with misleading talk about humanitarianism and the ideals of Christian civilisation, that a compromise with Germany was the best way to end the war.

Had the real facts lying behind these suggestions been frankly discussed, the British public would clearly have seen what dishonours and disasters were concealed beneath the false idealism of the new movement. Great Britain was to engineer a peace because she had become stronger and more prosperous than her Allies, and thus could afford to treat with her enemies. France was to be left embittered and enfeebled permanently, and perhaps inclining at last to a German alliance, in which Russia would join. Meanwhile, there was to be an attempt to form a new league, with the United States and the British Empire heading it, and with Germany intriguing between the possible Atlantic League and the certain Russian-Japanese Union.

It is unnecessary to attempt to explore all the dark possibilities of a negotiated peace to which a party in the Coalition Cabinet seemed to incline; for Mr. Lloyd George intervened, and, after a series of partial defeats, broke the scheme and broke the Government with it. After several attempts to palliate and quietly smother the issue between him and his opponents, he unexpectedly turned from Mr. Asquith, who always wanted everybody to temporise over everything. Driving frankly at Mr. Walter Runciman and Viscount Grey and aiming to a less extent at Mr. McKenna, Mr. Lloyd George forced them all out of the War Council, and when Mr. Asquith sided with the semi-pacifists the extraordinary Welshman overthrew the Government he had been trying to reform, and by another remarkable display of power became Prime Minister over a Government of his own making without disturbing the country by a General Election.

In September, 1916, Mr. Lloyd George began openly to fight against the gathering influences making for a settlement without victory. In a remarkable interview with an American journalist, published towards the end of the month, the British Secretary for War warned all neutral States of the danger of interfering, and asserted that the British Empire intended to fight to the finish—"to a knock-out."

**Advocates of a  
negotiated peace**



Some members of the Coalition Cabinet professed to be sadly shocked at Mr. Lloyd George using a metaphor borrowed from the language of the prize-ring. But their veritable quarrel was not with his diction, but with his policy of fighting to the finish at all costs, and refusing a peace by settlement.

At this period of the struggle the American proposal of intervention in the affairs of Europe by means of a league to enforce peace received some support from certain Radical papers in London and the provinces. Viscount Grey, who had taken a seat in the House of Lords in order to continue, in ill-health, the direction of foreign affairs, favoured the American idea of a league for enforcing peace. In a public speech on October 23rd, 1916, he asked the President of the United States if he would agree to use force to prevent another outbreak of war. Nothing in Lord Grey's speech directly conflicted with Mr. Lloyd George's warning to neutrals not to interfere in the fight to a knock-out. Had there been any clear public disagreement, it would have immediately dissolved the Coalition Cabinet.

Nevertheless, the great difference between the two parties in the Cabinet was known to exist, and the unrest of the nation was felt in continual friction. The half-hearted treatment of the food supply produced in the public the feeling that the Coalition Government had no more clear and vigorous policy in home affairs than in military matters. The demand for the State control of food became urgent when the second German submarine campaign against shipping was clearly seen to be attaining a considerable measure of success. Mr. Runciman, as President of the Board of Trade, had long opposed a demand for State

control during the war of coal-mines, food, shipping, and other large branches of national activity. Lord Rhondda, the leading colliery-owner of South Wales, had endeavoured to induce the Government to take over the most valuable mines. Only when his proposal was rejected did the Welsh magnate proceed with a scheme of private consolidation of coal resources that tended to grow into a trust of Germanic proportion. Mr. Runciman was son of a ship-owner, and a man of high business ability, and but for his academic cast of Liberalism, with its dogmas of free service and Free Trade, he could have socialised the mercantile marine for the period of the war. He would, at least, have thereby prevented the scandalously large profits made by some shipowners, which were a main source of popular discontent.

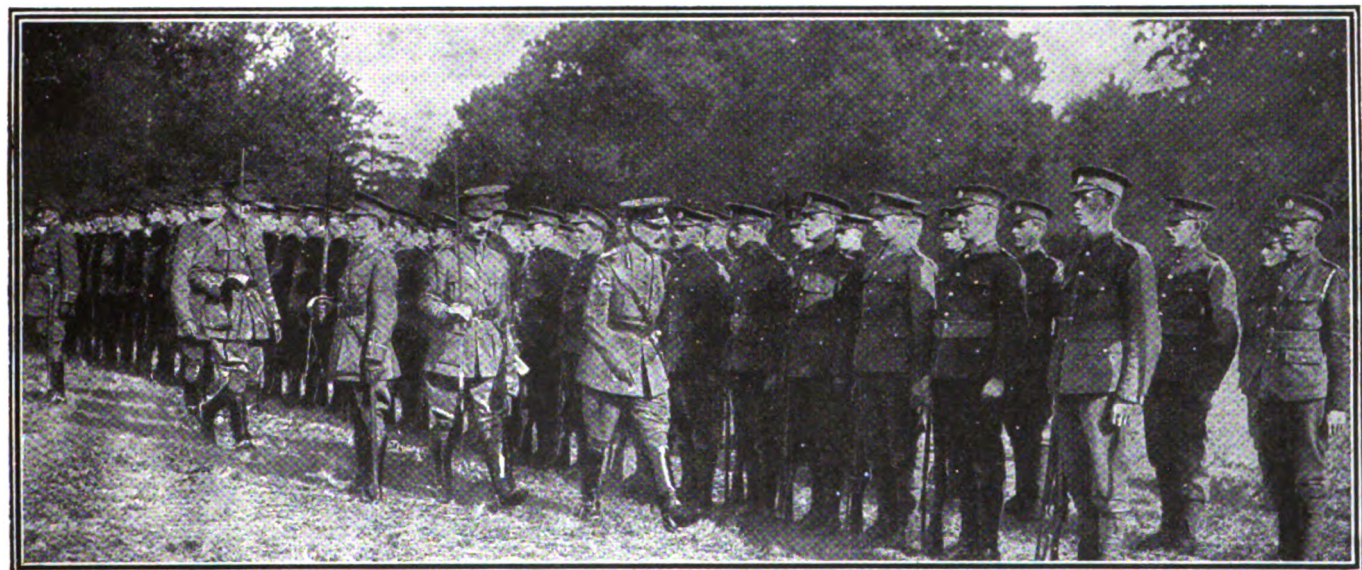
**Popular anger about freightage**

On October 17th, 1916, Mr. Runciman tried to assuage the anger of the public in regard to high freights, by pointing out that the cost of ocean transport was often only a minor item in the general rise of prices. He stated that when bacon, for instance, rose in price ninepence a pound, higher freights accounted only for a halfpenny in the rise. The failure of harvests in many of the agricultural countries, such as the United States and Canada, had

increased the price of wheat, oats, and other cereals, making bread dear as well as meat. Although Mr. Runciman did not point this out, the failure of the harvest in many countries abroad had led to enormous speculation, in Chicago and elsewhere, by operators who made huge fortunes out of the rise in crops. Since the close of 1915 a Grain Committee had sat in London, formed of representatives of Great Britain, France, and Italy, and had arranged wheat purchases for the three



LORD FRENCH INSPECTING VOLUNTEERS AT NORTHAMPTON. Field-Marshal Viscount French, as Commander-in-Chief of the Home Forces, greatly encouraged and developed the new Volunteer organisation, in the potential value of which he expressed his firm belief.



LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR FRANCIS LLOYD INSPECTING ROYAL ENGINEERS AT ESHER.

Sir Francis Lloyd, as the General Officer in Command of the London District, played an effective part in controlling the conditions of the soldiers' life in the metropolis as well as in co-operating in the plans for

Home Defence, which were perfected under the Commander-in-Chief of the Home Forces. This photograph shows him inspecting men of the Royal Engineers in the lovely grounds at Esher.

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allied countries. But this group of officials and experts was apparently no match for the operators of the United States. If there was a man of the Napoleonic stamp among them, capable of managing the vast financial resources of the Allies, such a man did not get free scope. By the autumn of 1916 the stocks of cereals in Great Britain were so low that the Cabinet Committee of Food Supplies was alarmed at the situation.

In the second week of October, therefore, a Royal Commission was appointed to control all imports of wheat and flour, and prevent any unreasonable increase in price by retailers. The Earl of Crawford, President of the Board of Agriculture, who was appointed as chairman to this Commission, was the high expert selected by the Coalition Government to fight the cunning and experienced "bull" operators in the wheat-pit of Chicago!

Forced onward by the pressure of public opinion, Mr. Runciman finally announced, on November 15th, 1916, that with great reluctance he had agreed to the appointment of a Food Controller, to prevent the coming strain

Farmers or  
fighting men?

that would fall upon the country in the ensuing year. But in the course of his speech, Mr. Runciman, as President of the Board of Trade, seemed to go out of his way to debate matters with which the President of the Board of Agriculture should have dealt. In particular, he remarked that no more men of the farming class could be spared for the Army, alleging that if three or four further divisions were recruited from the soil the reduction in food supply would out-balance the increase in fighting strength. Then, returning to his own field of survey, he went on to state that conscription had been carried on too far in some trades, and steps must be taken to remedy the matter.

That party of Liberals who were working for a peace by compromise developed Mr. Runciman's statement into a plea for a smaller and weaker Army. It was suggested that skilled men should be drawn from the fighting-line in order to increase industry and agriculture, and that the

men past military age, who kept their businesses going while acting as a voluntary defence force, should be compelled to undertake practical military duties at home. A raiding invasion by the veteran troops of Germany, so the argument seemed to run, could be defeated by the very patriotic, but old and very amateurish, Volunteers. The suggestion had one good result, in that it led Lord French to improve the equipment and training of the Volunteer Force. The members had to agree to train for a considerable period, and could no longer withdraw on short notice when their businesses required attention. Many younger men, indispensable to the ordinary life of the community and exempted by tribunals from national service, were drafted into the Volunteer Force towards the close of the year. But the military value of this force was still too low to permit it to be the main defence against invasion. The debate on the difficulties of the food supply and the need to obtain more labour for the construction of more merchant ships seemed a manoeuvre directed against the Secretary of State for War.

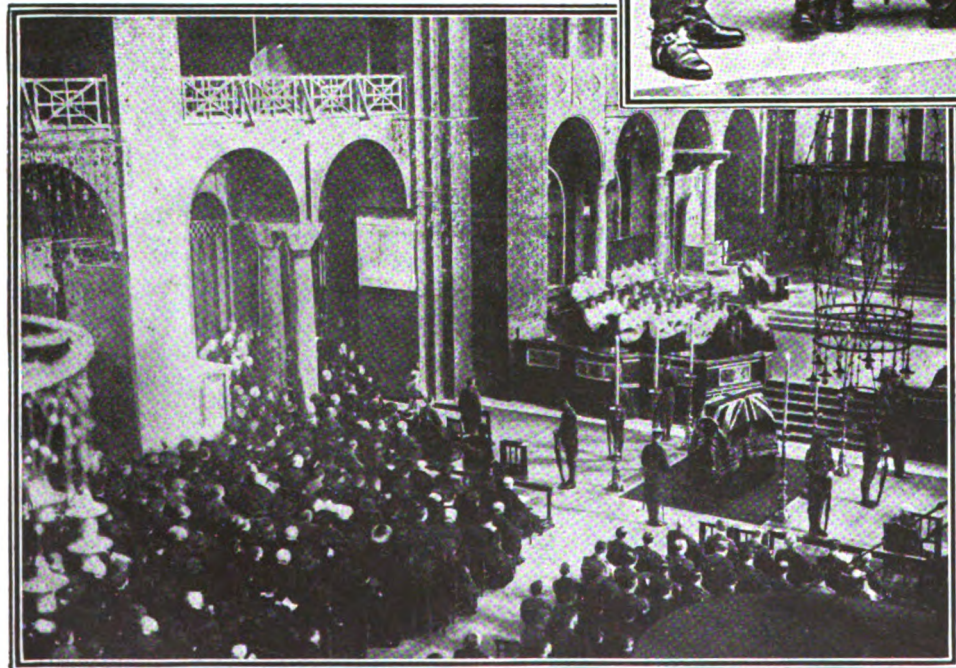
Mr. Lloyd George needed more men for the Army, and

he was bent on getting them. He was not greatly afraid that exports in 1917 might drop below the extraordinary record of 1916, as he thought that better organisation might prevent any serious decline in industrial productiveness. He was determined to obtain from the agricultural classes, which contained men of the best fighting stamp, the backbone of another army corps. He thought this might be done without running any serious risk of lessening the home production of food; and in any case he was ready to run the risk. The need for men had been urgent since the middle of September,

1916. In October, Sir William Robertson, who as Chief of the Imperial General Staff was the virtual commander of all the British armies on all fronts of the war, made a speech warning the country that it would not win the war unless more man-power was provided.

One of the objects with which Mr. Lloyd George had mediated between the Catholic Irishmen and the Protestant Irishmen, and brought them to agree upon a partial experiment in Home Rule, was to improve recruiting among the sturdy farming classes of Ireland. Ireland having failed him, the Secretary for War put out every ounce of energy within him to "comb out" of England, Scotland, and Wales the forces required for a fight to the finish.

In the middle of November, 1916, the fierce but hidden



REQUIEM MASS AT WESTMINSTER CATHEDRAL FOR IRISH HEROES.

At Westminster Cathedral, on November 27th, 1916, a Solemn Pontifical Mass of Requiem was held for fallen officers and men of the Irish Guards. Above: The Duke of Connaught (left), who had recently returned after completing his term as Governor-General of Canada, with Lord French (centre), Colonel-in-Chief of the Irish Guards, on the steps of the Cathedral.



struggle in the Coalition Cabinet, in regard to the means and end of the war, was nearing the acute stage. But an open crisis was temporarily postponed by a general attack on the Board of Admiralty. The Liberal Press joined with amazing vigour with most of the Conservative Press in condemning the combination of Mr. Balfour and Admiral Jackson as political and naval chiefs of the Navy. It was widely thought there was not sufficient energy in the combination, and that either Mr. Balfour must be replaced by a politician of active temper, or that Admiral Jackson must retire in favour of some officer fresh from the sea.

The force of this criticism, which had been heard for months, was at last admitted by the Coalition Government. Great changes were made both in the Board of the Admiralty and in the command of the Grand Fleet. For some time the announcement of the changes was delayed for military reasons, but on November 29th, 1916, it was stated that Sir John Jellicoe had been appointed First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, and had been succeeded in his command of the Grand Fleet by Sir David Beatty. The changes were deeply regretted by Admiral Jellicoe. It was the saddest day of his life, he confessed, when he gave over the command of the Grand Fleet to the brilliant young admiral who had proved his genius in handling the cruiser force.

This concession to public criticism in regard to the management of one force engaged in the war did not prevent the supreme crisis from occurring. Only four days after the changes in the Admiralty and the Fleet had been announced, the Prime Minister advised the King to consent to a reconstruction of the Government. All that was clearly known at first was that Mr. Lloyd George, who had been the ruling agent in the establishment of the Coalition Government, was also the reforming force in the reconstruction of the Government. At the outset he attempted to obtain, by means of a special War Committee, more rapidity and decision in the prosecution of the war to a victorious peace. With this end in view he insisted that his opponents in the old War Council should be replaced by a smaller body of men agreeing with his policy. Mr. Runciman, Lord Grey, and—apparently to a less extent—Mr. Reginald McKenna, were in disagreement with Mr. Lloyd George, who was determined to resign if his scheme were not carried out.



FLAGS FROM THE FALKLAND FIGHT.

Tattered flags from H.M.S. Kent, having been carefully repaired, were on July 1st, 1916, formally dedicated and hung in the nave of Canterbury Cathedral.



IN MEMORY OF JUTLAND.

General Pitcairn Campbell inspecting naval contingent, November 12th, 1916, on the occasion of the dedication in Chester Cathedral of the flag of H.M.S. Chester, on which the boy hero, Jack Cornwell, V.C., fell mortally wounded during the Jutland Battle.

Mr. Asquith at this time still remained poised between his former colleagues. He admitted the dominant power of Mr. Lloyd George, and seemed almost willing to agree to a War Committee composed of Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Edward Carson, Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. Arthur Henderson. This new War Committee was to replace the Coalition War Council that consisted of Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Balfour, Mr. McKenna, Lord Curzon, and Mr. Montagu, with a long tail of official advisers and ministerial consultants. The reduction of the War Committee to five members was arranged in the last week of November, but on December 1st Mr. Lloyd George felt that military victory would be best assured if the machinery of government were more thoroughly reformed. He proposed that the War Committee should consist of three members, of which Mr. Asquith should not be one, and that the triumvirate should have complete power of directing all matters relating to the war, subject to the control of Mr. Asquith. Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Edward Carson, and Mr. Bonar Law were to constitute the triumvirate, with the Labour leader, Mr. Arthur Henderson, as a possible addition. The main object of this proposal seems to have been to solve the problems of man-power, food control, blockade, and supplies without any interference from Mr. Runciman and his school.

**Suggested War  
Cabinet of Three**

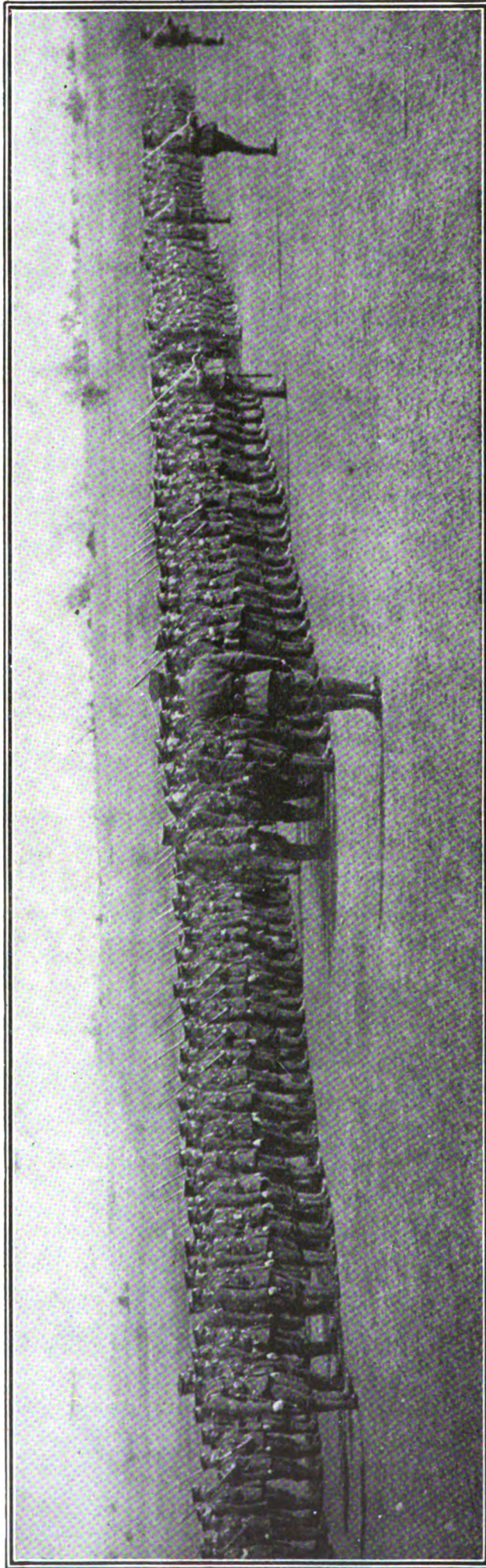
to have been to solve the problems of man-power, food control, blockade, and supplies without any interference from Mr. Runciman and his school.

On December 1st Mr. Asquith wrote a letter to Mr. Lloyd George agreeing to changes in the War Committee, but insisting that he, as Prime Minister, must preside at the meetings. Mr. Lloyd George did not agree to this, but December 2nd passed without anything definite happening. This pause in the movement for strong reform was quickly ended. On December 3rd the Unionist members of the Cabinet decided that they would resign if Mr. Asquith did not tender his resignation. Thereupon, Mr. Asquith discussed the condition of affairs with Mr. Lloyd George, and proceeded to the public announcement of a reconstruction of the Government. But strong and sharp differences of opinion in regard to the selection of men for the new War Committee and the position of Mr.





Among the new contingents that were formed as soon as the seriousness of the war was fully realised, those which together formed the University and Public Schools Brigade were particularly notable. Here, with Major Henderson in command, a battalion of these men who rallied to the Colours are seen in the early stages of their training on the slopes of Epsom Downs.



Men of the University and Public Schools Brigade, after undergoing three months of the training which was to fit them to take their place with the new armies in the field. One of the discoveries of the war was the rapidity with which men taken directly from school and University could be trained into steady and efficient soldiers, capable of taking part in operations that might well have tried seasoned veterans.

#### NEW ARMIES IN THE MAKING: THE UNIVERSITY AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS BRIGADE.



Asquith still divided the Prime Minister and the Secretary for War. After discussion on the main question of the chairmanship of the Committee, Mr. Asquith discussed the following arrangement :

The Prime Minister to have supreme and effective control of war policy. The agenda of the War Committee will be submitted to him; its chairman will report to him daily; he can direct it to consider particular topics or proposals, and all its conclusions will be subject to his veto. He can, of course, at his own discretion, attend meetings of the Committee.

Here the matter is said to have been left for further consideration. But the next day, when Mr. Asquith was

**Intervention of  
the "Times"**

to have made a written communication on the subject to Mr. Lloyd George, he drew back from the arrangement. He stated that the leading article in the "Times" made him doubt the feasibility of the scheme. "The impression is," he wrote, "that I am being relegated to the position of an irresponsible spectator of the war."

The article in the "Times," which either did the mischief or cleared the air, according to the point of view, ran as follows :

Out of a welter of political speculation—some of it calculated, some of it merely misinformed—certain definite facts are already beginning to emerge. The first is that Mr. Lloyd George has finally taken his stand against the present cumbrous methods of directing the war. The second is that he has an alternative scheme of his own, which is not without support among his colleagues. The third is that we are at last within measurable distance of the small War Council, or super-Cabinet for war purposes. On Friday Mr. Lloyd George's decision took shape in the form of written representations to the Prime Minister, and these have since been followed by personal discussion between them. The gist of his proposal is understood to be the establishment forthwith of a small War Council, fully charged with the supreme direction of the war. Of this Council Mr. Asquith himself is not to be a member—the assumption being that the Prime Minister has sufficient cares of a more general character without devoting himself wholly, as the new Council must be devoted if it is to be effective, to the daily task of organising victory. Certain of Mr. Asquith's colleagues are also excluded on the ground of temperament from a body which can only succeed if it is harmonious and decisive. On the other hand, the inclusion of Sir Edward Carson is believed to form an essential part of Mr. Lloyd George's scheme, and it is one which will be thoroughly understood.

The conversion has been swift, but Mr. Asquith has never been slow to note political tendencies when they became inevitable. The testimony of his closest supporters—even more, perhaps, than the pressure of those who have no politics beyond the war—must have convinced him by this time that matters cannot possibly go on as at present. They must have convinced him, too, that his own qualities are fitted better, as they are fond of saying, to "preserve the unity of the nation" (though we have never doubted its unity) than to force the pace of a War Council. Moreover, he can hardly fail to have been profoundly influenced by the attitude of Mr. Bonar Law, who is believed to support Mr. Lloyd George.

This is by no means the first time in the last two years that Mr. Lloyd George has been on the verge of a rupture with his colleagues. Once it was averted by the enforced surrender of the Government over the Military Service Bill. Once the Ministry of Munitions, and more likely the War Office, seemed to provide fresh opportunities even under unsatisfactory conditions, of useful individual service. But from the very beginning he has stood apart from the rest in his unmistakable enthusiasm for vigorous war. The Celtic temperament is apt to concentrate on a single passion, and Mr. Lloyd George has somehow succeeded in impressing even the bitterest of his old opponents with his complete abandonment of every other thought beside the passion for victory. It was only a question of time before he found it impossible to work with the old digressive colleagues under the old unwieldy system. No elaborate theory is needed to account for his revolt. Nor, for the matter of that, is the country at large under any illusions about it.

It may have been given to the leader writer of the "Times" to make history and produce a sudden change in the decision of Mr. Asquith. It is, however, more probable that the newspaper article was merely used as a pretext for abandoning the arrangement, as the Unionists two days before it appeared had decided to resign. Some of Mr. Asquith's principal colleagues were scarcely pleased at the position to which they were being reduced, and were not averse from the policy of their chief resigning and forming a strong opposition, hoping to return to power at an early date after the overthrow of Mr. Lloyd George.

In the meantime, Mr. Bonar Law, after the resignation of Mr. Asquith in the evening of December 5th, was summoned by the King to form an administration. But the Unionist leader, though assured of the cordial support of Mr. Lloyd George, was not able to arrange what he considered a stable Government, as he could not obtain assistance from the main Liberal-Radical group. In these circumstances the King summoned Mr. Lloyd George to form an administration, in the afternoon of December 6th, and the Welsh statesman agreed to undertake the task with the support of Mr. Bonar Law. The Asquith group clearly expected at the end of the first week in December



IN THE TRENCHES—IN HEATON PARK, MANCHESTER.

Convalescent soldiers who had fought in France and Gallipoli constructed in Heaton Park, Manchester, an elaborate system of trenches, a faithful reproduction of those in use at the front. The money charged for inspection of the earthworks was devoted to the benefit of soldiers and sailors blinded in the war.

to return to power in time to arrange the general peace. They thought that Mr. Lloyd George would have difficulties in winning over Lord Curzon, Mr. Chamberlain, and Lord Robert Cecil, and that he would be finally discomfited by the leaders of the Labour Party. But the new and very expectant opposition was not prepared for the extraordinary genius for social reconstruction which Mr. Lloyd George instantly displayed when the opportunity of his life came. By the most astonishing feat of improvisation in history the new Pitt realised the dreams of Disraeli and the visions of Joseph Chamberlain and established a large-based system of Imperial Democracy.

**Lloyd George as the  
new Pitt**

The Labour Party held the balance of votes between the Unionists and Liberals. A considerable number of Liberals and Radicals went over to Mr. Lloyd George, but they were not sufficient, even with the Unionists, to outnumber a possible combination of Asquithians, Labour representatives, and Irish Nationalists. Great seemed the difficulties of the new Prime Minister; but, happily, the war had completed that long education of the old Conservative school which Disraeli had begun and Chamberlain continued. The experiment of socialising Great Britain, for at least the





ESCAPED RUSSIAN PRISONERS IN LONDON.

In June, 1916, the King received a party of Russian prisoners of war who had escaped from the Germans, and inspected them in Buckingham Palace grounds.

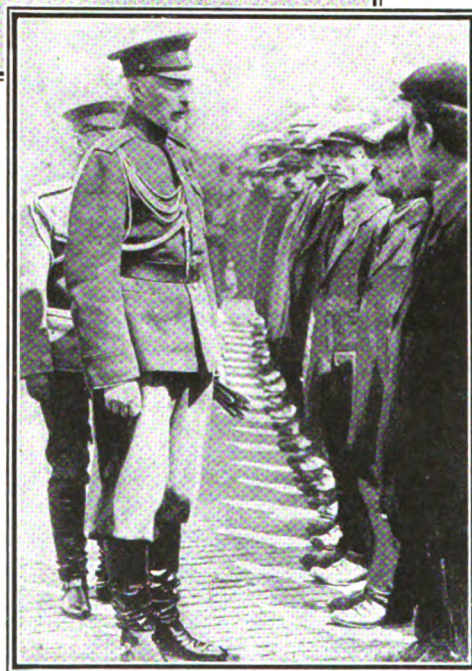
period of the war, was agreed to by the Unionist Party. Thereupon, Mr. Lloyd George had an interview with Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Wardle, Mr. Brace, and Mr. Roberts, on December 7th, and convinced them that the working classes of the kingdom had a supreme opportunity of taking a large and active part in both the conduct of the war and the reorganisation of the country and Empire.

In the afternoon the Labour leaders held, a private meeting at the House of Commons to decide what attitude they should adopt towards the new Government. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. Snowden, and other pacifists of the anti-British school naturally denounced the proposal to federate the Trade Unions temporarily with the Conservative and Liberal forces that Mr. Lloyd George was directing. It was because Mr. Lloyd George intended to win the war that the

#### Decision of the Labour Party

notorious anti-British section in the Labour world endeavoured to prevent the great, practical socialising movement which for years they had been advocating. But Mr. Henderson was strongly supported by Mr. Brace, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Hodge, Mr. George Barnes, Mr. O'Grady and other representatives of the large Trade Unions. By the vote of the majority it was decided to take part in the new Government. In the same afternoon the Liberal War Committee met, under Sir Frederick Cawley, and resolved to support Mr. Lloyd George. The Welsh Liberal representatives also gathered around the first Welsh Prime Minister in history. The result was that, without resorting to a General Election, Mr. Lloyd George obtained in the House of Commons a majority which made him independent of the men whose aim was to defeat him in time to arrange general terms of peace.

The Asquith group retained control of the Party funds, and began to intrigue in England and Scotland to increase their strength in view of a General Election. Wealthy men of position, who had been the social pillars of the Liberal-Radical Party, were approached, with the design to



A ROYAL COMPATRIOT.

Before their reception by King George the Grand Duke Michael inspected the men at the Palace gates.

convert them into instruments against Mr. Lloyd George. But the feeling in the country was too strong against the intriguers. It was also too strong for the sinister element in the Independent Labour Party and the Union of Democratic Control. The dispute over war policy and political policy, between Mr. Arthur Henderson and Mr. Wardle on the one hand and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Mr. Snowden on the other hand, was clearly decided at the Labour Party Conference on January 23rd, 1917. The delegates, representing more than two million workers and voting by card, gave a majority of 1,542,000 for the new Government. This was a remarkable increase over the vote given the previous year in practical support of the Coalition Government. Mr. Lloyd George and his Labour colleagues obtained a six to one majority vote at the Labour Conference of 1917, as against a three to one majority vote given in 1916 for the new Asquith Administration.

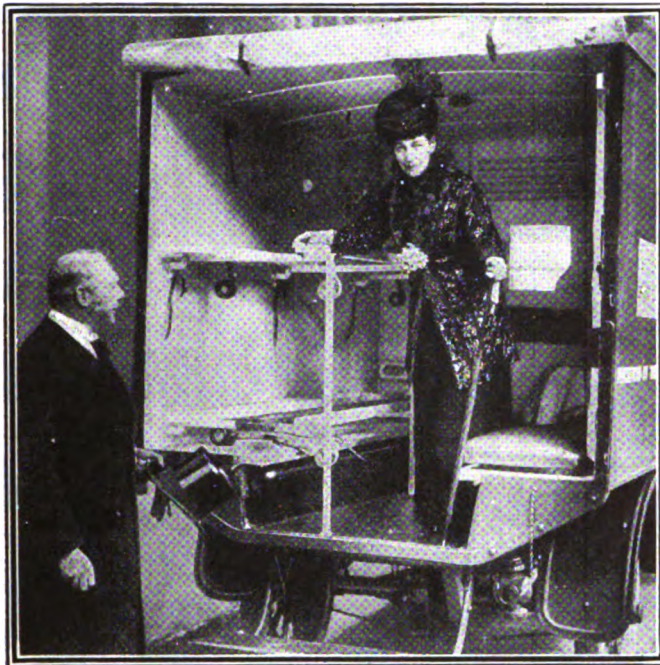
Thus from a sea of difficulties and intrigues Mr. Lloyd George emerged clothed with such power as no modern British Prime Minister ever had. The National Irish Party regarded him at least with sympathy. For, by his previous effort to reconcile Catholic and Protestant Ireland, he had proved himself a great mediator. The leaders of the Trade Unions, who shared his power, trusted him, and felt also trust in the inspiration of social justice that was working through their new colleagues, who represented

the land-owning, mine-owning, banking, and industrial classes. If they could but work together, with loyal goodwill, the members of the new Government had it in their power to accomplish, while carrying out their main task of winning the war, a more profound development in social structure than had been achieved in any ancient State in the world.

A promising element in the new administration was the force of experts and business men that Mr. Lloyd George called to his Council. The large and intricate affairs of food control were entrusted to Lord Devonport, formerly Sir Hudson Kearley, M.P., who had shown remarkable talent and firmness in public administration as chairman of the Port of London Authority. He was assisted by Captain Charles Bathurst, a man who had no need for officials to spoon-feed him with knowledge of agriculture.

As President of the Board of Agriculture the Earl of Crawford was replaced by Mr. Rowland Prothero, historian of British agriculture and former agent to the Duke of Bedford,





**ROYAL INTEREST IN THE SPORTSMEN'S GIFT.**  
The British Sportsmen's Ambulance Fund was started by a committee of representative sportsmen under the presidency of Lord Lonsdale, to provide a fleet of ambulance cars for the British Red Cross and our Allies. Queen Alexandra inspected one of them at Marlborough House.

whose experimental farm at Woburn was one of the glories of British agricultural science. Even more important than the appointment of Mr. Prothero was the elevation of Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, of the University of Sheffield, to the position of President of the Board of Education. Mr. Fisher was one of the most enlightened leaders of the movement for reform and development of national education. He was without any influence in the political world, and was chosen for his position in the new Government entirely on his merits as an educationist. Even the ranks of Tuscany cheered the appointment of Mr. Fisher.

Quite as revolutionary was the selection of Sir Joseph Maclay for the new post of Shipping Controller. For years Sir Joseph had been the strong Ishmael of the British mercantile marine, having started as a clerk and built up, outside the great lines, a fleet of alert and busy tramp steamers that gave him power and fortune. A man of independence and far-ranging experience, Sir Joseph Maclay seemed to be a shipping controller of great promise. Helping him was Sir L. Chiozza Money, another self-made man, who had acquired in a successful career as commercial journalist and writer on economics a remarkable amount of knowledge of all the currents of British commerce. He was of Italian stock, with all the quickness of mind of the race that was working towards another great renaissance while triumphing over its hereditary enemy.

Lord Rhondda, the brilliant magnate of the Welsh coal-fields, who had retired in disgust from politics, returned to a position of authority as President of the Local Government Board. His was a post that offered a pleasant cushion for the languid head of a wealthy and self-contented man. Lord Rhondda had been a champion of the Welsh miners, and, by combining the interests of Labour with efficiency in organisation, he had made the mines he managed more profitable, while increasing his men's wages. Having crowned his fortune with a peerage, he might have rested content with filling, in a highly decorative manner, his position in the Ministry of his fellow-Welshman. But in January, 1917, he began to transform the Local Government Board as Joseph Chamberlain had transformed the Colonial Office. Exercising, for the benefit of the nation,

the fine and original powers of mind he had shown as a colliery-owner, Lord Rhondda quickly became an energetic reformer of the health of the people, and opened his campaign with important measures against the great secret plague and the loss of the most precious of national treasures—child life.

Another man of business genius, Sir Albert Stanley, the managing-director of the London General Omnibus Company and the London Electric Railway system, brought a fresh mind and skilled energy to the directive and fostering work of the Board of Trade. Lord Cowdray, a master contractor, engineer, and petroleum magnate, found scope for his talents as chief of the Air Board, where he placed the provision of their material under the Ministry of Munitions. Another notable business man, Mr. S. H. Lever, who had been responsible for making of the Muniton Ministry a success by reducing the cost of output, was given a still larger field for effecting national economies as Financial Secretary to the Treasury.

New political powers were given to the latest force in British politics—the Labour representatives. A Ministry of Labour was created for Mr. John Hodge, who began to prepare for demobilisation by reorganising and extending the Labour Exchanges, and imparting a different spirit to the officials who had made the Exchanges unpopular with the working classes. Mr. George Barnes was also provided with a new post, the Ministry of Pensions, in the operation of which the working classes were vitally interested. He increased the allowances for children and attempted to find more funds for widows. Two other Labour leaders, Mr. Brace and Mr. G. H. Roberts, had influential positions



**DUKE OF CONNAUGHT AND CANADIAN WOUNDED.**  
The Duke and Duchess of Connaught and Princess Patricia gave great pleasure to the Canadians in the Duchess of Connaught's hospital, near Taplow, by paying them an informal visit shortly after their return from the Dominion in October, 1916.



in the Home Office and in the Board of Trade, while Mr. Arthur Henderson represented the Trade Unions directly in the War Cabinet.

In regard to the relations of the War Committee and the Cabinet, Mr. Lloyd George saw no reason to pursue his old plan for a Committee of Public Safety. None of his new colleagues was likely to oppose him in the conduct of the war as Mr. Runciman had done. There was thus no need for an attempt to reduce the general body of the Cabinet to the position of departmental chiefs. A daily Committee, however, was formed, for direct war purposes, of Mr. Lloyd George as Prime Minister, Mr. Henderson and Lord Milner as Ministers without portfolios, and Lord Curzon as Lord President of the Council and leader of the House of Lords. Mr. Bonar Law became Chancellor of the Exchequer and acting leader of the House of Commons, but, owing to his Parliamentary duties, it was not expected he would be able regularly to attend the War Cabinet.

Sir Edward Carson was made First Lord of the Admiralty and Lord Derby Secretary for War. Mr. Arthur Balfour went to the Foreign Office, while his kinsman, Lord

Robert Cecil, continued to act as Minister of Blockade, and Mr. Walter Long went to the Colonial Office. On the whole the new administration was distinguished by intrinsic personal strength. It was a combination of politicians of all parties and expert minds from many important branches of national activity. The politicians had the ear of the country, while the experts had the knowledge necessary for great reforms.

The speed with which the new Prime Minister formed his brilliant administration was very remarkable. The political crisis opened on December 1st and ended on December 7th, 1916. Within a week a clear, fresh, invigorating spirit swept the kingdom and blew over the seas. To France and Italy the news of the end of the long reign of the party of compromise and the beginning of the rule of a truly national British party came as a source of hope and great encouragement. The Italians, who had long been deeply interested in the personality of Mr. Lloyd George, hailed him with the title of "Prime Minister of Europe."

**"Prime Minister  
of Europe"**

To them he was the incarnation of the genius of modern Democracy. To the French it was the success of his work as Minister of Munitions that made the new Premier an example of democratic genius. They looked upon him as a greater Carnot—the organiser of victories—and rejoiced he had at last won the control of the war on the British side.

After the political struggle both Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Asquith suffered under the strain of their conflict, and fell ill. During the illness of the new Prime Minister there occurred the foreseen event that had all along underlain the political crisis. On December 12th the Chancellor of Germany, with a tactless mixture of bluster and bluff, offered to open negotiations for peace. Eight days afterwards the President of the United States intervened between the belligerent nations with a peace Note, suggesting that arrangements should be made for the permanent pacification of the world. Happily, neither Mr. Walter Runciman nor Viscount Grey was in authority to discuss the American idea of a league to enforce peace, or to debate how much backing should be given to France in her demand for the return of all the territories wrested from her in 1870 against the wishes of the population. Mr. Lloyd George was able to speak for the civic majority of the British people, as well as for the fighting men on sea and land who were venturing their lives to the end, and to decide that the war should not end in a draw and a peace without victory.

On December 20th he replied to the German Chancellor's proposal for peace by a telling quotation of the answer made by Abraham Lincoln under similar circumstances: "We accepted this war for an object, a worthy object,



ENROLMENT OF "VICTORY LOAN" CANVASSERS AT THE MANSION HOUSE.

During the raising of the great War Loan at the beginning of 1917 the City of London, as usual, gave a notable lead in taking measures to ensure its success. The Lord Mayor, Sir William Dunn (on the left), made the Mansion House a headquarters from which an active canvass was carried on for the recruiting of the decisive financial army.





BOARDING THE HOMEWARD-BOUND BOAT

Leave to go home was the real tonic for men worn by active service. The moment when he set foot aboard the homeward-bound boat was one of the great moments in the life of the British soldier.

and the war will end when that object is attained. Under God, I hope it will never end until that time." He went on to state the British terms of peace in the formula made by Mr. Asquith: "Restitution, reparation, guarantee against repetition. Meanwhile," he continued, "we shall put our trust in an unbroken Army rather than in a broken faith." But the most important reply made by the new Prime Minister, in answer to enemy proposals and enemy intrigues, was of a businesslike kind. He announced that a system of national service was about to be established as a counter-movement against the German mass levy organised by Hindenburg. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the second son of Joseph Chamberlain, and an armament maker and Lord Mayor of Birmingham, was appointed Civil Director of the organisation of the entire human resources of Great Britain.

In practical effect there was to be a British mass levy involving many great changes of life and position to all persons not engaged on work of national value.

#### Organisation of National Service

The prospect might have been a disturbing one in ordinary conditions, but the spirit of the people was wrought to such an intensity that, when Mr. Neville Chamberlain began his work in January, 1917, by calling for volunteers, there was widespread disappointment at the method he was using. The nation was not merely ready to submit to general discipline; it was eager to do so. The larger part of the manhood of England, Scotland, and Wales was fighting or training for battle or making munitions of war. Nearly every family of size had sons in the trenches or sons on the sea, and fathers engaged on work that was helpful in the war. Many of the daughters were doing what had once been men's work, and often actively assisting in arming the men. Therefore, a majority existed anxious to see the system of national service developed speedily into an effective answer to the German mass levy.

The popular feeling was that what the Teuton could do the Briton could do. If complete national service would shorten the war, and so save the lives of sailors and soldiers, it seemed better to enforce it as fully and rapidly as possible. Indeed, the lapse of time that occurred between Mr. Lloyd George's announcement of national service and the publication of effectual measures by Mr. Neville

Chamberlain, constituted the first disappointment felt by the majority of the people over the new administration. The delay, however, was not due to want of energy, but to a compromise effected with the Labour leaders before they joined the Government. Mr. Henderson and his comrades had from the first insisted that a voluntary scheme should be tried before any general method of compulsion was employed. Thus it was that Mr. Chamberlain began by calling for men and women volunteers, and arranged to sort out all industries and stop those trades which were not required and transfer the workmen to work of more importance.

In all affairs there was displayed the vigour of organisation



GATES OF HAPPINESS: VICTORIA STATION, LONDON.

Crowds gathered at Victoria Station to greet the happy soldiers arriving on Christmas leave. Men of various volunteer regiments were on duty to direct them to the final stage of their journey.

which the Liberal group in the former Coalition Cabinet had lacked. Mr. Lloyd George, with Sir William Robertson and Lord Milner, went to Rome in the first week of the New Year, and, with the Premier and War Minister of France and General Sarrail from Salonika, held a conference with the Italian military and political authorities. This conference was said by the Italian Premier to have resulted in "one of the most important events in the history of the world." It was followed in the last week of January by a similar conference at Petrograd, where Lord Milner, General Sir Henry Wilson, with General Castelnau and the Colonial Minister of France and representatives of the Cabinet and General Staff of Italy, consulted with the leaders of the Russian Government and the Russian Commander-in-Chief. There was also a meeting in London of the military chiefs of Great Britain and France. Nothing was revealed concerning the results of these conferences, but they were of far-ranging effect, and being undertaken, under the direct stimulus of Mr. Lloyd George with a view of welding the Allies together to the prosecution of the war, they were the first-fruits of the new order of things in the British Isles.

While the Prime Minister was absorbed largely in work for the Allies, his lieutenants set out upon their tasks of transforming the Kingdom and Empire. At Christmas an Imperial War Conference was being arranged for the spring of 1917. All the Prime Ministers of the Oversea



Dominions were invited to sit with the War Cabinet, and take counsel with the members in regard to the conduct of the war, the terms on which peace would be granted to the enemy, and the problems that would arise after the cessation of hostilities. Two representatives of India were called to the Conference, which promised to prove in practice a Grand Cabinet of the Empire, in which

**The Imperial  
War Conference**

the oversea democracies would be most generously represented. It was an historic step in Empire-building, worthy of the man who looked like becoming the new Pitt, and was acclaimed by France and Italy as well as by the British Empire. General Smuts resigned his command in East Africa to attend the Conference; the Premiers of Canada and New Zealand arranged to come in person; the Commonwealth of Australia sent one of her leading statesmen, while India chose as her representatives a native nobleman and a leading administrator.

In home affairs Mr. Rowland Prothero, Lord Devonport, and Lord Derby laboured upon a seemingly impossible work. Lord Derby needed for the Army more men by the hundred thousand. He began by reducing Mr. Prothero to despair, through taking thirty thousand first-rate men

a shilling a stone, while the merchants stood out for one shilling and tenpence. The winter wheat for 1917 had been sown, and farmers, owing to the new call for men and lads made by the War Office, were not in a position to plough up more land in the spring to provide the people with bread, potatoes, and other food. In these adverse circumstances Mr. Prothero showed himself a worthy lieutenant of Mr. Lloyd George, and transformed his new difficulties into new opportunities.

First of all, by means of county committees, he surveyed every patch of land that could be improved by manure or tillage. He removed the restrictions that prevented cottagers from keeping pigs, started pig clubs and production committees in every village, and arranged to bring another hundred thousand women on to the land. Then, in return for the agriculturists transferred to the Army, he took out of the ranks every soldier who could manage a steam-cultivator. He raided the munition works and monopolised the principal manufacturers of agricultural machinery, appointing Mr. S. F. Edge, a motor expert and practical farmer, as director of the munitions branch of agriculture. He was able to promise farmers power-machinery and trained hands to till their land and thresh their crops, with a

considerable amount of rough, untrained help in harvest-time from large bodies of soldiers.

Three of these soldiers were not worth one trained farm labourer. But the scheme was to supply them in such numbers that the agricultural work could be done. Farmers were promised State loans on the non-existent crops they undertook to grow. Seed wheat, seed potatoes, and other materials of production were to be provided by the Government, and all possible help given in other ways. But the great revolutionary factor in the Prothero campaign was the promise to provide a large amount of State power-machinery and Government hands to replace the manual labour that was going into the Army. Of all men of conservative temper in the world, the British farmer—and the English farmer in particular—was chief. Mr. Prothero's design was to transform abruptly the conservative farmer



"HYMN OF HATE" IN THE WAR LOAN CAMPAIGN.

Captain Mackenzie Rogan conducted the band of the Coldstream Guards outside the Royal Exchange in the course of the War Loan campaign in February, 1917, and indulged a large lunch-hour audience with the strains of the Prussian "Hymn of Hate."

from agriculture. Then he demanded that every fit man under the age of thirty-one should be removed from civil employment into military work, only skilled engineers, engaged in war factories, shipbuilding yards, and other centres of vital industry being exempted. This extensive scheme was announced on January 17th, 1917. On the following day another great military inroad into agriculture and general labour was made by calling up all lads of eighteen to serve at home for a year, to strengthen the fighting reserves of the Empire.

Yet at this time Mr. Prothero and Lord Devonport were endeavouring by all means to increase the home supply of food and prepare against a possible famine. It was Mr. Prothero's aim to make English agriculture more productive than it had ever been. But he came to power too late in the year to arrest the general decline. There were four million arable acres in the country that had been allowed to become pasture land.

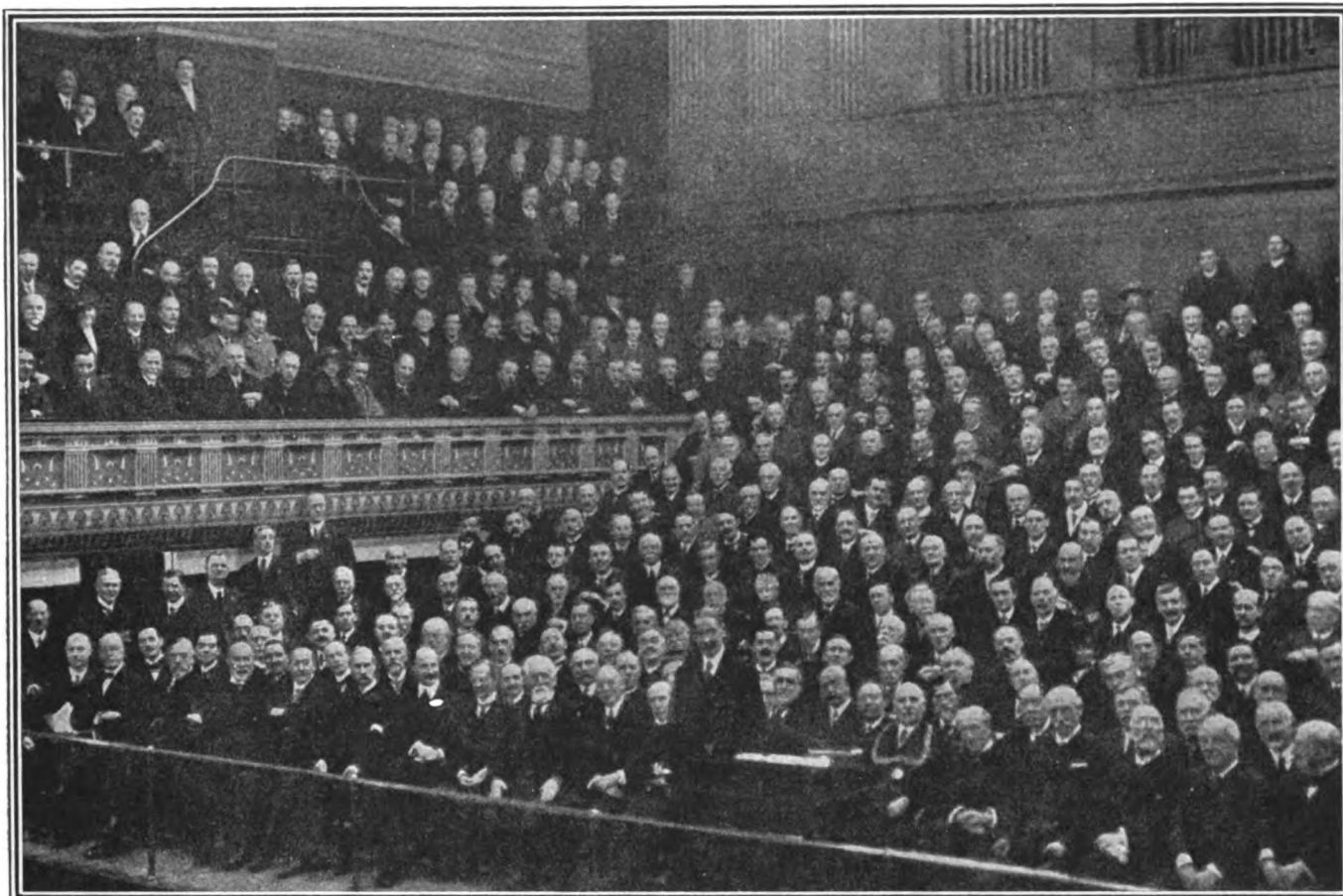
Even in 1916, British wheat-fields had been reduced by a quarter of a million acres, and the general production of home-grown food had fallen twelve per cent. between 1915 and 1916. There was a great shortage of potatoes, and the first food riot occurred at Maryland Market on January 13th, 1917, owing to women wanting potatoes at

class into as progressive a body of men as the best Canadian and American agriculturists. The smallness of English fields was a hindrance to the employment of power-machinery in a general way. Nevertheless, the new President of the Board of Agriculture promised the country the greatest revival in agriculture it had ever known.

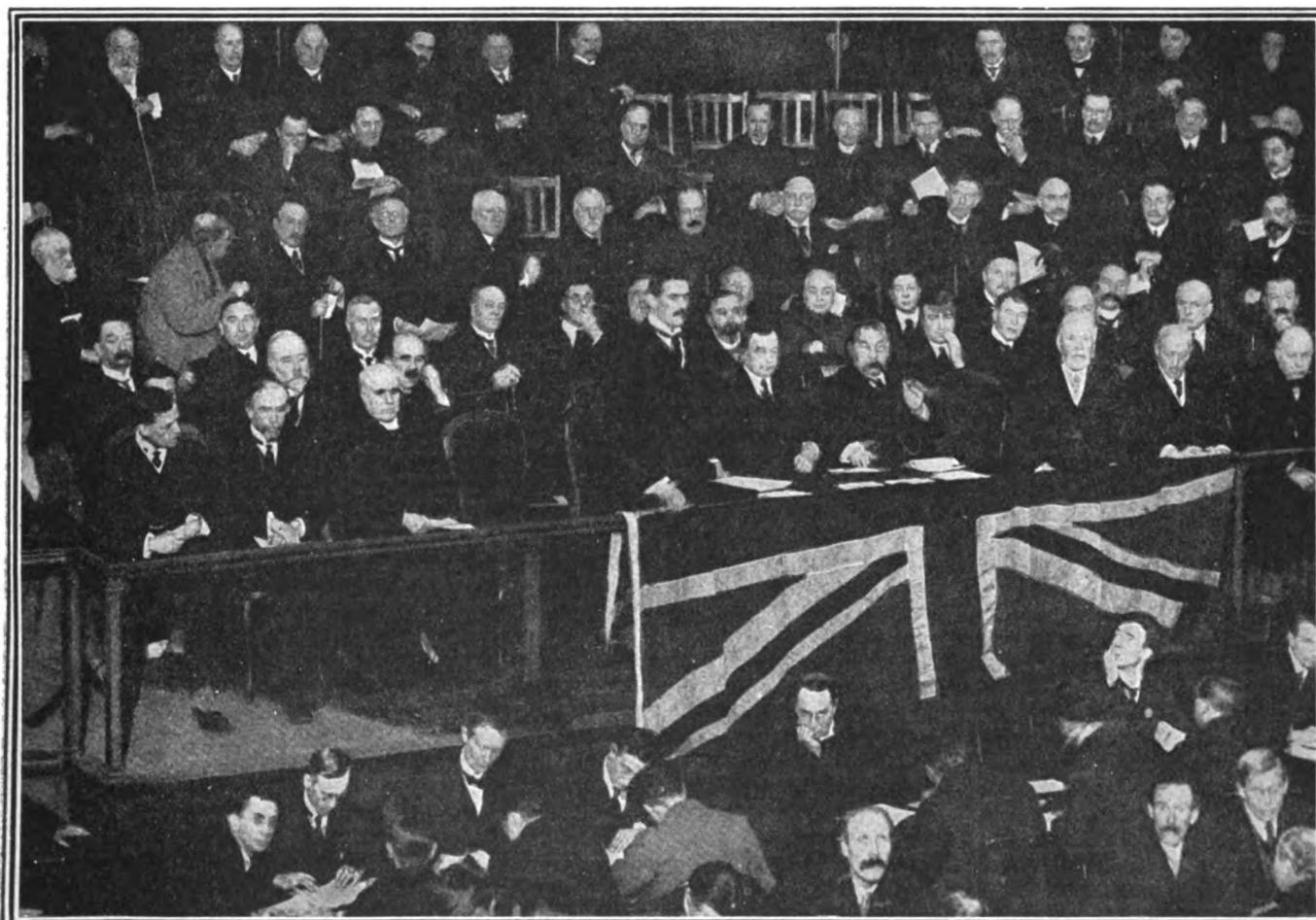
At the end of 1916, however, there arose a conflict between the farmer and the Food Controller. Lord Devonport had to arrange to feed the people on a stock of wheat which was not large enough. He could not wait until more potatoes were grown in the summer of 1917. He had to do the best he could with the short supplies which were shared with France, Italy, and suffering Belgium. He was, therefore, compelled to establish standard bread in January, 1917. He soon discovered, however, that the stock of wheat was not sufficient even for standard bread, and in the second week of January an order was made that wheat-flour should be diluted with rice, maize, barley, or oatmeal. The consequence was that the public obtained a larger amount of breadstuff of a nutritious kind at the cost of their eggs, bacon, pork, and other meat supplies. For the great poultry and cattle food, commonly known as middlings, went in a large

**Difficulties in  
food control**





**Mr. Bonar Law**, Chancellor of the Exchequer, on January 18th, 1917, addressed a great meeting at St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, making an important speech on the War Loan then being raised, in which he urged that the money received would shorten the war and so save lives.



**Mr. Neville Chamberlain**, Director-General of National Service, at the Central Hall, Westminster, on February 6th, 1917, addressing the public meeting at which he broadly outlined his scheme, and called upon all men up to the age of sixty years to place their services at the disposal of the State.

**TWO GREAT PROTAGONISTS OF THE APPEAL FOR MAN-POWER AND MONEY-POWER.**





INNS OF COURT O.T.C. AT BERKHAMPSTEAD.

The Inns of Court O.T.C. supplied a large number of useful soldiers to the British Army. They had a camp at Berkhamstead, where they were visited by the King in August, 1916, when his Majesty inspected the trenches they had made and watched them go through various courses connected with their training.

proportion into bread, and produced a disastrous shortage of pig and poultry stuffs. Before Christmas, 1916, the food had already become enormously dear, causing farmers to kill off their pigs and poultry, and seriously to reduce the meat supply in the country.

But Lord Devonport and Mr. Prothero were an energetic and well-informed couple. In the third week of January the new department of food production turned upon the brewers, and took away from them 286,000 tons of barley and 36,000 tons of sugar, compelling the output of beer to be reduced to half the quantity made before the war. In vain did the brewers plead that of the barley they used they returned twenty-five per cent. as food for dairy cows. Mr. Prothero replied that, by giving the barley to millers to be made into war-bread, he would obtain, in addition to the bread meal, forty per cent. of cattle food. About the time that the brewers' interests were further attacked, sweet-makers, milk-chocolate makers and mineral-water manufacturers were subjected to rigorous treatment by the Food Controller.

The making of milk-chocolate was prohibited, the ration of sugar was reduced, no sweets were allowed to be manu-

Sugar, meat, potatoes, and fish	ounce, and no chocolate at more than 3d. an ounce. The aim was to save sugar and revive the household industry of jam-
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making. But private marmalade-making was not encouraged when the Seville oranges arrived; grocers could not supply the needed sugar. Meals in restaurants and hotels had been restricted, under the Coalition Government, to two courses for lunch and three courses for dinner. The measure, however, had proved an utter failure, as it merely induced the eating of more meat in a single course. It was expected that Lord Devonport would improve upon this piece of Runcimanism; but in the period up to review he attempted nothing in the matter, but laboured in his task of the control and distribution of staple foods. In conjunction with Mr. Prothero he fixed a price for potatoes, wheat, oats, and other crops. But his maximum price for potatoes had quickly to be changed into a minimum price, in order to encourage growers to develop the 1917 crop. Measures were taken to reduce the deer in the Scottish Highlands and to re-establish the old Scottish sheep farms on ground where sheep could find food. The feeding of

pheasants and other game was prohibited, and measures of great importance were taken to develop the vast fisheries of the Empire.

The grandiose scheme of an Imperial fish monopoly was elaborated by the end of January, 1917. It promised to make the British Empire the purveyor of fish almost to the whole world. The Government already controlled all the whale fishing in the Antarctic Ocean, and thence derived large quantities of whale-oil for the manufacture of high explosives. The State obtained the oil at £38 a ton, as against £300 a ton paid by the German Government for small lots from Scandinavian fishers. Canada was offering to bring fish to Liverpool at a penny a ton, reducible to a halfpenny a ton on large State contracts; so that, if the consent of the Dominions could be obtained, a British world monopoly in fish, with low retail prices regulated in every town in the kingdom, could be made a matter of practical politics

under the new socialising administration.

The enterprises of Mr. Prothero and Lord Devonport, with their assistant committees, were favoured by the work of Sir Joseph Maclay, the Shipping Controller. Working in intimate relation with the Admiralty, and helped by Sir John Jellicoe, the controller of shipping adopted the new American idea of turning out steamers by the plan on which cheap motor-cars were produced. All the structure, fittings, and engines were standardised, so that any element fitted perfectly into any ship. Cargo steamers were laid down in a quarter of a million tonnage, and turned out piecemeal in different places of the country, the pieces being afterwards assembled somewhat in the manner of a Ford car. Instead of ships being built to the individual taste of each shipowner, they were made in a wholesale manner for State service. In the middle of January, 1917, Sir John Jellicoe addressed the British shipbuilders, warning them that the enemy's new submarine campaign was a serious menace, and that their new work of making standardised steamers was a ruling factor in the issue of the war. "Let there be no question of strikes," exclaimed the famous seaman; "no bad time-keeping, no slacking. Let masters and men remember how great is their responsibility, not only towards the Navy and the nation, but also towards our Allies."

France at the time was held in the rigour of one of the severest winters known for a generation, and in Paris the cost of household coal was 10s. a hundredweight. The sufferings of the urban working classes and lower middle classes of France were partly due to the system of free service favoured by the Liberal Government of Great Britain in the early phase of the war. Miners had gone into the Army and slackers had gone into the mines, with the result that the production of coal had diminished in such a way as to injure both France and Italy. Mr. Lloyd George, again making an opportunity out of a difficulty, used the shortage of coal as a weapon against those Norwegians who were supplying the enemy with food and iron-ore in contravention of the blockade agreement. The export of British coal to Norway ceased for a while. This had the result of giving the Shipping Controller more coal-boats, which he was able to send southward to the assistance of France and Italy. Sir Joseph Maclay

Co-operation of  
shipping control





*Studies of the winning spirit among the Allies: 1. The Italians on the Isonzo front.*





2. *A French recruit among the veterans: Faith, hope, and visions of victory*





3. British soldier in a conquered enemy trench: Quiet and steadfast and in triumph merciful.





4. *The best tonic for a wounded hero: Word from the battlefield that all goes well.*



also speeded-up the work of discharging and loading cargo steamers, so as to enable ships to be used more frequently. Dock labour was supplemented by bringing up the Transport Workers Battalion to ten thousand men.

This reorganisation of the docks was not, however, sufficient to meet the urgent military needs of the nation. The old Coalition Government had let the vital problem of transport drift, as other things drifted. But when a practical traffic manager, Sir Albert Stanley, succeeded Mr. Runciman at the Board of Trade, there was a revolution of an unexpected kind in the railway system of the country. Sir Albert Stanley, who had worked in the United States before returning to England, bought a Chicago railway and transferred the line, rolling-stock, and bridges to Great Britain, as a cheap and quick method of getting material. Then on January 1st, 1917, he raised all ordinary passenger fares by fifty per cent., and reduced the amount of passenger's luggage to one hundred pounds. Only the holders of workmen's, season, and trader's tickets were exempted from the sudden heavy tax.

Commercial travellers were badly hit, together with many clerks, typists, and shop assistants in Outer London. But the State Controller of Railways went on with his task of restricting public travel, and provoked more agitation by closing a large number of railway-stations. The

#### Restriction of inland travelling

fact was that the British production of war material had outrun the ordinary means of railway transport. In the severe winter all the waterways of Northern Europe froze and stopped traffic. Germany, who relied in a large way upon river and canal transport of war material, was brought nearer to defeat by the ice blockade. England was saved by the earlier enterprise of her northern capitalists, who drove the Great Central Railway southwards in fierce competition against the Midland and Great Northern lines. This recent addition to the English system gave the country adequate railway transport until the enormous new production of the Lloyd Georgian munition factories introduced an unforeseen factor into the situation. The ordinary public service then had to be diminished in order to link the munition works rapidly to the fighting-line in France and Flanders.

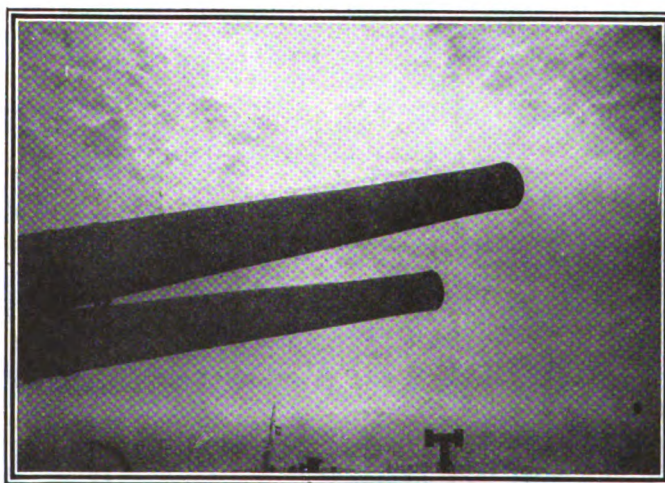
There was a danger of munition workers standing idle, because the railways could not carry the material they had made; yet at the same time the Army wanted all that the factories could turn out at top speed. Civilians of all classes had therefore to be checked as much as possible in railway travel, and it was arranged to increase fares, close many stations, and diminish the daily service in order to speed the transport of war material. The munition factories were in a condition of high development, owing largely to the great plans and foresight of Mr. Lloyd George. From the outset he had resolved to pack the entire British front with guns, and help also to pack the French front with heavy artillery, rather than allow the enemy to fight the parallel battle to a standstill. The work he had started in the early summer of 1915 began to mature in the winter of 1916. Thereupon, the people of the United States were utterly astounded by the intervention of a Sheffield armament firm, Messrs. Hadfield, in the supply of munitions for the American Navy. The American Navy had invited

tenders for big shell, and the Bethlehem Steel Works tendered for four thousand shells at a high price, apparently thinking there was no competition to fear. But Messrs. Hadfield, though working under Government control for the British forces, offered to supply the needs of the American Navy at an extremely low price, and obtained the contract. The affair was only a straw showing which way the wind was blowing, but the effect on the industrial circles of the United States was tremendous. It seemed to indicate such a perfecting and speeding-up of British methods of production as was likely to change the course of the world's trade. **Growing expansion of industry** Neutral States had no means of measuring the work done in Great Britain during the war, as this work was carried out in circumstances of secrecy for all the allied forces. Only such instances as the British tender for the American naval shell revealed, as in a lightning flash, some of the future possibilities of the peaceful expansion of British industries.

There still remained, however, symptoms of indiscipline and selfishness in munition works of the most important order. There were some girls and young men, elated by the high wages they were earning, and deadened by strange and foolish arrogance to their awful responsibilities. Early in January, 1917, a girl working in a fuse hut in the most perilous section of a danger area in the Midlands struck a match to light a cigarette. The match was knocked out of her hand by one of her fellow-workers. But when brought up for trial the thoughtless girl was only fined instead of being imprisoned. Cases of this sort became frequent, and the most deplorable feature about them was that the fines imposed upon the criminals were often paid collectively by the hundreds of persons who had been put in peril of a terrible death.

But a few days after the Midlands incident just referred to, the nation had a ghastly lesson that deeply enforced the need for discipline, carefulness, and sustained sense of responsibility in the most important class of new munition workers. In the evening of January 19th, 1917, London shook under a great explosion, and upon the gloom of the eastern sky-line there rose a flame two miles high. Many persons thought there had been a fight with a raiding Zeppelin; but no load of bursting bombs could have shaken the capital as it was shaken. A fire had broken out in some riverside works where high explosives were being refined. With superb heroism the directing chemist, Dr. Angel, while warning the operatives to seek safety, went to the fire and tried to prevent it reaching the high explosives. Some firemen also arrived, and, though in great peril, stood manfully to their work trying to put out the flames. But as Dr. Angel, who lost his life, and the firemen were trying to prevent the great disaster the explosion occurred. In all there were about four hundred and sixty-nine casualties among men, women, and children. The dead numbered sixty-nine, the seriously injured seventy-two, and the slightly injured three hundred and twenty-eight. In the factory ten women and thirty-eight men were working, but of them nine women and eighteen men were saved by Dr. Angel's warning.

The great British War Loan was inaugurated on January 11th, 1917, in circumstances promising a magnificent success.



GREAT GUNS THAT HELD COMMAND OF THE SEA. *(British official photograph.)* Twin guns on a British warship at sea. Untiringly patient and unceasingly watchful, the Grand Fleet and other portions of the Navy held the seas, ever ready to counter any move of the sea-shy enemy.





DR. VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG, THE IMPERIAL CHANCELLÖR, ADDRESSING THE REICHSTAG.

During the early part of 1916 a violent campaign against the Imperial Chancellor was carried on in Germany, largely by the Prussian Conservatives and by means of anonymous pamphlets. He was reviled for not

using submarines and airships with sufficient ruthlessness, and for not overthrowing "the chief enemy," Great Britain, forthwith. In June, Dr. Bethmann-Hollweg made a passionate speech in reply to his critics.





TRAVELLING FOOD KITCHEN

## CHAPTER CLXIV.

IN A SUBURB OF BERLIN.

### THE LIFE OF GERMANY DURING THE YEAR 1916.

By Frederic William Wile, late Berlin Correspondent of the "Daily Mail."  
Author of "Men Around the Kaiser."

Germany's Economic Distress in 1916 Synchronises with her Supreme Effort to Avert Defeat—The Peace Offer—Vast Food Regulation Scheme—Von Batoeki Appointed Food Dictator—Enactment of a Multiplicity of Food Laws—Failure of Organisation Followed by Inconvenience but not Starvation—The Verdun Adventure—Austria's Severe Gruelling—German Naval Activity—Dictatorship of Von Hindenburg and the Mass Levy—Discontent with the Resulting Semi-Serfdom of the Nation—The Frightfulness Campaign—Supersession of Von Tirpitz by Von Capelle—Intensification of the Submarine Campaign—Socialism and the War—The Case of Karl Liebknecht—German War Finance: Loans and Subscribers—The Rumanian Campaign—Winter Sufferings Due to Shortage of Coal, Light, Boots, and Clothes—Preposterous Terms of the German Peace Note to the Allies—Rhetorical Bombast of the German Chancellor—Effect upon Germany of Lloyd George's Appointment to the Premiership—Demand for More Frightfulness—German Plans for a Commercial Armageddon to Begin at the Close of the Armed Conflict—Scope and Functions of the Imperial Board for Transition Economics.

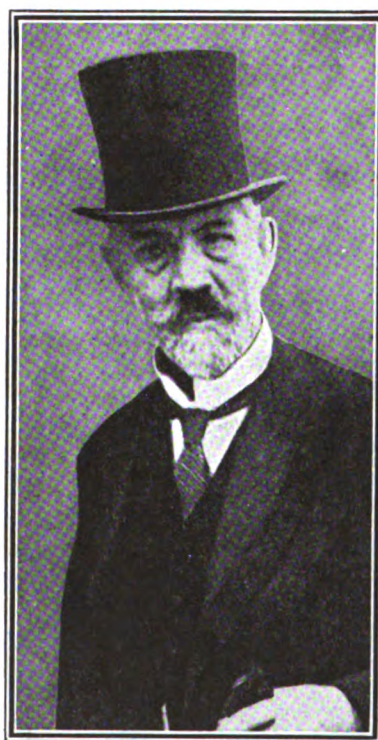


FROM the beginning of the war Germany was guilty of numerous and grotesque miscalculations, but she had no monopoly of them. Her enemies made many, too, and conspicuous among them was their belief that, certainly at the end of two years of war, the economic disintegration of Germany, if not her military defeat, would precipitate her "collapse." Yet the Germans in the first month of the *third* year of war (August, 1916), accepting the challenge offered by the intervention of Rumania on the side of the Allies, launched an entirely new campaign in a remote theatre of operations and carried it through successfully in a miraculously short time. Probably no single military achievement of the entire war outrivalled, to the date of its accomplishment, the conquest of Rumania in a period within four months. It was an event well designed to shock the allied nations in general, and Britain in particular, out of their rosy dreams that the ruthless but highly efficient foe had "shot his bolt."

The year 1916, here under review, though it witnessed the low-water mark of Germany's economic fortunes (food distress), was nevertheless marked by the inception of her supreme effort to stave off defeat: the conferment of something closely akin to a dictatorship upon Field-Marshal von Hindenburg, the national idol, and the coincident

mobilisation of the nation's whole strength for war purposes under his magnetic supervision. The dawn of "Hindenburgism" synchronised almost to the week, the end of August, with the inauguration of the campaign against Rumania. The rapid victory in which it resulted was called "Hindenburg's very own" (*Ureigenster*), and it inspired Germans to contemplate the future, and to dedicate themselves to it, with renewed confidence in their invincibility.

Yet the end of the third calendar year of the war (1916) was destined to be marked by tell-tale and transparent evidence that, although triumphant in many fields and still in occupation of several hundred thousands of square miles of enemy territory, Germany was conscious that her successes were ephemeral. She asked for peace. She did not sue for it in the generally accepted sense. She "offered" it to her enemies. "Conscious of victory," the Kaiser and his allied fellow-sovereigns invited the Entente Powers to enter into "negotiations for peace," and invoked the good offices of the President of the United States to that end. But no diplomatic dialectics in Berlin could conceal the true inwardness of what the Allies a few days later pilloried as Germany's "sham offer"—viz., that Germany hankered for peace because she knew that, unless she secured it then, there could be no peace, however long delayed, which would find her aught but vanquished. To detail more or less



DR. VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG.  
German Imperial Chancellor and Prime Minister of Prussia, who at the outset of the war, described the treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium as a "scrap of paper."



chronologically the course of the fluctuating events which brought the German Government and people to that chastened realisation is the aim of the present chapter.

Food regulation was instituted in Germany as early as February, 1915, when bread tickets were introduced, but as the pinch of the British blockade grew more and more irksome, control of the country's diminishing supplies became increasingly rigid. The 1915 crops had been rather

**Iron regulation  
of supplies**

better than normal. The potato supply was fairly satisfactory, and the winter of 1915-16 was weathered, not without discomfort and indeed considerable suffering, but without anything approaching either famine or starvation. Rations were enforced by that time for practically every staple necessity of life without exception (even beer), and although short commons was the general rule for meat, bread, butter, milk, eggs, and indispensable fats of all kinds, it was evident that "organisation," the Germans' panacea for all ills, would tide them over the spring and summer into the harvest-time of 1916. They pinned their hopes of "holding out" another year on the prospects of huge crops from the greatest acreage ever planted even in the history of intensive German agriculture.

Constant sapping of man-power from the land for the ravenous and endless demands of the Army sorely denuded German farms of harvest labour. This circumstance, aggravated by the torrential rains which fell during the weeks immediately preceding the harvest, contributed materially towards bringing down the gross yield to a point far below Germany's expectations. Prisoners of war, especially Russians—of whom the Germans claimed to hold 1,500,000—were impressed wholesale into farm labour, but although they relieved the shortage of agricultural workers, advantages derived therefrom were more than wiped out by the disastrous weather. Germany's 1916 crop was a failure. Potatoes, normally harvested to the extent of 50,000,000 or 55,000,000 tons, only yielded something like half the ordinary crop. Early in the

summer, envisaging the approach of calamitous conditions in consequence, the German Government decided to establish an even more iron supervision of foodstuffs than hitherto by organising a so-called "Nutrition Office," and conferring on it autocratic authority.

At the head of the *Ernährungsamt* (Food Ministry) an East Prussian administrator noted for his firmness and executive skill was placed—Herr von Batocki. He was clothed with such plenary powers that he became known forthwith as the Food Dictator. **Von Batocki, the Food Dictator**

The Germans are Europe's most gluttonous eaters and drinkers, and they gave early and numerous signs that Herr von Batocki's scheme to restrict their appetites and alimentary activities to even a more drastic extent than before would not be easy of accomplishment. Far more serious than individual complaints of hardships which ensued and increased in volume and bitterness were the charges made by South German States like Bavaria and Württemberg that the Food Dictator, whose authority extended over the whole Empire, was grossly favouring Prussia at the expense of the States which have always been the Cinderellas of the Fatherland.

As graphic indication of their displeasure with what they termed a system of control designed to gorge North Germany and starve South Germany, the Bavarian towns and cities went to the length of announcing that tourists from Prussia must not expect, when visiting South German summer resorts and the like, to be allowed the same rations of meat, bread, milk and other necessities which were allotted to the natives.

Herr von Batocki, Prussian-like, was adamant to protests, criticism, and abuse alike, and food control from day to day grew in rigidity. By the end of 1916 no fewer than two hundred and fifty-eight new laws, enacted at the instigation of the Nutrition Office or by other departments of the Government, had come into force. They were as follow:



HERR VON BATOCKI.

Herr von Batocki, Governor of the Province of East Prussia. In May, 1916, he became "Food Dictator," or head of the War Nutrition Office then established.



MUNICIPAL FOOD DISTRIBUTION IN CHARLOTTENBURG, A SUBURB OF BERLIN.

By the end of the second year of war the food distress in Germany was acute enough to mean widespread discomfort and inconvenience, but the people had not reached starvation point, though they lacked sufficient nourishment. Queues waited outside the shops and the municipal centres

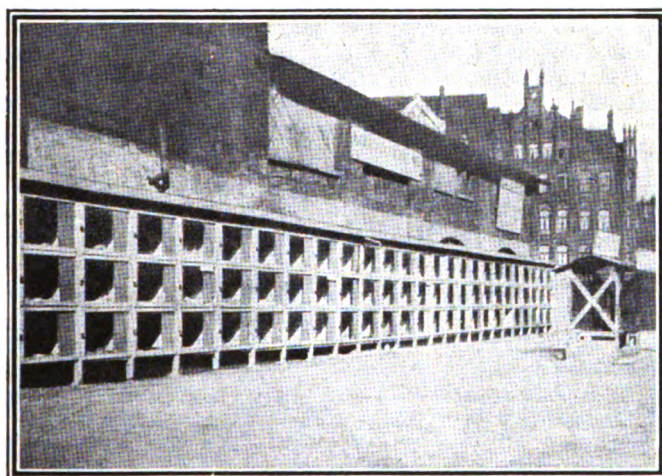
of food distribution. The supplies were often inadequate to the demand represented by the food tickets, but organisation, carried to the utmost limit of Prussian thoroughness, prevailed, and the people, frugal, thrifty, and patriotic by nature, endured the discomfort with fortitude.



Breadstuffs and flour—thirteen laws.  
 Potatoes and potato products—thirty laws.  
 Eggs, milk, and cheese—twenty-eight laws.  
 Sugar-beet, treacle, sugar, and other "sweet" products—twenty-four laws.  
 Meat and meat products—sixteen laws.  
 Vegetables and fruits of all kinds—twenty-two laws.  
 Fish and fish products—eighteen laws.  
 Coffee, chicory roots, tea, cocoa powder, cocoa, and chocolate—fifteen laws.  
 Barley, malt, hops, hay, and straw—thirty-six laws.  
 Fodder and fertilisers—seventeen laws.  
 Bones, animal oils and fats, soap, soap powders, walnuts, hazelnuts, and washing powders—thirty-nine laws.

In addition to this formidable list of measures, there were nineteen dealing with various other problems directly or indirectly connected with growth or production of food for humans and animals.

In every case these special laws laid down cast-iron rules regarding the import and export of foodstuffs, established maximum prices, fixed rations, determined hours and mode of sale by producer, middleman, and retailer, and in every conceivable way supervised food from the point of origin in the soil or factory to the mouth of the actual consumer, whether man or beast. They represented German organisation and thoroughness carried almost to the uttermost limit. No feature of control was omitted.



RABBIT-BREEDING ESTABLISHMENT AT HANOVER.

Before the war Germans regarded rabbits as vermin, and only the very poorest would eat them. Necessity altered this view, and the breeding of rabbits for food was officially organised and encouraged.

Yet even the most expert of organisers could not make bricks without straw. The Food Dictator might administer two hundred and fifty-eight food laws, but he could not by rescript or edict increase the *supply* of food. Indeed, as 1916 proceeded it became manifest that the Germans were suffering not alone from shortage of food, but from surplus of "organisation." From all quarters of the Empire, in the critical weeks preceding the new harvest, when reserve stocks were low to the point of depletion, came angry cries of distress. Bread continued to be more or less plentiful on the standardised ration scale of four and a half pounds per person per week—sometimes a trifle more, sometimes a little less—but such vital essentials as milk and fats became lamentably and growingly scarce. By the beginning of the winter of 1916-17 Berlin's milk supply, for example, had fallen to a bare one-third of normal. Egg "rations" were at the rate of one per fortnight. Potatoes, which during the summer and autumn had been rationed at eight, nine, and ten pounds per week per person, were cut down to five, six, and seven pounds, and even, as winter approached, to three and four pounds, the rest of the allowance being made up of turnips. Suffering increased in intensity with the arrival of cold weather, which also accentuated the lack of fats. The latter became so scarce throughout the country that it was necessary for the omnipotent Hindenburg to lend his



BERLIN WOMEN WAITING TO BUY MEAT.

Food regulations were instituted in Germany in February, 1915. By the end of 1916 no fewer than two hundred and fifty-eight new food laws were in force, sixteen of which related to meat and meat products.

magic name to a special scheme for acquiring fats, by hook or crook, in sufficient quantities to keep the armies of munition workers in Rhineland-Westphalia, the seat of Krupp's and kindred industries, supplied with indispensable rations of butter, lard, margarine, and dripping. To meet on the one hand the incessant demand of the munition industry for animal and vegetable fats for manufacturing purposes, and on the other hand the equally insistent requirements of working men and women engaged on munitions, was one of the most desperate problems Germany had to confront as 1916 drew to a close. All over the country fats were assembled for shipment to Essen, Düsseldorf, Remscheid, Duisburg, Bochum, Dortmund, Mülheim, Biedefeld **Fat for works and workers**

According to newspaper reports, these commandeered fats were destined exclusively for distribution to artisans engaged in "heavy industry," but it was more than probable that a generous percentage found its way into the maws of munition works rather than munition-workers' bellies.

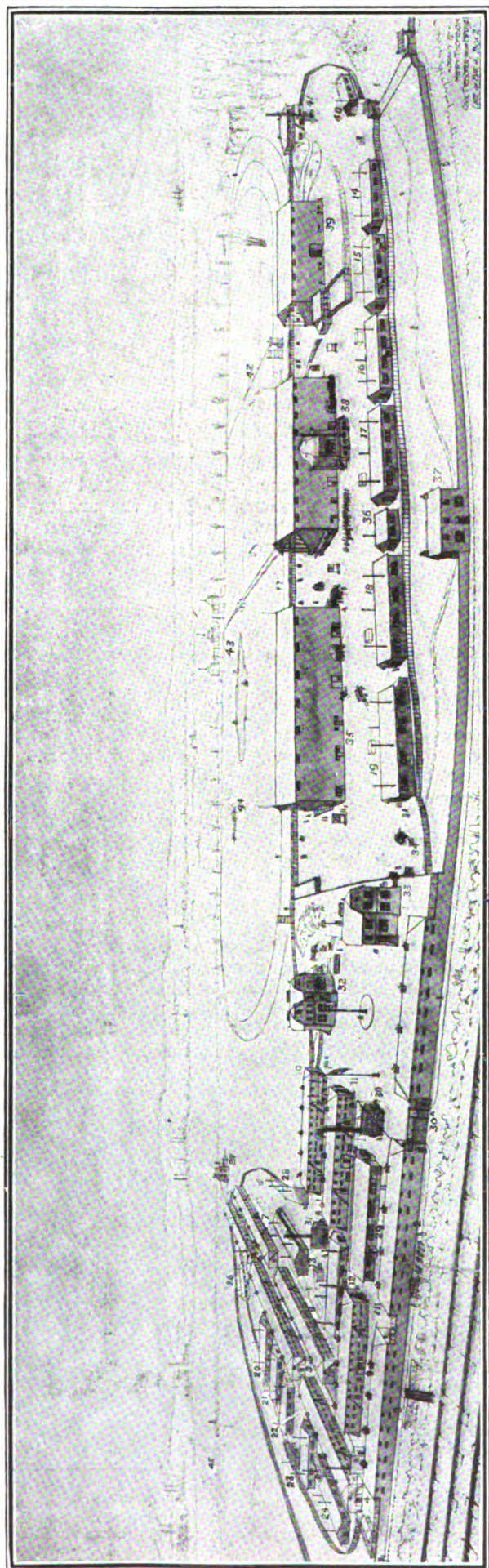
Though throughout 1916, and particularly in its concluding months, food distress in German towns and cities was aggravated in acuteness, it never reached the stage when the country's condition could be faithfully described as a state of famine or starvation. Inconvenienced, uncomfortable, under-nourished the Germans certainly were. Queues in front of the butcher's, the baker's,



STOCK-TAKING FOR THE DICTATOR.

German pork butchers weighing stock in an inspector's presence. Prussian organisation supervised all food from the point of origin to the mouth of the consumer, checking producer, middleman, and retailer.





FAMOUS AND INFAMOUS RUHLEBEN CAMP, NEAR BERLIN, WHERE BRITISH CIVIL PRISONERS OF WAR WERE INTERNED. 1-10, Barracks (stables and lofts—heating by steam-pipes inadequate); 13, Negroes' Barracks; 14-18, "Casino," admission by doctor; 33, Kommandant, Post-office, etc.; 35, First Grand Stand (parcels from home); 37, Guard Post; 38, Second Grand Stand and Kitchen No. 1; 39, Grand Stand, soldiers' mess; 40, Prisoners' Lavatory; 41, Camp kitchen No. 2 and "Tea-house," barrack above; 42, Recreation-ground; 43, Imperial Pavilion; 44, Camp rubbish burning-place; 45, River flowing past camp.

and the candlestick-maker's shops became everyday sights everywhere. The suffering of the poor was intense. Even the rich, with money to buy things, found that neither cash nor ration-cards for this, that, and the other commodity were effective, for oftener than not the food for which allowance cards called was not in the market. Yet the tales of sanguinary food riots in Berlin, Munich, Dresden and elsewhere; the tragic yarns of "living skeletons" parading German streets; the stories of wild-eyed women storming the shops in fruitless quest for provisions; the narratives of "mobs" mowed down by machine-gun fire because they demanded "Peace and food" from an impenitent Government—all these accounts were ultimately ascertained to be yarns and stories, and nothing else. In Britain far too willing an ear was lent to these comforting assurances, brought out from the enemy's country with suspicious regularity and circumstantiality of detail by "neutrals." The net result of such "news" from Germany was in many cases to turn British self-confidence into deceptive over-confidence. The avidity with which people swallowed "starvation" information from Berlin and Vienna was a painful reminder that just as men abroad before the war were inclined to underestimate Germany's power, so were they now disposed to exaggerate her weakness.

#### Exaggerated tales of distress

A fact perhaps not fully appreciated in the countries of her enemies, was that Germany in midwinters during war-time had always to face the serious problem of existing between harvests. One ventured, after thirty months of wrecked predictions on both sides and in all directions, to invade the realm of prophecy about Germany with diffidence bordering on fear; but the sanest students of German affairs seemed agreed at the end of 1916 that, no matter how distressing Germany's food problem during the succeeding six months might become, it alone would not compel her to abandon the war. They recalled that Germans were frugal and thrifty by nature, and highly patriotic besides; that they knew they were fighting with their backs to the wall as well as on underfed stomachs, and that they could hardly fail to put forth a maximum effort to "hold out" until the gathering of another crop.

The "collapse" for which the allied peoples so fervently prayed would be hastened, undoubtedly, by Germany's heartbreaking food shortage, but in the light of her past achievements in surmounting that form of distress, there seemed no really reasonable hope of bringing her to her knees by food exhaustion alone. A nation of 70,000,000 souls, holding in bondage either as supine "allies," or conquered peoples, another 75,000,000 or 80,000,000 souls, and dominating territory stretching straight across Central Europe from Antwerp to the Black Sea, could not easily be starved into submission.

The year 1916 opened with Germany's military spirits at the top-note. Serbia had been completely subjugated. Bulgaria had become Germany's ally along with Turkey, and the Entente Powers, after grievous losses, had been compelled to beat an ignominious retreat from the Gallipoli Peninsula. The allied offensive on the western front in the autumn of 1915 had demonstrated that the German line was not impenetrable, nor the vaunted Prussian war-machine invincible, but the line had not been broken nor the machine even approximately wrecked. The German General Staff knew that the supervening months would be restlessly employed by Britain, France, and Russia to gird themselves for a "big push" on all fronts in 1916. It was therefore decided in Berlin, with fidelity to the Moltke principle that the best defence is offence, to attack the Allies at their supposedly most vulnerable spot many weeks before their "big push" could be put into operation. On February 21st, therefore, the Germans, chiefly under the command of the Crown Prince, launched a prodigious assault on the historic position of Verdun, lying astride

#### Reason for the Verdun adventure



the Meuse, and on the whole vast defensive scheme in the north-eastern corner of France. To cut the Verdun-Paris railway and again to menace the capital of the Republic as the Crown Prince and Von Kluck had done in the earliest hours of the war, the German Staff concentrated on Verdun the most terrific attack which artillery and human flesh and bone were capable of delivering. As all the world knows, the onslaught failed. Verdun outranked the Marne as Germany's most colossal military reverse thus far during the war. All through the spring and summer the flower of the Kaiser's infantry was hurled in vain against the fortress on the Meuse. Though the fortunes of France, as advanced positions like Douaumont fell into the enemy's hands, seemed more than once to be crumbling, Verdun held. By the end of 1916, after a struggle which had lasted nearly ten months and for sheer ferocity and bloodshed was without equal in military annals, the French had retaken practically all the ground lost at Verdun. Germany's most ambitious campaign in the west in 1916 had come to an ignominious end. It had cost the Germans many divisions of men in killed, wounded, and captured. (See Chapters cxiii. and cxxxix.)

While the Germans were battering away vainly at Verdun the combined Franco-British offensive on the western front set in. On July 1st the Allies launched on the Somme and on the Ancre a combined assault against the strongly-fortified German lines in that region. Under its impact, characterised by artillery fire of even deadlier

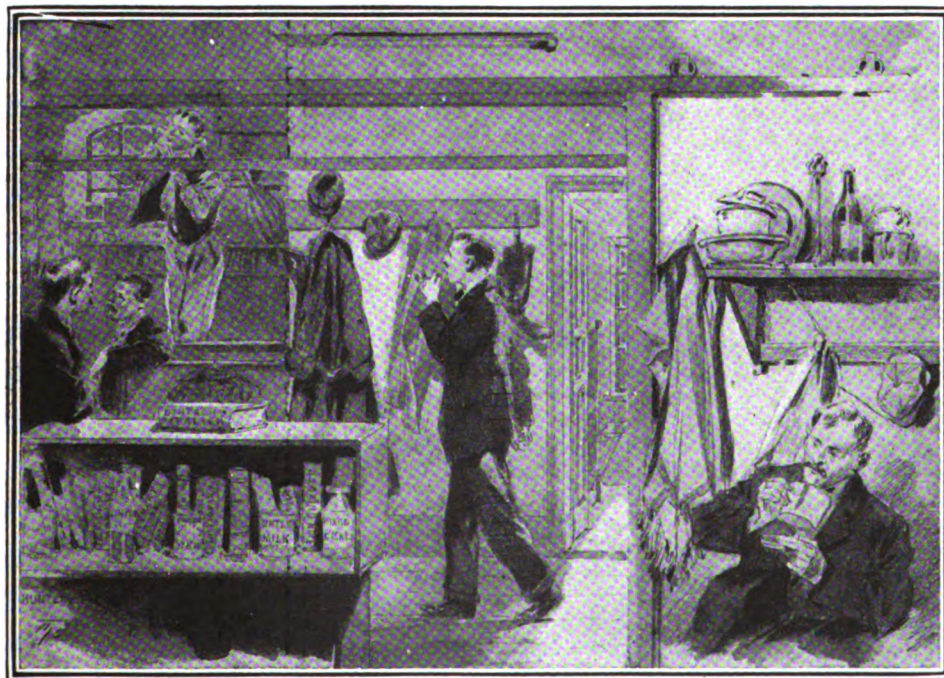
magnitude than that of the German guns before Verdun, the Teutonic line was dented for miles, and immense booty in prisoners and guns fell into the Allies' hands. Germans admitted in their own Press that never in the history of warfare had armies been subjected to the punishment inflicted on their troops in the trenches and dug-outs on the Somme. They said it was not war, but "murder." In that fighting the début of the immortal British "tank" took place. It played a valiant rôle in demoralising the enemy, as did also the magnificent work of British and

French aircraft. To all these things enemy newspapers paid unstinted tribute. The Somme offensive did not achieve the complete strategic result which might have been hoped for. But it demonstrated one fact of indelible and far-reaching importance—viz., the rise of Britain as a land power and the ability of the British, properly equipped and supported, to beat the finest troops in the vaunted German Army and to wreck the most powerful defensive system which had ever been devised by German military science. The lessons which the German generals and common soldiers learned on the Somme were not such as to fill them with much "battle joy" when next they came in contact with the new British armies. It was freely admitted in Germany that her forces in the west had been out-gunned and outshelled by the Allies, and it was laid down as the supreme necessity of the coming winter that German munition production required to be speeded-up even far beyond its previous enormous dimensions



CLOSE QUARTERS IN RUHLEBEN INTERNMENT CAMP.

British civil prisoners in their "horse-box" accommodation at Ruhleben, in which camp—between Berlin and Spandau—about four thousand prisoners were interned. Their quarters mainly consisted of the horse-boxes such as that shown, and the lofts above. The prisoners were very harshly treated, and had largely to depend for food upon parcels from home.



INDOOR GLIMPSE OF VARIED LIFE AT RUHLEBEN.

Counter of a mixed store in Ruhleben internment camp, at which prisoners were able, apparently, to purchase books as readily as groceries. On the further side of the corridor is to be seen a prisoner engaged in making his toilet. Conditions of life at Ruhleben were terrible during the first year, but later became somewhat ameliorated.



if the Kaiser's armies were to be able to hold their own in forthcoming campaigns on the western front. German military moral was never undermined so unmistakably since Jena as it was shattered before Verdun and on the Somme.

While the Germans were being hammered in the west, their decrepit Austrian vassal was subjected to equally gruelling treatment on the eastern front and at the hands of Italy in the Trentino. In Galicia

**Brussiloff's** General Brussiloff, at the head of a vast **victorious advance** new Russian host, well equipped with big guns, delivered tremendous strokes against the Austro-Hungarian forces, his capture of prisoners running into hundreds of thousands. Not until the Germans diverted large forces from the Poland front, and such men as could be spared from the harassed lines in the west, were the Austro-Hungarians able to stem Brussiloff's victorious advance. Meantime, the Italians under General Cadorna stormed Gorizia, at which they had so long and gallantly battered. At the end of the summer of 1916 Austria-Hungary presented a most dishevelled appearance

began, the German Navy essayed its boldest stroke. It emerged into the North Sea on what the Berlin Admiralty subsequently described as an "enterprise" (*Unternehmung*). Whatever the "enterprise" was, it was destined to be as great a failure as the Germans' "enterprise" at Verdun. That the German losses were large may be gathered from the fact that for several days, on the grounds of "military reasons," the Berlin Admiralty deliberately withheld from the German public the circumstance that one of the Kaiser's largest and most powerful battle-cruisers, the *Lützow*, had been destroyed. The Germans called the engagement the Battle of the Skager Rack in contradistinction to the official title conferred upon it in Great Britain—the Battle of Jutland. The one substantial result gained by the enemy was presented to them gratis by the British Admiralty, which stupidly allowed the Germans to circulate the lying version of their "victory" throughout the world a full twenty-four hours before the British report was issued. The British Fleet suffered heavy losses in officers, men, and vessels, but the price paid was in no respect out

of proportion to the result achieved—the staggering evidence furnished to the enemy that British command of the sea was inviolate and inviolable.

The three events just narrated—the failure of the attack on Verdun, the irresistibility of the Franco-British offensive on the western front, the wrecked attempt to smash British sea-power—caused the German Government and its High Commands on land and water to institute a sweeping change of régime. Public opinion in Germany was not a factor which the Kaiser and his fellow War Lords were accustomed to consider or to be swayed by. But German knees were set a-quaking so violently in July and August, 1916, that William II. was impelled to take the most drastic step of the war. He decided to transfer the control of the Empire's fighting forces to the one man in whom the country still had unshaken confidence—Field-Marshal von Hindenburg, who had defeated the Russians so decisively in East Prussia and Poland. Though admittedly not a strategic genius, Germans for two years had deified Hindenburg. They looked upon him as a composite of



BRITISH OFFICER PRISONERS OF WAR IN GERMANY.

British officers, placed hors de combat by the fortune of war, who sought to keep themselves fit by active service in the tennis-courts. They were at Crefeld, in Rhenish Prussia, about a dozen miles to the north-west of Düsseldorf, where the Germans established a camp for prisoners of war.

from a military standpoint. From the beginning of the war Germany had allowed her to bear the brunt of the punishment so relentlessly inflicted by Russia. It remained one of the miracles of the campaign that, after what she had been compelled to undergo, Austria-Hungary was still able to keep up the hopeless fight. Her sovereignty had long ago become a mere shadow. German generals were in actual, if not nominal, command of her hammered armies, and whenever the latter found themselves in a tight place, German reinforcements were thrown into the breach to save them from utter disaster. It is the custom for Austrian officers when they greet colleagues to salute and say: "I have the honour" (*Ich habe die Ehre*). It is related that when the Austrian Commander-in-Chief one day presented himself at Hindenburg's headquarters he remarked: "I have the honour." Gruff old Hindenburg is said to have replied: "Yes, you have the honour, but I have the work!"

Almost an exact month before the fighting on the Somme

Napoleon and Moltke. They erected a huge iron image of him in Berlin and drove nails into the pedestal for war-charity purposes in the spirit in which Pagan votaries might worship at some shrine. **Hindenburg in supreme control** Whatever failures might be achieved by other generals, Germans were obsessed by the conviction that with "our Hindenburg" there was nothing they could not attain. The Kaiser, conscious that a sop to his sorely-tried people was urgently required if their enthusiasm for the war was not fatally to flag, in August appointed Hindenburg Chief of the Great General Staff, with General Ludendorff, Hindenburg's personal aide-de-camp, as Vice-Chief. To make room for "Hindenburg & Co." William II. unceremoniously deposed General von Falkenhayn from the chiefship of the General Staff. Falkenhayn, who enjoyed the repute of being the one military genius Germany's war had produced, was humbled as punishment for the failure of the Verdun campaign, which was personally mapped out and conducted by him



Hindenburg and Ludendorff were forthwith equipped with autocratic power. Their authority was extended even to the direction of the Fleet. Public confidence was vouchsafed them to an unlimited degree. It was understood that they accepted the dictatorship only on condition that they should be monarchs of all they surveyed. Even the Imperial Chancellor's prerogatives, as the premier Minister of the Crown, were transferred, for all practical purposes, to "Hindenburg & Co."

Hindenburg had not been in charge of Germany's destinies many weeks before he evolved the most comprehensive scheme for mobilising a nation for war of which military annals contain any record. At his instigation the Reichstag enacted a so-called "Patriotic Auxiliary Service Law" (*Patriotisches Hilfsdienst Gesetz*), which called up for national service every male person in the Empire between the ages of seventeen and sixty. Women were not



REPRESENTATIVES OF NEUTRAL JOURNALS AT HEIDELBERG.

Neutral journalists were permitted to interview the British prisoners of war interned at Heidelberg. On this occasion the visitors were representatives of a Swedish (left) and an American (right) newspaper.



WOUNDED AND PRISONER.  
Second on the left is Lieut. G. S. M. Insall, V.C., captured in the air fight for which he was later awarded the Victoria Cross.

included in the compulsory provisions of the law, but in practice and administration their services were secured on almost as complete a scale as if their labour had been obligatory. Directresses of National Service (to supervise employment of women) were appointed at each Army headquarters throughout the country.

The chief purpose of the "Mass Levy" of Germany's physical strength was to increase the production of munitions. Losses in the field had long been sapping Germany's resources in fighting men. A total casualty list of over 4,000,000 killed, wounded, and missing was officially

admitted by the beginning of December, 1916, but a more honest estimate would doubtless have placed the figure at 5,000,000 and over. To fill these incessant gaps it became necessary to "comb out" behind the front on a wholesale scale. From railways, mines, and particularly from munition works of all kinds, men had to be ruthlessly withdrawn for actual fighting work. This necessitated filling their places with men or women who had hitherto been employed in civilian occupations not directly connected with the prosecution of the war. The Patriotic Auxiliary Service Law's effect was to enforce conscription of labour in Germany. Its specific intent, as was publicly admitted by a prominent Statesman, was to double the output of German guns and shells, lest the



TENNIS-COURTS IN THE OFFICERS' INTERNMENT CAMP AT HEIDELBERG.

A poor substitute for the set their brother soldiers were playing in France to strike the Kaiser's crown into the hazard, but a welcome relief from the monotony of enforced idleness.





PACKING FRUIT STONES FOR TRANSMISSION TO CRUSHING MILLS.

German organisation extended to the practical elimination of all waste. Thus the people were forbidden to destroy fruit stones, and in all towns these were collected periodically and taken to mills to be crushed, the oil so extracted being used for many industrial and military purposes.

disadvantages under which the Army fought on the Somme should be repeated the next time the Germans faced the well-equipped hosts of Britain and France.

Though in the Government-controlled Press a vigorous effort was made to convince both the home and foreign publics that Hindenburgism—i.e., the Mass Levy scheme—was enthusiastically supported by Germans, it was notorious that the semi-serfdom which it imposed on the nation was irksome and unpopular. Men did not welcome having long-established businesses of their own summarily closed down in obedience to Auxiliary Service's decree that all "unnecessary" trades and occupations had to be abolished, and the Empire's whole physical effort concentrated on production of man-killing weapons. For instance, in order to "comb out" a given industry and secure more hands for munitions, the authorities would amalgamate two or three works in a certain line of manufacture, and impress the surplus labour which resulted into munitions. Livelihoods, personal convenience, private predilections—everything was subordinated to the one purpose Hindenburg had set himself. A special new department called the "War Bureau"

(*Kriegsamt*) was established to administer Hindenburgism the national service on the new lines. "last phase" General Gröner was placed in charge of it. In a speech elucidating the purposes of Auxiliary Service, General Gröner said that it must be "ground into the heads and hearts of all Germans that they had to subordinate their wills unquestioningly to the needs and requirements of the Fatherland." The Hindenburg Mass Levy was described by the "Cologne Gazette" as ushering in "the last phase" of the war. What the well-known semi-official journal meant to say, but dared not, was that Hindenburg's determination ruthlessly to seize and use the last ounce of human strength left in Germany represented the Fatherland's supreme effort to stave off defeat.

Throughout 1916 a battle royal raged within Germany itself on the question of submarine warfare. Realising that the weapon they had forged to overthrow Britain—their fleet of battleships, battle-cruisers, and destroyers—

was incapable of achieving that object, the War Party zealots set up the doctrine that the submarine was the heaven-sent instrument with which the hated British could be brought to their knees. Early in 1916 the German Navy, therefore, under the domination of Von Tirpitz, dedicated itself afresh to the task of "sinking everything at sight." The Germans destroyed allied and neutral shipping alike, in the belief that the starvation of the British Isles would inevitably follow in time. The consequence was the recrudescence of a bitter diplomatic controversy with the United States Government.

Meantime, in Berlin two rival camps were set up. One demanded continuance of submarine warfare with all possible "frightfulness," regardless of the dictates of humanity or the susceptibilities of neutrals. Extremists like Count Reventlow particularly clamoured for "relentless" U boat tactics, even at the expense of war with the United States. The head and front of the "Frightfulness" Party was Admiral von Tirpitz himself. He, who had been chiefly responsible for the creation of the modern

German Navy as a weapon with which to overthrow Great Britain, realised that unless he could use submarines to that end, it would sooner or later dawn upon German consciousness that the many millions lavished on their Fleet had been money completely wasted. For weeks the issue in Berlin hung in the balance. Finally it was decided by the Kaiser, in March, 1916, that Tirpitz must be dropped and sacrificed on the altar of continued "friendship" with America. A few weeks later the censor blotted Reventlow out of existence as an editorial writer, and for many months afterwards his fiery contributions were missing from the "Deutsche Tageszeitung," in whose columns he had for years poured forth his gall and spite against everything non-German. He was later restored to favour, and returned to his old "form."

#### Disappearance of Von Tirpitz

Admiral von Tirpitz, known in Berlin as "Tirpitz the Eternal," because he ruled the Kaiser's Navy autocratically and uninterruptedly for eighteen years, was superseded by Admiral von Capelle as Secretary of State for the Imperial Navy Office, as Germany's "First Lord" is officially known. Admiral von Capelle had been Tirpitz's right-hand man at the Berlin Admiralty for many years. The "pirate chief" had groomed him to be his successor, but, of course, in different circumstances. The accession of Von Capelle was considered abroad as signalling the abandonment by Germany of submarine frightfulness as a "concession" to the United States; yet, while the shadow of Tirpitz vanished, the substance of frightfulness remained. It not only remained, but became intensified as the months went by and 1917 approached, into the most wholesale frightfulness the Germans had ever practised during the whole war. There were no more Lusitanias, but there was a Britannic; and history will probably fail to make a very strong distinction between the torpedoing of a Cunard passenger-liner and the submarining of an even larger White Star liner serving the humanitarian purpose of a hospital ship. While the Germans, in other words, contrived to make neutrals believe that ruthlessness at sea had been abolished by them, they were, as a matter



of fact, exercising it on a more diabolical scale than ever before. Merchantman after merchantman was sunk in the autumn and early winter of 1916-17—in December alone the pirates gloated over having sent 415,500 tons of allied and neutral shipping to the bottom. Loss of life was comparatively light, as the pirates adopted the "humane" rule of allowing ships' crews to cast adrift in their own lifeboats and to be at the mercy of the elements for long days and nights on end. The popular heroes in Germany in 1916 were young commanders of submarines who with their one craft had sunk as much as 200,000 or 300,000 tons of enemy shipping. Captain Persius, the well-known naval correspondent of the "Berliner Tageblatt," correctly pointed out that, as far

**Maximum activity of submarines** as the sea was concerned, Germany's campaign was not a war of admirals, but of lieutenants and lieutenant-commanders.

Persius was referring, of course, to the astonishing "bags" made by German U boat commanders in different seas.

Following the rejection of Germany's peace proposals, there was renewed outcry in the country for acceleration of the process of "starving out" the British Isles by submarines. But nobody knew better than the German Navy's chieftains that U boat frightfulness was already taking place on the largest scale possible. German U boats were as frightful as they knew how to be. The specious cry that they should be permitted to indulge in unrestricted frightfulness was a sheer "bluff," designed to deceive neutrals and enemies into thinking that the Germans were imposing upon themselves a certain self-restraint in deference to outside wishes.

Equally fictitious was the mock strife between politicians in Germany as to the "advisability" or otherwise of intensified warfare at sea and in the air. People both in Germany and abroad were shrewdly led to believe that because Bethmann-Hollweg, the Imperial Chancellor, was not lending his ear to the "demands" of the Frightfulness Party, U boat depredations were being held in check. It was doubtless decided in Berlin by all concerned that Germany's best interests would be conserved by keeping up the frightfulness "controversy" in Press, Parliament, and public, because it actually did create the impression that there were two parties—a humanitarian group and a frightful faction. As a matter of fact, each was frightful. They differed only in their methods. Meantime, U boats ran amok, sinking practically everything within their reach. The only "check" to German

frightfulness was that imposed by the vigilance and gallantry of the British Navy.

During the second year of the war the German Social Democratic Party continued to supply constant and unmistakable evidence that it had degenerated as a political force into an aggregation of invertebrates. Opposition to the supine pro-war sentiments of the executive and majority of the rank and file of the party increased during 1916, and eventually took the form of the secession of a number of influential deputies, headed by the former president of the party, Herr Haase. Supported by another Radical named Ledebour, Haase formed a minority group which was christened the Social Democratic Working Community (*Sozialdemokratische Arbeitsgemeinschaft*). It represented, however, only eighteen or twenty members of the Reichstag group of one hundred and eleven Social Democrats. It justified its revolt on the ground that the party had become the impotent tool of the German Government and War Party. The rebels declared that the continued voting by Socialists of credits in Parliament to prosecute a war which had confessedly become a war of aggression, and of which the German nation as a whole was heartily sick, violated all the tenets and principles of Social Democracy, and they asserted they could and would have no more of it. On periodical occasions in the Reichstag, Haase, Ledebour, and their handful of adherents expressed their views on the lines just indicated, but they were ruthlessly suppressed and condemned to remain as voices crying in the wilderness. Later in the year the rebellious "Working Community" was formally expelled from the Social Democratic Party, so that there were at the end of 1916 two

**Impotence of Social Democracy** Socialist parties in Germany. They remained, however, utterly powerless as far as influencing the course of the war was concerned. Their subjugation to the Government's will became so complete that even their former fighting official newspaper, "Vorwärts," earned the obloquy of being known as an outright Government newspaper, as spoon-fed and "inspired" as the "Lokal-Anzeiger," or semi-official "Kölnische Zeitung" itself. For many years prior to 1914 there were people in and out of Germany who imagined that a great European war would find the Social Democrats in that country wielding a force which would paralyse the Fatherland's ability to make war. Instead of bringing about such a state of affairs, the war during 1916 found the Social Democracy more thoroughly enslaved under the boot-heel and domination of Prussian militarism than ever before.



AUSTRIA'S NEW EMPEROR INSPECTS VETERAN GERMAN TROOPS ON A FORMAL VISIT TO THE KAISER. Charles I. succeeded his uncle Francis Joseph I. in November, 1916, and lost no time in visiting his nominal equal but virtual overlord the German Emperor, to confer with him on the extremely difficult situation in which destiny had placed him. Naturally the two Emperors forthwith inspected German troops, Kaiser Wilhelm wearing Austrian uniform in compliment to his guest.



Only one German Socialist remained consistently true to his political principles to the extent of trying to fight for them—Dr. Karl Liebknecht, a brilliant young Berlin barrister, who represented the Royal borough of Potsdam in the Imperial Parliament and also had a seat in the Prussian Diet. Liebknecht, a son of one of the founders of the Social Democracy, was for years before the war a thorn in the Government and War Party's side. In 1913 he exposed the notorious Krupp bribery scandals, which showed that the gigantic Essen munition firm had been accustomed to subsidise officials of the Prussian War Office, and also newspapers in Germany and beyond its frontiers, for the purpose of keeping war fever alive at home and abroad. When war broke out Liebknecht continued his crusade, and denounced the war and its German authors on every possible occasion. The Government imagined it could effectually gag him by assigning Liebknecht to military service. It actually stuck him into field-grey and put him to work as an Army Service Corps soldier, but he returned to Berlin periodically to take his place in the Reichstag and the Landtag, and unfailingly raised his voice against the objects and the methods Germany was pursuing. He was invariably howled down, but Liebknecht at least left Germany and Europe in no doubt that there was one man in war-crazed Prussia not afraid to speak out his mind.

Meantime, the Prussian authorities anxiously awaited an opportunity and a pretext for ridding themselves of a person who was rapidly becoming a genuine menace to their schemings and plot to keep the German nation muzzled and deaf. His status as a Member of Parliament gave Liebknecht certain immunities from interference, but on "May Day" (May 1st) the Berlin police arrested him on the charge of inciting to public disturbances—taking him in charge in Potsdamer-Platz, the Piccadilly Circus of the German capital, and afterwards justifying his apprehension on the ground that a regularly enlisted A.S.C. soldier on active service had violated regulations by appearing in public in mufti! There was also some cock-and-bull story about Liebknecht having been "caught in the act" of sowing sedition by distributing handbills. Shortly afterwards, following unsuccessful attempts by the Socialist Party in the Reichstag to have their colleague liberated, Liebknecht was placed on trial and duly convicted of treason. He would undoubtedly have been condemned to be shot except that feeling in the country was running high, and his execution, it was feared, would provoke open outbreak of notoriously deep and widespread popular discontent over the war and the hunger hardships it was imposing. Liebknecht, instead of being turned over to the tender

mercies of a firing-party, was sentenced to four and a half years' hard labour. He was also deprived of civil rights, and in consequence was automatically robbed of his two Parliamentary seats. It was not Liebknecht's first acquaintance with Prussian prison walls. Several years before 1914 he served a period of detention in fortress for courageously opposing militarism, the plain purposes of which he saw with no clearer vision than many other Germans, but whose manifest intentions Liebknecht merely attacked with fearlessness.

With Liebknecht safely under lock and key any opposition to the war worthy of the name ceased to exist

in Germany. Men and women complained of the war, "demonstrated" against it when they stood freezing in queues before the butcher's, baker's, and grocer's shops in vain quest for meat, bread, and butter; but effective protest became a thing of the past when Karl Liebknecht was sent to penal servitude in the late autumn of 1916.

One of the great surprises of the second year of war was Germany's continued ability to finance herself. Assumptions that she would collapse because of money stress proved as illusory as the belief that food shortage would precipitate her disintegration. People abroad forgot that the British blockade had had the effect from the start of making Germany an economically self-contained nation. The blockade compelled Germans, with minor exceptions, to spend all their war disbursements at home. Money was sent abroad for the purpose of espionage and propaganda, notably to the U.S.A., and for such food shipments as the Germans were able to slip through the Baltic and across neighbouring land frontiers like Holland and Switzerland; but the overwhelming bulk of the enemy's vast expenditure for war sinews remained in the country. As long as this state of affairs could be maintained—as long as Germany was not required to make heavy payments abroad—she could afford to view with comparative complacency the fall of the mark to the lowest rate of exchange ever recorded—a drop, at times, of as much as 33½ per cent. of its normal value (1s.). The "crash" in German finances, under the system of buying practically everything in Germany and paying for it in German paper money to Germans, was therefore not due until the end of the war, when the Germans would require to resume international financial relations and pay for their necessities in gold.

Augmenting the  
gold reserve



HERR BASSERMANN.

Herr Bassermann, leader of the National Liberals, who declared that the German conduct of the war stood "upon a superior plane of civilisation."

With this end in view, the Imperial Bank of Berlin throughout the year 1916 promoted the policy of conserving gold resources and augmenting its gold reserve by every possible means. The reserve in August, 1914, was something like £62,500,000. It had reached almost double that amount (£125,000,000) by the end of 1916, according to the Reichsbank's statements. Weird expedients were resorted to for the purpose of bringing gold to the bank. Race-courses offered reduced rates of admission to people who paid gate-money in gold and took paper or silver in change. Patriotic women, imitating the historic example of Queen Louise of Prussia, offered their golden trinkets. "Gold Collection Bureaus" were established by municipalities throughout the country.

Hoarding was alleged to be taking place, and to bring forth the hidden money intimation was given that by a certain date all gold coinage in private ownership would be deprived of its legal-tender value.

Up to the end of 1916 the German Empire had made five separate War Loans, aggregating £2,350,000,000 in subscriptions (according to the official reports). The individual details of these loans were as follows:

Date of Issue.	Rate of Interest.	Price.	Amt. Subscribed (in Millions Sterling).
Sept. 1914	.. 5	.. 97½	.. 223
March 1915	.. 5	.. 98½	.. 453
Sept. 1915	.. 5	.. 99	.. 605
March 1916	.. 4½	.. 95	.. 535
	.. 5	.. 98½	
Sept. 1916	.. 4½	.. 95	.. 534
	.. 5	.. 98	



A particularly noteworthy feature of the German War Loans, in contradistinction to results of the same kind achieved in Great Britain, was the very heavy number of subscribers for small amounts. To the loan issued in March, 1916, there were over 5,000,000 subscribers for amounts ranging from 1s. to £250. To the September, 1916, loan over 3,500,000 persons subscribed for stock, bonds, or certificates, representing investments of 1s. to £250.

Early in the war the German Finance Minister was accustomed to boast that Germany's vast "war investment" would be reimbursed by the heavy indemnities she would extort from her vanquished foes. In pre-war days Prussian war zealots, in communicative moments, would talk of the £20,000,000,000 which they intended to exact from a conquered British Empire.

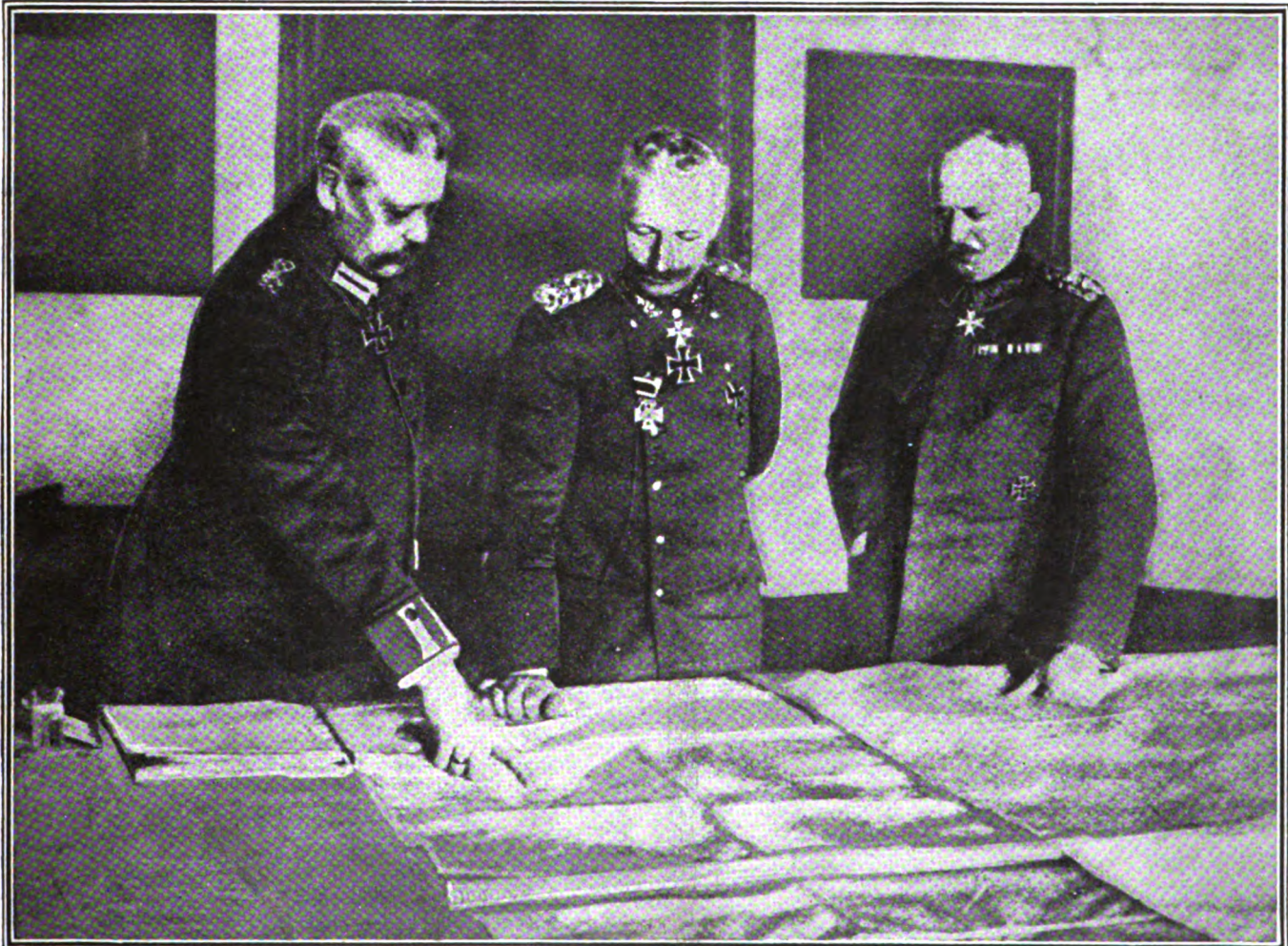
The advent of the Hindenburg dictatorship at the end of August, 1916, synchronised almost to a week with a very dramatic turn in the military situation—the intervention of Rumania on the side of the Allies. That act, long threatened by the Rumanians and eagerly awaited by the Allies, was greeted with justifiable satisfaction in allied countries; but it was destined to end disastrously as far as their hopes were concerned. Rumania took the offensive in the earlier hours of September, and successfully invaded Austrian territory adjacent to the Danube and in the Carpathian area. But it was not long before Hindenburg contrived to divert a strong force of Germans to assist the Austro-Hungarians, and even to bring up a formidable array of Bulgar and Turkish troops, the whole

#### Intervention of Rumania

being under the command of Field-Marshal von Mackensen. Presently General von Falkenhayn, released a few weeks previously to make way for Hindenburg on the General Staff, took the field against Rumania, his own force advancing from one direction while Mackensen's main armies approached from another quarter. The first sign that Rumania's doom was sealed was the fall of her important Black Sea port, Constantza. The capital, Bukarest, met with the same fate a few weeks later. Then the grain lands and the oil fields fell into the invader's hands, along with very considerable bodies of Rumanian troops, though the principal army contrived to effect a retreat to the one section of the little country which it was still holding stubbornly, and apparently invincibly, at the end of 1916. Before retiring, the Rumanians carried out a wholesale and systematic destruction of their grain warehouses and oil-wells, thus cheating the Germans of the booty which was their principal incentive in sacking the country. Russian forces co-operated with the Rumanians at various stages of the latter's hapless campaign, but the help received from their powerful ally was not sufficient or timely enough to stem the tide under which the Rumanians were forced to suffer defeat within, roundly, four months of the date they entered the war.

#### Fall of Bukarest

Though the supposed fleshpots of Rumania entirely failed to supply the conqueror to the anticipated degree, the Germans' signal military successes had the effect of bolstering up afresh their confidence in the "invincibility" of their war-machine. They had quite particularly the effect of strengthening Hindenburg's hold on the popular



EMPEROR AND CHIEFS OF THE GERMAN GREAT GENERAL STAFF.

The Kaiser in conference with Field-Marshal von Hindenburg, who is indicating a point on one of the maps spread out before them, and General von Ludendorff, Chief of the Staff. Though admittedly not a strategic

genius, Von Hindenburg was regarded by the German people as a composite of Napoleon and Von Moltke, and by the beginning of 1917 his position had become to all appearance that of a dictator.

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imagination and of fortifying the country's belief that in him it possessed a leader capable of leading Germany to certain triumph, no matter how long delayed. The Rumanian campaign was supposed to have been planned entirely by Hindenburg and Ludendorff, and they emerged from it with their personal prestige immeasurably enhanced, although no one knew better than themselves that "victory," in the Berlin sense, was in no respect advanced by the

Germans' swift triumph over an under-prepared small nation. The people of the unfortunate country found themselves by the end of the year as thoroughly enslaved as the wretched communities under German domination in Belgium, Poland, Serbia, and Northern France.

Military successes in Rumania were cleverly exploited by the German Government and its controlled Press to divert the country's attention from the incessant defeats with which the Army was meeting on the decisive western front. As General Sir Douglas Haig's celebrated despatch on the Somme operations (December, 1916) set forth, the

referred to that inglorious campaign as "the grave." Germans who lived to tell the terrible tale of what they had been called upon to face on the western front in 1916 declared unanimously—in several cases to the writer personally—that "slaughter" was the only description applicable to the fray into which they had been sent as into a shambles. Every German who came out of the Somme and Verdun fighting alive went home to spread the gospel that Germany at last had met her military match in the new British and French armies fighting shoulder to shoulder in the fields of France and Flanders.

From people to whom German soldiers went with their own tales of suffering and terror at the front they heard equally distressing stories of conditions rife in Germany itself at the beginning of the winter of 1916-17. Food distress has been dealt with previously in this chapter. But suffering prevailed in every direction. Germany was plunged as early as November into the coldest winter experienced for many years, only to find that owing to frozen rivers and canals and curtailed railway transport



PRUSSIAN PATRIOTISM MADE Emden's allegorical figure, with face of Captain von Müller. The charge for nailing this figure was two marks per nail.



TO PAY: STATUES "NAILED" FOR THE GERMAN RED CROSS. Statue of Charlemagne erected at Itzehoe, Schleswig-Holstein. The charge for driving a nail into this great emperor was one mark.



Statue of Saint Martin of Sabaria in Pannonia. This statue was erected at Mannheim, Baden. The price per nail for this figure was three marks.

flower of the German Army had been battered to an extent unprecedented since Napoleonic days by the combined and ceaseless onslaughts of the allied hosts on the Somme and the Ancre. Yet, with effrontery unparalleled, the German General Staff early in December officially declared that the Battle of the Somme might now be considered at an end, and that it had ended in a complete victory for German arms! In announcing this to his people, the Kaiser omitted to supply any details of the "victory" in the form of the tens of thousands of prisoners and hundreds of field-pieces and machine-guns which remained in the Allies' hands; nor did the supreme War Lord dwell on the enormous toll in killed and wounded which his hammered armies had paid for their pretended success. Officers and men who returned to Germany, wounded or on leave from the Somme, were not so reticent as the General Staff at Berlin. In newspapers and in private conversation frequent admission was made that the Somme had been not war but "hell," while survivors of Verdun

facilities there was not nearly enough coal to supply the insatiable demands of war industry and the regular requirements of the civilian population. Schools, hotels, restaurants, theatres, and other places accustomed to shelter crowds of people, were compelled by degrees to shut down altogether because fuel was no longer obtainable, or obtainable to such a limited extent that it was not feasible to open these establishments at all. Dwellers in private houses and flats in towns and cities found themselves unable to warm their premises, and living in one room, usually the kitchen, became the order of the day—and night. The hot-water supply ran short simultaneously, so that before the winter was half over the Germans found themselves not only excessively underfed, but uncomfortably underheated as well. It was truly the winter of their supreme discontent.

The coal shortage not only made ordinary living conditions unbearable to the degree of impossibility in many

Coal shortage  
in Germany



places in Germany, but it had a particularly serious effect on the supply of gas and electricity. Electric tramway services everywhere were disorganised and in many places even had to be abolished entirely. The gas and electricity famine manifested itself chiefly in radical curtailment of illumination of all kinds. Berlin, the gay city of pre-war days and even until the autumn of 1916, became almost as dark at night as Zeppelin-menaced London itself. The police authorities throughout the Empire ordained rigid regulations for suppressing lighting of all kinds. Theatres and restaurants, which used traditionally to keep open until two, three, or four o'clock in the morning, found themselves compelled to put up the shutters and send people home at the unheard-of hours of ten or eleven p.m. Shops were denied the old-time privilege of making elaborate display of electric light outside their premises or in shop-windows, and in the shops themselves lighting was ordered to be reduced to the absolute minimum of actual necessity. The same restrictions were enforced, of course, in private houses,

could not be broken by the further continuation of the war." What the Germanic allies desired, on the basis of their pretended victory, was set forth in the following paragraph of their Note :

Their aim is not to crush or destroy their enemies. Supported by the consciousness of their military and economic strength, and ready if necessary to prosecute to the utmost the fight forced upon them, but being at the same time inspired by a desire to prevent further bloodshed and to put an end to the cruelties of war, the four allied Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria) have proposed to enter forthwith into peace negotiations.

**German profession  
of innocence**

Berlin apparently had little faith that this specious offer of peace, on a basis which assumed the victory of the Germanic Powers, would meet with the desired success, for their Note ended with these words :

If notwithstanding this offer of peace and conciliation the fight should continue, the four allied Powers are resolved to wage it to a victorious end. They repudiate most solemnly all responsibility for the continuation of the war before mankind and history.

Coincident with the sending of the peace "offer" to the



The "Iron Hindenburg" at Angeburg. The large iron nails for this statue cost five marks each—and seem not to have been forthcoming in large numbers.



Saint Johann at Hamburg. Patriotism assessed the value of nails for this particular saint at three marks.



The famous statue of Admiral von Tirpitz erected at Wilhelmshaven, by driving nails into which a very large sum of money was raised.

#### GERMANY'S POPULAR METHOD OF RAISING FUNDS.

which thus became, by Christmas time, the abodes of people who were underfed, cold, and now condemned to live in semi-darkness. For many weeks previously, shortage of boots and ordinary wearing apparel had been acute, too. Lack of leather, wool, and cotton compelled the State to put footwear and clothing of all kinds on the ration basis. None could be had without permit cards. "Bargain sales" were forbidden, and the Government even took over the old-clothes trade.

**Germany's peace  
offer**

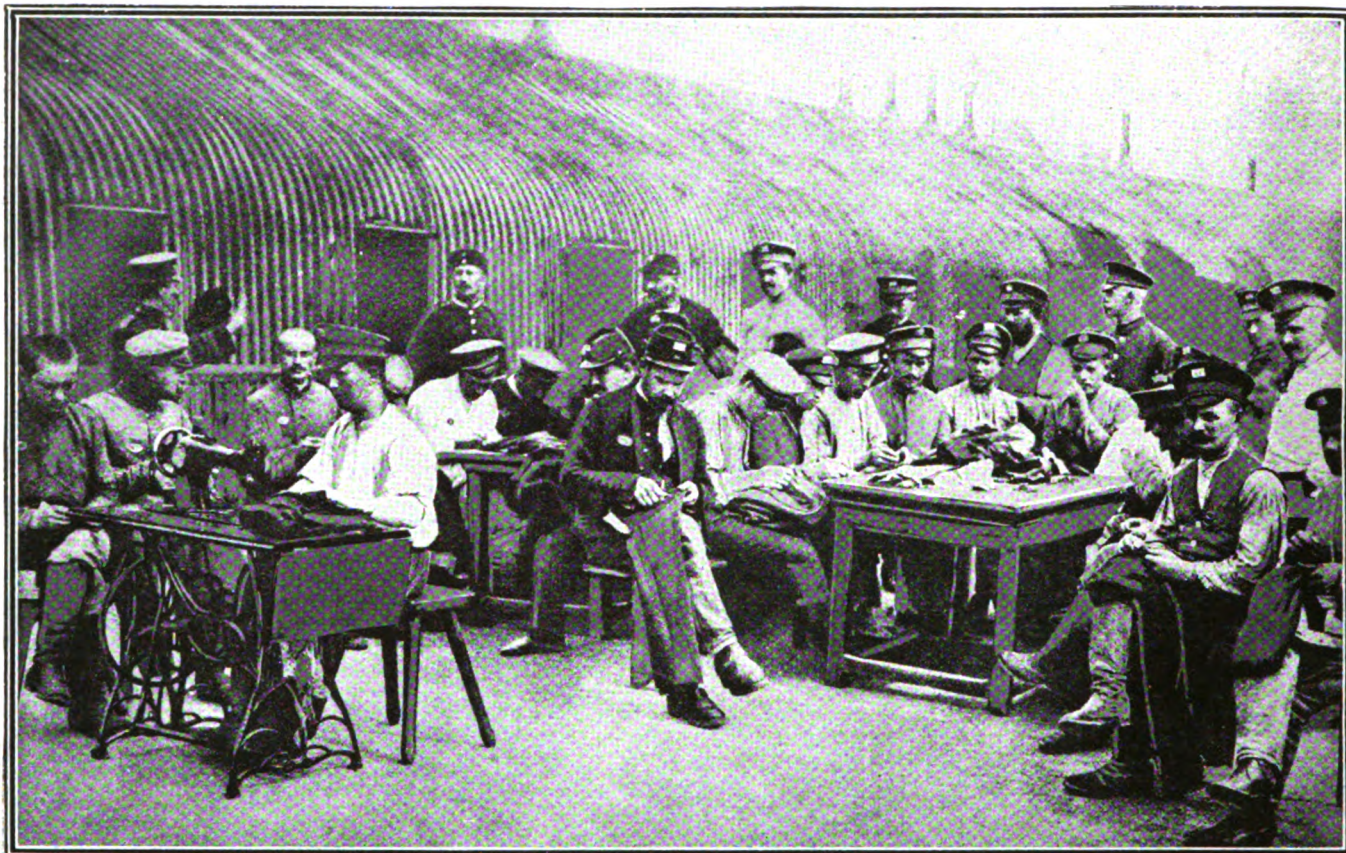
This was the setting amid which the Germanic allies launched their impossible and preposterous "offer" of peace on December 12th, 1916, in the form of a Note addressed to the Allies through the Government of the United States. The Note did not dwell on the terrific economic plight in which the Germanic Powers found themselves. It spoke, on the contrary, of their "unconquerable strength," and of their "mighty successes over an enemy superior in number and war material," and declared that their "power of resistance

enemy Powers, the German Imperial Chancellor delivered a defence of it in the Reichstag, in which he elaborated the specious arguments on which it was based. He ended with the following bombastic peroration :

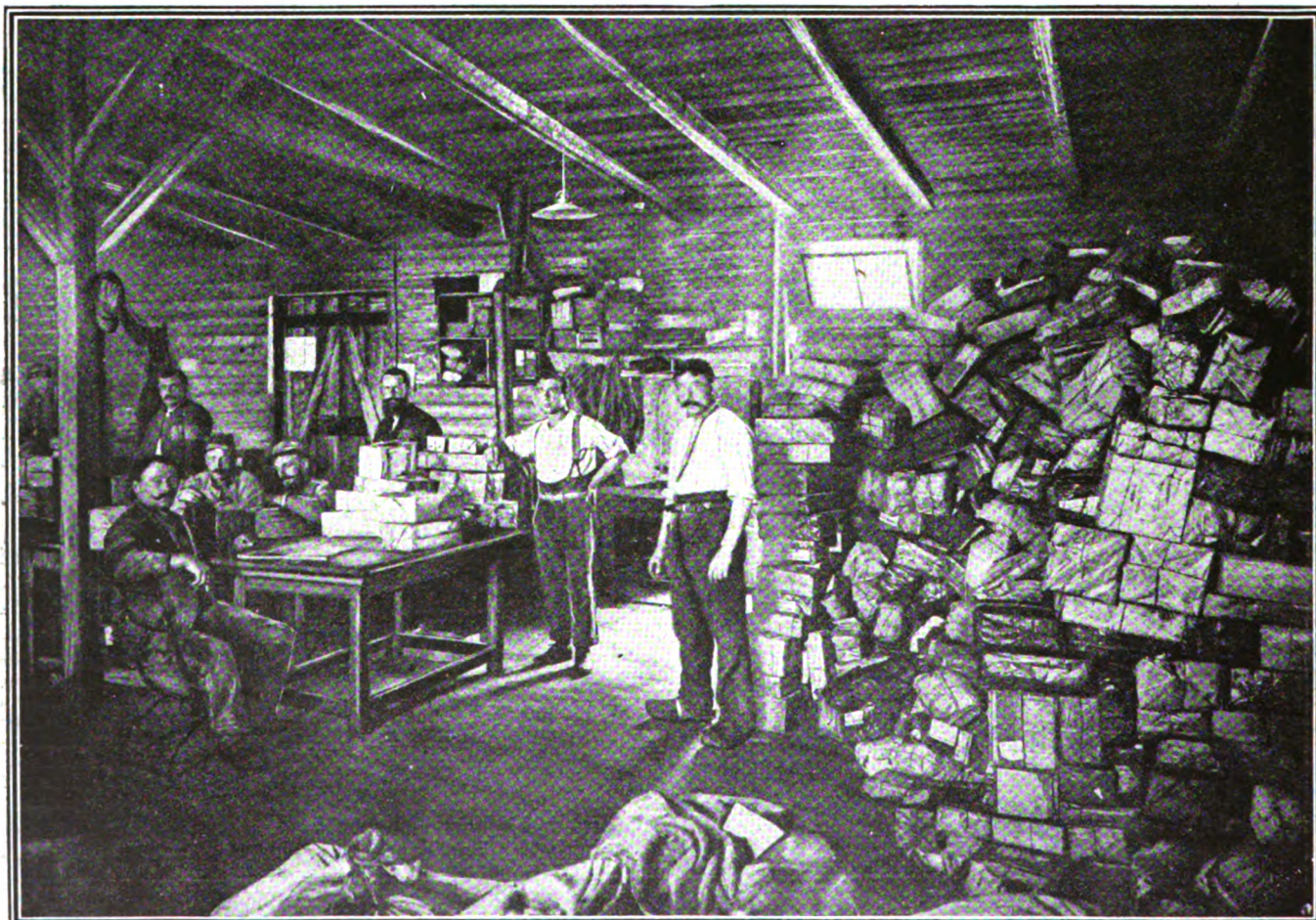
If our enemies decline, and wish to take upon themselves the world's heavy burden of all those terrors which thereafter will follow, then, even in the least and smallest homes, every German heart will burn in sacred wrath against our enemies who are unwilling to stop human slaughter in order that their plans of conquest and annihilation may continue. In a fateful hour we took a fateful decision. God will be judge. We can proceed upon our way without fear and unashamed. We are ready for fight and we are ready for peace.

History has to record that it was a bare fortnight before Germany thus confessed to all the world her gnawing desire for and need of peace that Britain girded herself afresh for the war by installing a National Government under the dynamic leadership of Mr. Lloyd George. Several days before the formal German peace offer the enemy Press was busily engaged in attempting to diagnose the meaning of Britain's action in breaking with a "Wait and See" policy





Open-air tailors' shop in the prisoners of war camp at Königsbruck, Saxony. The majority of the men shown in this photograph were Russians, whose lot generally while they were held in captivity was harder than that of their French and British comrades in misfortune.



Post-office at the camp for prisoners of war near Giessen, Hesse. Large numbers of parcels of food for French and British prisoners were received here; but for the regular arrival of these many of the unfortunate captives would have well-nigh starved on the rations allotted by Germany.

PARCELS FROM HOME AND OCCUPATION FOR PRISONERS OF WAR IN GERMANY.



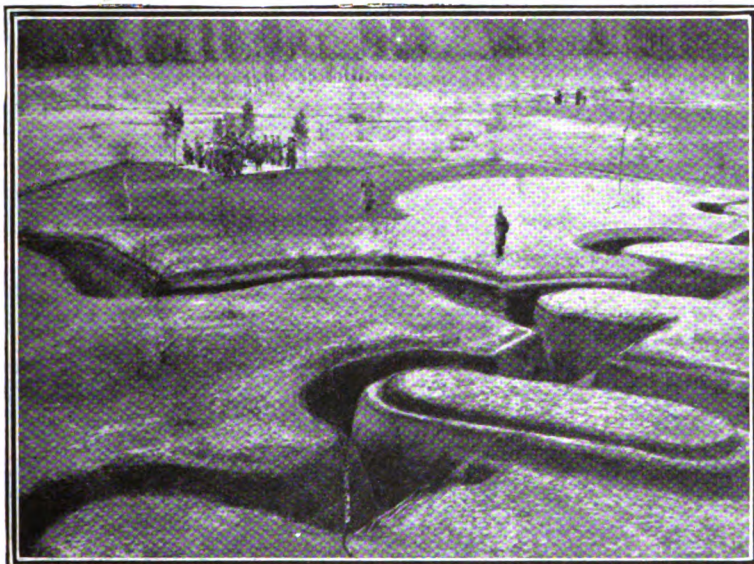
in favour of a "Do It Now" régime. What Germany thought of the disappearance of Mr. Asquith and the arrival of Mr. Lloyd George at No. 10, Downing Street, was well epitomised by the "Berliner Tageblatt" when it remarked that: "To all our desires and wishes to end this sacrificial slaughter, our enemy's answer is, unfortunately, Lloyd George!" A few days later "Lustige Blätter," the leading Berlin comic weekly, summarised the country's state of mind about the British Government upheaval by printing the cartoon of a U boat commander who was made to say: "My dearest wish is that Lloyd George were a submarine commander." No crueller blow was ever dealt to German hopes by Britain than the transfer of State leadership at a psychological moment to the most "strafed" Briton of his era.

With their military and naval hopes irreparably blasted by events of the 1916 campaign on land and sea, Germany ended the year with unmistakable realisation that her peace dreams, too, were destined to fail. The outstanding note of the old year, as it faded away, was an increasingly furious demand from practically all quarters that Germany, now baffled in every direction, must have resort to the submarine as the heaven-sent weapon with which to bring to her knees the nation which Bethmann-Hollweg had

a reference to her far-reaching plans perfected in that year for waging the war after the war—the commercial Armageddon which was destined to begin in the markets of the world the moment the guns of the armed conflict ceased to bark. In order to meet the conditions which would then ensue, the Germans in the summer of 1916 established what was practically a separate Government to deal exclusively with the industrial, financial, and commercial future. A so-called "Imperial Board for Transition Economics" was set up and clothed with the exclusive duty of transferring Germany as soon as possible from a war to a peace basis. Meantime, industrial ship-building, navigation, and other business organisations amalgamated more closely than ever before. The great engineering societies of the Empire perfected a league in order to present a more compact front than ever for the forthcoming trade struggle.

The Krupps bought a large interest in the North German Lloyd, and the great A.E.G. electrical works of Berlin purchased shares in the Hamburg-American Line. Aniline-dye manufacturers formed a huge "trust" on American lines in order the better to meet the competition threatened by the Governmental dye industry established in England and by new private enterprises launched in America and Japan to defeat the monopoly in dye-stuffs which had been so long held by the Germans.

Everywhere and in all directions the Germans made it plain that they intended again to enter the trade field throughout the globe more strongly and efficiently organised than ever, and were grimly resolving that however the war ended they were going to establish anew their trade penetration of the world's markets. They left their trade rivals like Britain in little doubt that the fight against German commerce in the future would be no less intensive than it had been in the past. They made it plain that, unless Britain and her friends girded themselves betimes for the war after the war, it would find them as unprepared and unready for that as the Armageddon of 1914 had found them for taking the field against the carefully elaborated and thoroughly organised military machine of the Central Powers.



MUSIC FOR THE TRENCHES.

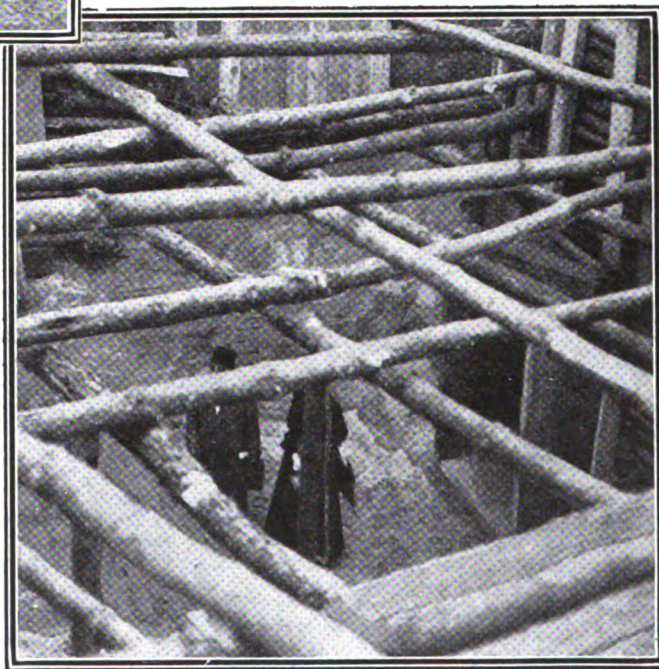
A platform was erected amidst the elaborate earthworks that were constructed at Zehlendorff. There the Austrian military bands were able to indulge the national taste for music.

repeatedly described as "our bitterest, grimmest, and most dangerous foe"—i.e., Great Britain. As has already been pointed out in this review, submarine frightfulness was never really checked by the Germans. The only restraint imposed upon pitiless murder at sea was the restraint which came from the British Navy's defensive and offensive activities in that direction. The torpedoing of the British hospital ship *Britannic*, toward the end of 1916, provided convincing proof that U boat terrorism had not diminished in intensity or moral depravity. But, in order to make

savagery look legal, 1917 was ushered in in Germany amid ferocious cries for "unrestricted warfare" at sea. The speciousness of this demand was illustrated by statistics published early in January, 1917, showing that in December no less than 415,500 tons of allied and neutral shipping had been sent to the bottom.

During the autumn and early winter of 1916 especially outrageous attacks were made on the shipping of Norway—an illuminating commentary on Prussian knightliness toward a nation which had been blighted with the Kaiser's favour in pre-war days to a greater extent than any other country in the world.

No review of Germany in 1916 would be complete without



TRENCH-BUILDING AT ZEHLENDORFF.

Roofed trenches in course of construction at Zehlendorff, in Lower Austria, in preparation for the possible contingency of invasion, of which the Austrian people throughout the war showed acutely nervous apprehension.





*[British official photograph.]*

Trying bit of road for an artillery team. The troops on the Balkan front had to operate in country of the most varied character, and the men and horses had to negotiate many difficulties such as the sharp bank up which they were taking this gun, the animals gallantly responding to their riders' urging.

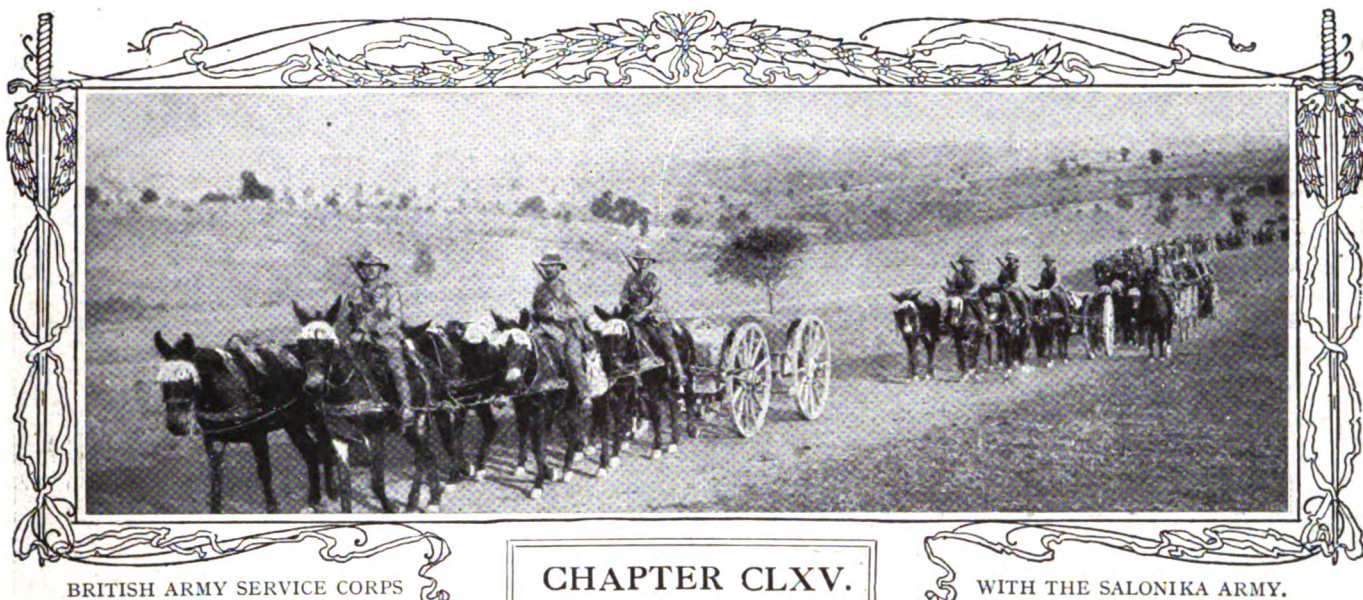


*[British official photograph.]*

British soldiers crossing a pleasant ford in Thessaly. According to an ancient story, it was the distant sight of natives of Thessaly who were on horseback while their steeds were standing with bent heads drinking at a stream that gave rise to the fable of the centaur.

THROUGH A FORD AND OVER ROUGH GROUND IN THE BALKANS.





BRITISH ARMY SERVICE CORPS

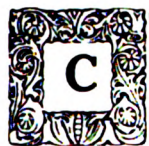
## CHAPTER CLXV.

WITH THE SALONIKA ARMY.

# THE BALKANS: THE ALLIED OFFENSIVE OF 1916, THE CAPTURE OF MONASTIR, AND THE GREEK IMBROGLIO.

By Robert Machray.

A Troubled Story—Equivocal Attitude of Greece Personified in its King—Royalists versus Venizelists—A Growing and Embittered Struggle—Allied Offensive Begins on the Whole Balkan Front—How the British Raided Across the Struma—Horseshoe Hill Gallantly Captured and then Evacuated—Object Accomplished—Serbians Fighting Magnificently in the Moglena Mountains—Heroic Epic of the Storming of Kaymakchalan—Beginning of the Great Contest for Monastir—Fierce Battles near Lake Ostrovo—Defeat and Retreat of the Bulgarians—Florina Taken—Frontal Attack on Kenali Line Fails—General Milne Assists Sarraill—Heavy British Pressure on the Enemy—Extension of the Line Eastward—Violent Encounters on the West in Cherna Bend—Serbs Regain Ninety Square Miles of their Native Soil—Brilliant Fighting Advance of Marshal Misitch—Serbians Across the Cherna—Valuable Strategic Gains—Further British Co-operation has Good Results—The Battle for Monastir—Serbians Continue their Victorious Progress—The Kenali Line Turned—Tremendous Assault by French, Russian, and Italian Troops—Kenali Line in the Hands of the Allies—Fall of Monastir—Sarraill Thanks the Serbians—Situation in Greece Worse for the Entente—Germany Secures a Greek Army Corps—Indignation of the Venizelists—Growth of the National Movement—Venizelos Leaves Athens—Goes to Crete—Lands at Salonika—Becomes Head of the National Provisional Government—Disorder in Greece—Allied Action—Persecution of the Venizelists—Attitude of King Constantine—Increasing Hostility to the Entente—Allied Troops Landed and Treacherously Attacked—Blockade of Greece—Constantine's Evasive Course Ends in Complete Surrender.



CONFUSED and unsatisfactory as ever, the situation in the Balkans continued to be one of embarrassment and difficulty for the Entente Powers; yet, leaving Rumania out of account, some progress could be chronicled by the end of 1916. In Chapter CXLV., which dealt with the Salonika Expedition, the troubled story of the Balkans during the war was brought down to the beginning of September of that year. It was told how, with Salonika as base, a great army of the Allies, comprising British, French, Russian, Italian, and Serbian forces, had been concentrated in Macedonia on a front nearly two hundred miles long. The narrative also commented on the perfidious action of the so-called Neutralist Government of King Constantine in surrendering the strong places of Eastern Macedonia to the enemy, recorded the emphatic protests of M. Venizelos and other Greek patriots, and described the inception of the National movement at Salonika in opposition to the Greek Government.

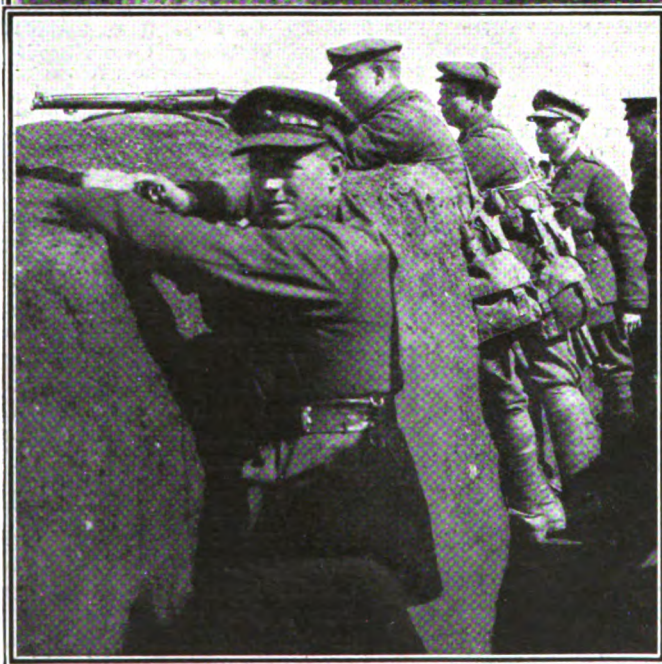


LORD GRANVILLE.

Lord Granville, grandson of the first Earl, was in January, 1917, appointed British representative to the Provisional Government of M. Venizelos at Salonika, with the title of Diplomatic Agent. He had formerly been Counsellor of the British Embassy in Paris.

One of the crucial things, if not *the* crucial thing, as many thought was the case, in the Balkans during the dark year 1915, had been the equivocal attitude of Greece, as personified by King Constantine and inspired by the pro-German influences with which he was surrounded. The same had to be said, with increased emphasis if that was possible with respect to 1916, after the surrender of Fort Rupel to the Bulgarians in May. As August closed, with Kavalla in the hands of the enemy, plain signs appeared of the sharp division of Greece into two camps, one of which still styled itself neutral, but was permeated with Germanism and enmity to Venizelos and the Entente, while the other was devoted to the Entente and followed Venizelos, though protesting its loyalty to the sovereign and his dynasty. The separation from each other of the two became, however, more and more distinctly marked with the passage of time, as was inevitable because of the irreconcilable antagonism of their ideals and aims. The end of the year saw the two parties sundered by a wide and widening gulf.





BRITISH FIRING-LINE ON THE SALONIKA FRONT.  
 Corner of a fire-trench that commanded a roadway. The officers were engaged in "spotting" for the men, whose rifles were ready to utter their stern "No thoroughfare!" to any enemy that ventured to approach.

At the head of the "Neutralists" stood King Constantine, who, in defiance of the Constitution under which he reigned, and apart from which he had legal authority in no respect whatsoever, had made himself dictator, after the manner of his brother-in-law the German Kaiser. He was able to do this owing to his popularity with the mass of the Greek Army, which still looked on him as the national heroic figure of the First and Second Balkan Wars, and also owing to the debauching of many of his subjects by German money, backed by a powerful and unscrupulous propaganda against Venizelos and the Allies. The Government of Greece was nothing but his creature, submissively registering his decrees and carrying out his

#### WORKING-PARTY MOVING UP TO THE FIRE-TRENCHES.

Leaving a base camp on the Salonika front for spadework in the fire-trenches. Constant labour was necessary in maintaining these trenches, and the rifle had at times to be laid aside in favour of pick and shovel.

orders, the whole tendency of which, when not manifestly hostile, was more or less inimical to the Entente. The journals of Berlin and Vienna did not hesitate to claim him as pro-German, exultingly declaring that by the course he was pursuing he was playing for time—and getting it.

M. Venizelos, who from the very beginning of the war had never concealed his profound sympathy with the Allies, was the natural leader of the Greek Ententists. Previous chapters have described what this splendid statesman, the greatest Greek of his time, did on behalf of the common cause, and how his efforts were rendered nugatory by the opposition of the King. It was well known that Constantine was jealous of him, though it was equally well known that it was he who not only had saved Greece from ruin, but had kept the dynasty on the throne. Yet, taking advantage of the feeling of the King, constant endeavours on the part of the German element in Greece were directed to represent Venizelos to him as an enemy of the dynasty, and were not without effect.

This was clearly seen when the "Neutralists," formerly termed Skouloudists or Gounarists, as in Chapter CXLV., took to themselves the appellation of Royalists, after the Salonika Provisional Government had been joined by Venizelos, though he expressly maintained its loyalty and that of himself to the Sovereign. The Royalists denounced the Venizelists as traitors, and subsequent events in Athens showed what was the mind of King Constantine towards both them and the Entente.

As regards the Allies, the point had always to be remembered that they had sent their troops to Greece on the invitation of the Greek Government of the day, of



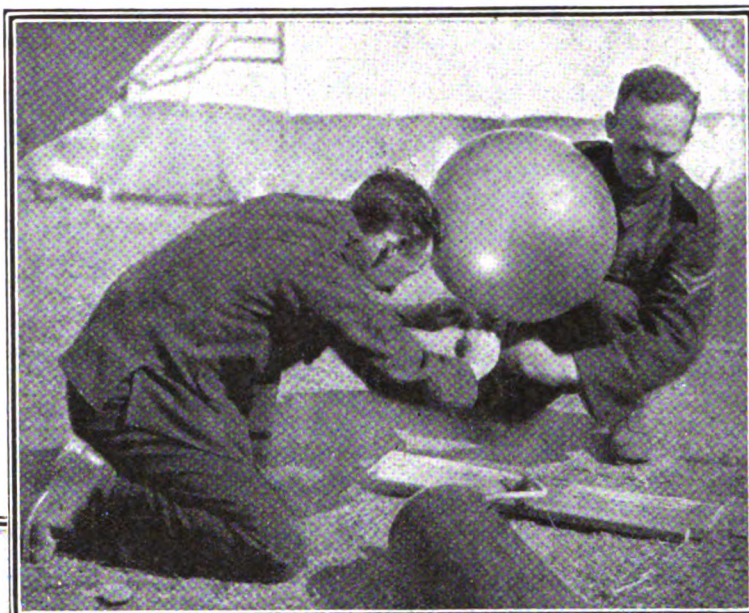
which Venizelos was Prime Minister with complete Parliamentary sanction behind him. Though that Government fell, through the unconstitutional intervention of the Greek King, the consequences of its invitation remained in the presence at Salonika of the army of the Entente. From the outset the Greek Government which succeeded that of Venizelos, while professing benevolent neutrality, had done its best to impede, delay, and thwart the plans of General Sarrail, who commanded that army. Other Greek Governments followed under pressure by the Allies, but there was no real change in the position, for there was no real change in King Constantine. During the latter half of 1916 the Greek Government—in other words, the King—showed hostility still more unmistakably. until, in fact, it was plain to everyone

Kaiser congratulates who had eyes to see that the

King Constantine situation was rapidly assuming a dangerous aspect for the Allies, carrying with it a formidable menace to the success of their offensive against the enemy in Macedonia, which had been proceeding since September, and to the security of their forces generally.

From the start Entente action, whether diplomatic or military, in exerting pressure on the various Greek Governments which had held office by the King's pleasure after the fall of Venizelos, had been on the whole halting, inadequate, and apparently easily contented with promises or unsatisfactory concessions. Promises were not kept, or fulfilled only partially. Concessions were made of as little value as possible by underhand tactics, or withdrawn and ignored as soon as it was

thought safe to do so. Evasion, deceit, and treachery marked almost every step of the way of these Greek Governments in their dealings with the Allies. And, after all, these Governments were but the mouthpieces of King Constantine, yet towards him the Entente Powers continued to exhibit a strange and inexplicable tenderness. It was no wonder that Germany, laughing in her sleeve at the Entente, congratulated him on the cleverness with which he contrived to manipulate affairs. Perhaps he was emboldened to throw off the mask by the failure of the Allies in Rumania, but in the beginning of December he went too far, and the long patience of the Entente was exhausted. The close of the year beheld the whole of Greece that was not Venizelist lying under a



GETTING BRITISH GUNS INTO POSITION FOR DRIVING BACK THE BULGARIANS.

Mountain battery being placed in position on the British part of the Salonika front. The attitudes of the half-dozen men give some idea of the weight of one of these pieces. Above: Finding the way the wind

was blowing in Macedonia. The two non-commissioned officers of the Royal Engineers having filled their small balloon with gas were tying it up before releasing it to ascertain the force and direction of the wind.

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rigorous blockade which had been in force for several weeks, and of which there was to be no relaxation till all the demands of the Allies had been satisfied. But meanwhile valuable time had been lost and the allied offensive in the Balkans hindered and checked.

This offensive, of which a beginning had been made in August, and which was designed to support the Rumanians, developed in force on the whole front in the second week of

**Opening of the allied offensive** September, 1916. At that time the line held by the Entente forces in Macedonia stretched from the Gulf of Rendena (or Orfano) on the east to Lake Ostrovo on

the west. From Chai Aghizi, on the west side of the Struma, where that river enters the Gulf of Rendena, the British stood on the line northward along the right bank of the Struma, of its expansion Lake Tahinos, and of the Struma again, up to Lake Butkova and the Butkova River, whence they occupied the front westward, south of Lake Doiran, to the Vardar, a little north of the village of Smol. From the other bank of the Vardar the line was held by French, Serbian, and Russian troops as far as Lake Ostrovo. A few weeks before the allied front westward had extended to Lake Prespa, but it had been shortened by the Bulgarian offensive under Bojadieff, who had occupied Florina and compelled the Serbians to retire in the middle of August to Ostrovo, where, however, they put up a great fight, and by the end of that month had the situation well in hand in this sector, the enemy being held and then repulsed, while farther north ground was gained in the region of the Moglena—otherwise the Karadjova—Mountains.

No official information respecting the strength of the Allies in Macedonia was forthcoming, but it was popularly stated to amount to something like half a million of men, a figure which probably was a little too high, and an insalubrious climate told heavily on it. The whole army, which the French termed the "Army of the Orient," was under General Sarrail, the French forces on the left and left centre having at their head General Cordonnier, while the British on the right centre and the right were under the leadership of General Milne. On December 6th, 1916, the War Office published a lengthy despatch, dated October 8th, from the last-named general, giving an account of the work done by the British Salonika Army—as the British forces in Macedonia were called—from May 9th, when he assumed command.

After narrating how the British, in co-operation with the French, had gradually extended their front from the Struma to the Vardar by successful fighting, which included the storming of Horseshoe Hill by the Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry at the point of the bayonet on the night of August 17th, General Milne went on to speak of the Bulgarian forces lying over against him on the east side of the Struma—the forces that had occupied Eastern

Macedonia with hardly an effort, owing to the collusion of the Greek Government with Germany. Having alluded to the operations undertaken by British and French troops in the region east of the Struma, with the intention of observing and delaying the enemy's forward movement, General Milne stated:

The Bulgarians continued their advance (in the fourth week of August) into Eastern Macedonia, unopposed by the Greek garrison, and it was estimated that by the end of August the enemy's forces, extending from Demirhissar southwards in the Seres sector of the Struma front, comprised the complete 7th Bulgarian Division, with two or three regiments of the 11th Macedonian Division, which had moved eastwards from their positions on the Beles Mountain to act as a reserve to the 7th Division, and at the same time to occupy the defences from Vetrina-Puljovo northwards. Opposite the Lower Struma was a brigade of the 2nd Division, with a brigade

#### Dispositions of the Bulgarians

of the 10th Division, in occupation of the coast and the zone of country between Orfano and the Drama-Kavalla road. This brigade of the 10th Division was supported by another brigade in the Drama-Kavalla area. As a result of this advance and of a similar move in the west, General Sarrail decided to entrust to the British Army the task of maintaining the greater portion of the right and centre of the allied line. On the Doiran-River Vardar front there remained, as before, the whole of the Bulgarian 9th Division, less one regiment, a brigade of the 2nd Division, and at least two-thirds of the German 10th Division.

Taking into account the unusual size—upwards of 25,000 men—of a Bulgarian division, the forces opposed to General Milne amounted to at least 120,000 men, the vast majority of whom were combatants and of high military quality. King Ferdinand of Rumania, when speaking of Bulgaria, referred to her "unquestionably courageous Army," and this description was justified. On his side General Milne had the advantage of the active support of a British fleet that shelled the Bulgarians at Kavalla, Neohori, and other points on the coast of Eastern Macedonia, the whole of which, up to the allied line as well as the contiguous Bulgarian coast, was besides kept under a strict blockade.

As September opened, there was almost a lull on the whole of the Macedonian front. On the Struma the Bulgarians were bombarding the bridges at Fitoki and Komarian, south-west of

Seres, and British aeroplanes dropped bombs on Angista Station, south-west of Drama, on the railway running from Salonika through Demirhissar and Seres to Dedeagach and Constantinople. On the Doiran-Vardar sectors there was an intermittent cannonade, in the course of which French artillery set fire to the railway-station of Pardovitsa, north of Gevgeli. In the mountains west of the Vardar Bulgarian attacks were repulsed at Vetrenik and near Zborsko, north-east of Kukuruz. In the Lake Ostrovo region the heavy enemy assaults had completely died down. For the moment there was little or nothing of real importance to report. In their tremendous efforts against the Serbians, both on the Ostrovo front and in the Moglena Mountains, the Bulgarians



BRITISH OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPH.  
SERBIANS LOOKING TOWARDS THEIR GOAL.

At an observation-station on the Serbian front, when the re-established and re-equipped Army of the heroic, martyred country was beginning that move which resulted in the capture of Monastir.



had suffered immense losses, one estimate placing them at 15,000 out of 60,000 men in the Ostrovo fighting. Thus mauled they perforce awaited reinforcements, which, however, were long in coming, because their other troops were required for the invasion of the Dobruja, where Mackensen had planned a great offensive against the Rumanians on the south. The lull, hardly broken by small patrol encounters and exchanges of artillery fire, continued for more than a week. But it was the lull before the storm. It was evidently the turn, the opportunity, of the Allies in Macedonia, and Sarrail began a general offensive on September 10th.

On that date the British, with whom was a French detachment, made raids across the Struma. The British and the French initiated on the east side of the Vardar a systematic bombardment of the enemy's trenches north of Machukovo, south of Gevgeli; and south-west of the latter place delivered a vigorous thrust in the region north of Mayadag, on the west side of the Vardar, which yielded excellent results, all the Bulgarian trenches being

**Whole Macedonian front engaged** a depth of about 3,000 yards and carried on a front of 800 yards, with the capture of a number of prisoners.

On the left of Lake Ostrovo the Serbians displayed great activity with their guns in the neighbourhood of Banitsa, while south-west of the lake they succeeded, after bitter fighting, in capturing some of the enemy's positions, and in the mountain sector more than held their own. Battle was joined on practically the whole Macedonian front in the second week of September, 1916, and continued, with short intervals, well into the following December, when the Greek menace and German

reinforcements for the Bulgarians, combined with incessant bad weather, called a halt.

British operations started with the crossing of the Struma north of Lake Tahinos at five points between Bajraktar Mah and Dragos, while a sixth crossing of the river was effected at Neohori, close to the sea. The country through which the Struma flows is flat and marshy, affording little cover, but on the east side, which the enemy occupied, the Bulgarians had turned into fortified blockhouses the villages that lined the bank. At four o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday, September 10th, the attacking columns set out, and after encountering fierce resistance, took by storm the villages of Oraoman and Gudeli. The Northumberland Fusiliers gallantly captured Nevolyen, taking thirty prisoners, and driving the enemy out of the place. A battalion took two heights on the east of the Struma at Neohori near the sea. These blockhouse-villages had each been garrisoned by two hundred Bulgarians, who fought desperately. The British were counter-attacked with resolution by the Bulgarian supports, but they easily repulsed the onslaught, inflicting considerable loss on their assailants. According to programme, these villages were evacuated at midnight, there having then been no intention to hold them permanently, the whole undertaking being of the nature of a raiding reconnaissance. When the desired object was satisfactorily accomplished the British retired to the west bank of the river.

**Initial British operations**

Similar operations were carried out by the British five days later. Six small columns crossed the Struma between Lake Tahinos and the bridge at Orliak, and took the



MACHINE-GUNS BEING CARRIED BY MULE TRANSPORT IN THE REGION OF MONASTIR.

Taking machine-guns forward to recaptured Monastir. Mule transport was essential in many parts of the mountainous Balkan front. The French and Serbian forces that reached Monastir had to fight over difficult country

before getting to the region in which that town is situated and that comparatively easy stretch through which this well-laden column of men and mules was winding its way in re-occupied Serbian territory.





[French official photograph.]

**PATHWAY BLOWN THROUGH SOLID ROCK.**

Communication-trench made by the Allies through the solid rock of a hillside in Macedonia. By means of explosives deep ways of safety were excavated through the seemingly impassable obstructions that were encountered in the geological formation of parts of this front.

villages of Gudeli, Jami Mah, Ago Mah, and Komarian, which they burned. Some thirty prisoners were captured. The Bulgarians made several counter-attacks, which completely broke down under the accurate fire of the British guns from the west bank of the stream. Having again made good their prearranged plan, the British withdrew to their side of the Struma. On September 23rd a like scheme was somewhat interfered with by a sudden rise of the river which made bridging difficult, but in spite of this the enemy's trenches at Yeni Mah were taken by assault, and three other villages were raided. In these various expeditions the British received

**Battle of Machine  
Gun Hill**

considerable assistance from the French detachment which was commanded by Colonel Bescoins. Besides harassing the enemy on this front, these raids yielded much information which subsequently proved of value.

General Milne's aim to aid the general offensive led to a battle on the Doiran-Vardar front which reflected the greatest credit on the British soldier. North of Machukovo, a little east of the Vardar, the Bulgarians, with whom were many Germans, held a strongly fortified salient, like an arrowhead in shape, the tip of which was an eminence called by the British Machine Gun Hill, and known to the French as Piton des Mitrailleuses. The position was not in itself specially remarkable by nature; it was a plain grassy ridge, covered with brown lines, but these lines denoted entrenchments of the most scientific character, with deep dug-outs and communication-trenches, the whole being protected by rows of formidable wire entanglements. It might indeed have been a bit cut out

of the German front on the Somme and transferred to the Balkans. It was attacked in exactly the same way, the artillery preparation for the assault lasting three days. From September 11th to 13th the field-guns and mortars of the British poured thousands of shells upon it, while their long-range guns played on the enemy artillery behind the hill and kept it under. High above the field British aeroplanes circled, directing the fire and noting results.

The attack was ordered for the night of September 13th, and when scouting-parties had reported that enough of the wire entanglements had been destroyed, the British advanced to the assault a little after one o'clock in the morning of the 14th. In less than an hour and a half the whole of the trenches that had formed the objective—all Machine Gun Hill—had been reft from the hands of the enemy. Of this battle General Milne, in the despatch alluded to, said **British purpose achieved** that the position was occupied after a skilfully-planned and gallant assault, in which the King's Liverpool Regiment and Lancashire Fusiliers specially distinguished themselves. He also mentioned that more than two hundred Germans were killed in the work, chiefly by bombing, and seventy-one prisoners brought in.

At once the British started to consolidate themselves in the trenches they had won, but the rocky nature of the ground made rapid organisation extremely difficult. During the 14th the enemy concentrated a very heavy fire on Machine Gun Hill from three directions, the bombardment being particularly intense from three o'clock to six in the afternoon. In the course of a long day of strenuous fighting the British repulsed several fierce counter-attacks, but the Germano-Bulgarians succeeded in forcing an entrance into the work, and all the while they were receiving strong reinforcements. As it was found impossible in the circumstances to retain the position, the British were withdrawn in the evening to their original line, "the object of the attack," as General Milne stated, "having been accomplished." Thanks to the effective fire of their artillery, the British troops suffered very slight loss in their retirement, and comparatively little in the struggle itself, while the enemy's losses were very considerable.

On the same front, about a week later, a strong British detachment, after bombarding the enemy's positions on the Crête des Tentés, raided and bombed the hostile trenches and dug-outs, and then withdrew quickly with very few casualties. North-east of Doljeli a similar raid met with equal success. As September drew to its end General Milne issued instructions for operations on a more extensive scale. He did this "in order further to assist," he said, "the progress of the Allies towards Monastir by maintaining such a continuous offensive as would ensure no transference of Bulgarian troops from the Struma front to the west (or Ostrovo) front." These words signalled the great change which had been brought about on the allied left wing by the victorious advance of the troops of the Entente, particularly of the brave and intrepid Army of Serbia, the tale of which was one of the finest and most stirring in all the fine and stirring tales of the war, finding a glorious climax in the capture, before the tale was finished, of Monastir.

On the front immediately west of the Vardar—the left centre of the Allies—the French contented themselves with maintaining a heavy bombardment in the region of Mayadag, which pinned the enemy to his positions in that sector. It was still farther to the west that the weight of Sarrail's main offensive was felt, from the Moglena (Karadjova) Mountains on the north to Lake Ostrovo on the south, the line then forming the left wing of the forces of the Entente. At the outset the bulk of the fighting, which was of the most desperate kind, particularly on the north, was in the hands of the heroic Serbians on the whole of this front, but these splendid warriors soon were supported on the south by large bodies of French





*Lieut.-General George Francis Milne, C.B., D.S.O., commanding the British Salonika Army.*

[Lafayette.

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*Where German intrigue was rampant: General view of Athens as seen from the Acropolis*



*Allied Fleet anchored off Salamis in September, 1916, to enforce the Allies' demands*





[British official photograph.]

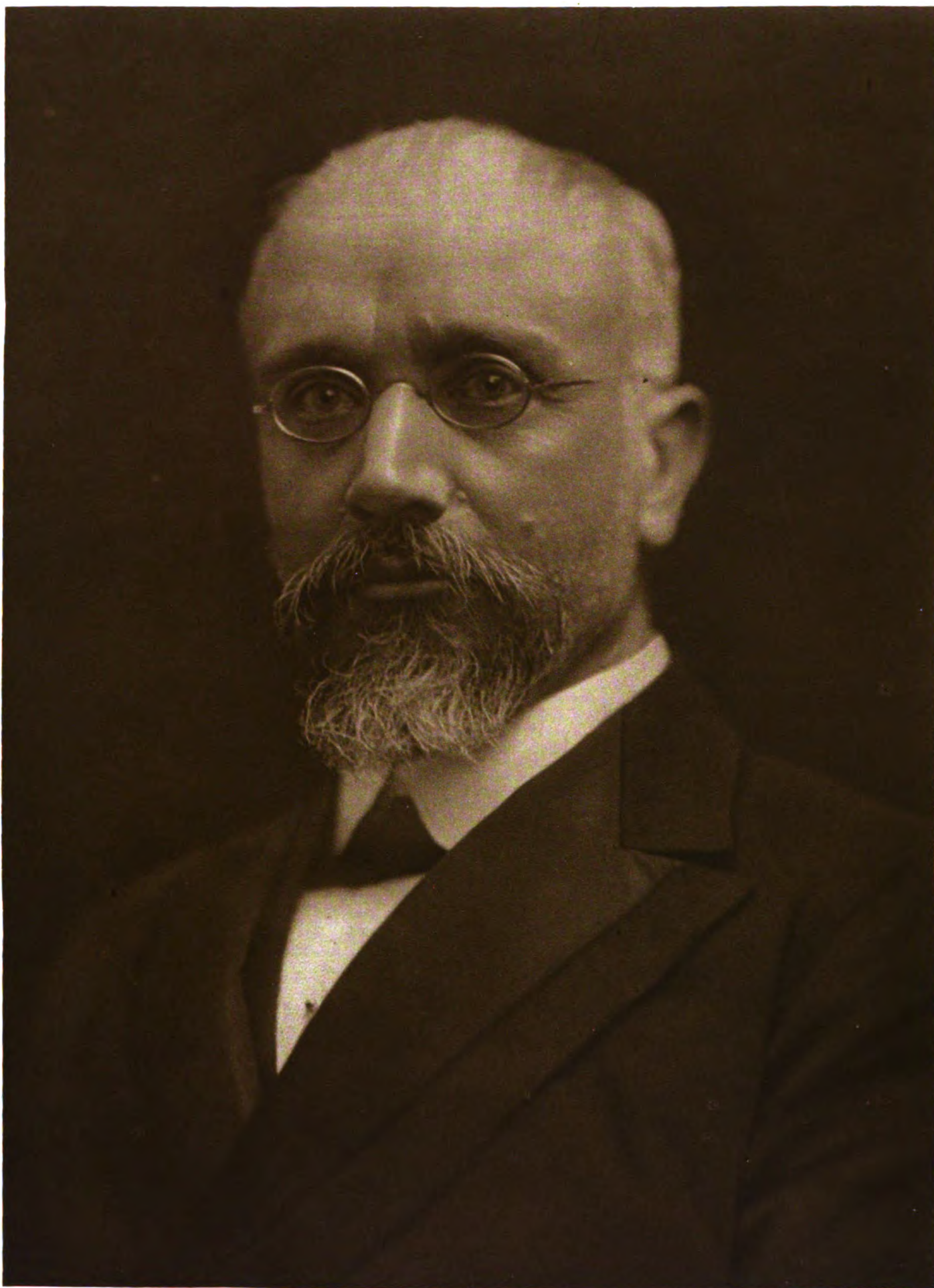
*British officers bringing Rumanian gypsies in Macedonia tidings of Rumania's intervention in the war.*



[British official photograph.]

*Ammunition dump of the Serbians fighting in the Allied Army under General Sarrail on the Salonika front.*





*M. Eleutherios Venizelos, head of the Greek Provisional Government established in 1916.*



and Russian troops, who, advancing below Ostrovo, speedily began a great turning movement in the direction of Florina that had a decisive influence on this phase of the campaign and made it memorable.

Upon the rocky slopes and among the high barren peaks of the Moglena range—Kovil, Vetrenik, and Kukuruz—the struggle, which all along had been most bitter and sanguinary since the appearance of the Serbians on the scene, assumed a greater intensity. French Headquarters at Salonika announced on September 13th that the offensive operations of the Serbian Army actively continued, in spite of the enemy's lively resistance. North-west of Kovil the Serbians occupied an important position, after an action which cost the Bulgarians heavy losses, and, a little later, carried by charges with the bayonet several lines of entrenchments between Kovil and Vetrenik. They went on gaining, but the difficult nature of the country could not but make their progress slow. Here they were about thirty miles north of Ostrovo. South-west of this region stood the mass of mountains, at the southern end of the Moglena range, of which the highest peak was Kaymakchalan, 8,284 feet above the sea, and a few miles north of Ostrovo. The Bulgarians held Kaymakchalan, and its capture by the Serbians must ever be one of the greatest triumphs of their race.

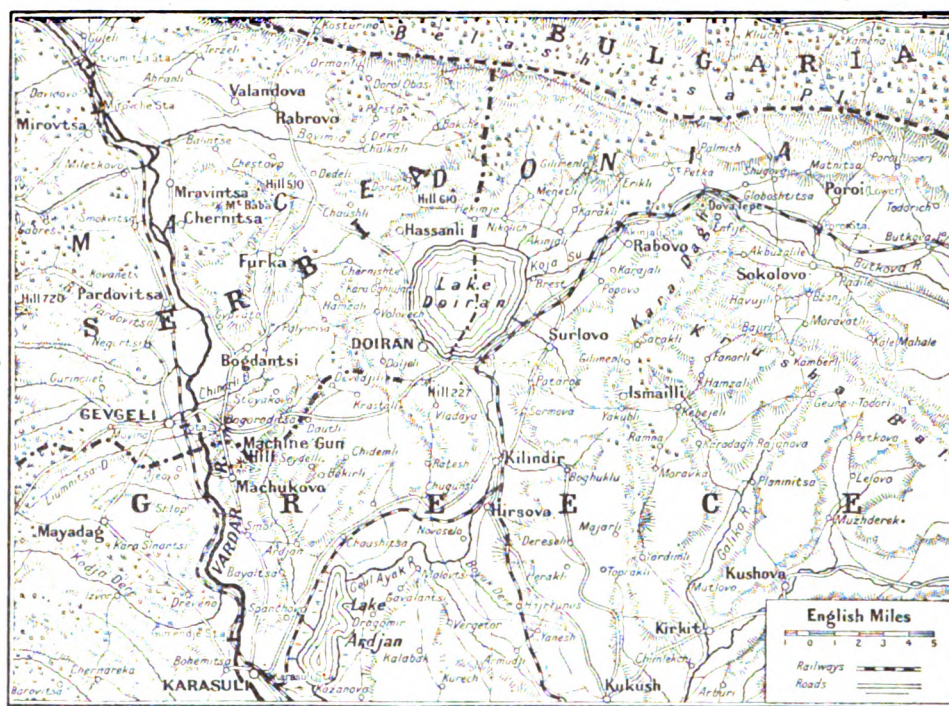
On September 12th Serbian advanced detachments were fighting hard, and, notwithstanding stubborn opposition, were making some advance towards Kaymakchalan, the position which was essential for the defence of Monastir. It had been strongly fortified, and instructions had been issued by the Bulgarian Command that it was to be held at all costs. The Bulgarians had named it "Mount Boris," as a compliment to their Crown Prince. After a series of fiercely contested actions the Serbs of the Drina Division forced a way to the immediate border of the mountain three days later, but it was not till the 18th that, as a result of several desperate attacks during the preceding night, they occupied the loftiest summit of the mass.

The peak had been entrenched and parapeted with stone, and was well provided with guns which had been brought up by a good road from the Bulgarian side, whereas the Serbians had to face enormous transport difficulties, dragging their light guns up the steep, rugged hillsides, and all the while living on as little food as perhaps was possible only to themselves. But they overcame the difficulties and prospered.

When the crisis came, the contest for hours was between man and man, hand to hand, with bayonets and bombs—the latter small weapons of British manufacture and greatly prized by the Serbian soldiers, who handled them in expert fashion. Never was there more deadly, determined fighting, but the Serbians emerged from it triumphantly. More than that, on Kaymakchalan they were once more on the sacred soil of Serbia, and here was an earnest of the future. The Bulgarians still clung on to a shoulder of the mass, and they made many great efforts to recapture the lost peak, the greatest of all taking place on the night of September 20th-27th, when, having received large reinforcements, they made a formidable thrust, four times

repeated, at the Serbian trenches, and a fight of the most ferocious nature resulted. How close and bitter was the struggle was shown by the fact that many wounded were taken to hospital with tips of broken-off bayonets still sticking in the flesh, so savagely (said a correspondent) did Bulgar and Serb stab and hack at each other in the darkness of those rocky slopes.

In this attempt to regain the height the Bulgarians began with some success, carrying the Serbian first line, but in the end they were beaten back, their effort failed, and the Serbians kept the mountain. Other attacks were made with almost as much persistence and determination to recapture the position, which Sarraill's growing menace to Monastir had made still more valuable to the enemy, and on September 28th-29th the Bulgarians made a last effort, but it was met with the same valour and success as before, and it ended in a failure so complete that after a Serbian assault they retreated finally from Kaymakchalan. At the beginning of October a Bulgarian communiqué stated that "owing to heavy artillery firing upon the peak



MAP OF THE DOIRAN-VARDAR FRONT, IN MACEDONIA.

On September 10th, 1916, General Sarraill began his general offensive on the Doiran-Vardar front, designing to assist the advance on Monastir by preventing the transference of Bulgarian troops to the Ostrovo front farther west. Machukovo, Mayadag, and Machine-Gun Hill, the last of which was brilliantly carried by the British, were the scene of intense fighting, which served the designed purpose.

and Hill 2,368" the Bulgarians received orders to withdraw to their main position "in order to avoid unnecessary losses." On October 1st Berlin growled out the reluctant admission that "a strong attack brought the summit of the Kaymakchalan into the hands of the enemy." The Serbian losses in all this fighting were heavy, but those of the Bulgarians were enormous, as was proved by documents found on dead and captured Bulgarian officers, which told of regiments reduced to companies.

While these victorious combats were taking place in the mountains the Serbians, in the region of Ostrovo, had pressed on with their offensive, which made distinct and marked progress from the first. **Clearing the Malka Nidje range** After adequate artillery preparation they assailed the Bulgarians west and north-west of the lake, and by violent fighting expelled them from their advanced positions. On the south-west they captured Sorovichevo on September 13th, and next day, at the point of the bayonet, carried Gornichevo, a village midway between the northern end of Ostrovo and the railway to Florina. At the same time they drove the





[British official photograph.]

**ALLIED GENERALS AT SALONIKA.** Generals Sarrail and Mahon, the two centre figures, inspecting a gun. General Mahon proceeded to another appointment, and was succeeded by General Milne in May, 1916.

enemy from the major part of the Malka Nidje range, which extended north and south of Gornichevo. Nor was this all. Serbian cavalry hotly pursued the routed Bulgarians, and seized the village of Ekshisu, having compelled the enemy to retreat precipitately for a distance of more than ten miles. On the 15th the German official telegram had to acknowledge the further success of the Serbians by stating that after fierce fighting the whole of the Malka Nidje ridge had been lost. In the meantime, Franco-Russian forces sweeping south-westward of Ostrovo had completely cleared the region south of the lake, for a distance of upwards of thirty miles, of the hosts of Bulgarian irregulars and Comitadjis who had been infesting the country. Sarrail was in course of executing his turning

#### Allies capture Florina

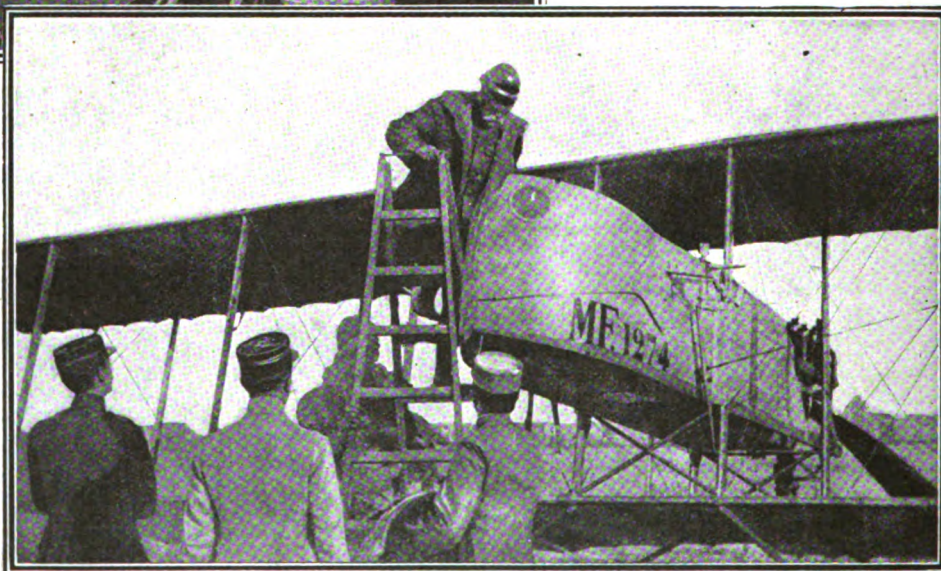
movement towards the west, the first objective of which was Florina, and the second, and the more important of the two, Monastir.

Having taken thirty-six guns and much other valuable spoil from the Bulgarians, who continued to fall back in disorder in all directions, the Serbians drove forward on the right flank and the centre, and on September 15th, a few miles west by south of Kaymakchalan, were crossing the Brod, a tributary of the Cherna rising in the Cheganska Planina, and flowing westward above the village of the same name.

On the left the Franco-Russian forces, on the 16th, marched across the passes of the Malareka range, lying north-west of Ekshisu and some ten miles from Florina, and, advancing rapidly, in spite of the natural impediments of the

region, gained access to the broad valley in which stood Florina, and, higher up, Monastir. Presently they were before red-roofed Florina itself. Athens, with its usual inaccuracy, announced that General Cordonnier and his Staff entered the town on the evening of the 16th, but the place did not fall to the Allies quite so quickly. French Headquarters at Salonika, on the 18th, told the true story. Not till after a considerable battle was Florina taken.

Determined to make a stand, Bojadieff had rallied his men for the defence of Florina, and held a line which stretched west from Rosna across the railway. The Franco-Russian forces attacked him early on the 17th, and a most bitter struggle ensued that lasted the whole day. The Bulgarians resisted stubbornly, delivering repeated counter-attacks and making several cavalry charges, but without success. Still, they



[French official photograph.]

#### A GENERAL WHO LIKED TO SEE THINGS FOR HIMSELF.

General Sarrail taking his seat in an aeroplane. The French Commander-in-Chief of the Salonika Army made personal inspection by aeroplane flights both of the Allies' and the enemy's positions on the Bulgarian frontier. These aerial reconnaissances were carried out with great thoroughness.

would not accept defeat, and the battle raged through the following night, and it was not till ten o'clock in the morning of the 18th that the Entente troops could claim that their triumph was complete. But it was a brilliant victory for the Allies, who had conquered only after a desperate conflict. The main body of the enemy retreated in confusion towards Monastir, fifteen miles away to the north. Bulgarian stragglers left behind in the town kept up a savage but vain fight in a few of the houses in Florina for some time, but such as were left alive were finally rounded up and made prisoners. As a result of his defeat Bojadieff was cashiered, and his command was handed over to a German soldier, General von Winckler, who forthwith strengthened the already strong defensive line through Kenali across the valley to the north, which Mackensen himself had selected during the preceding winter for the protection of Monastir against an attack from the south. Florina had been in the occupation of the enemy for exactly a month.



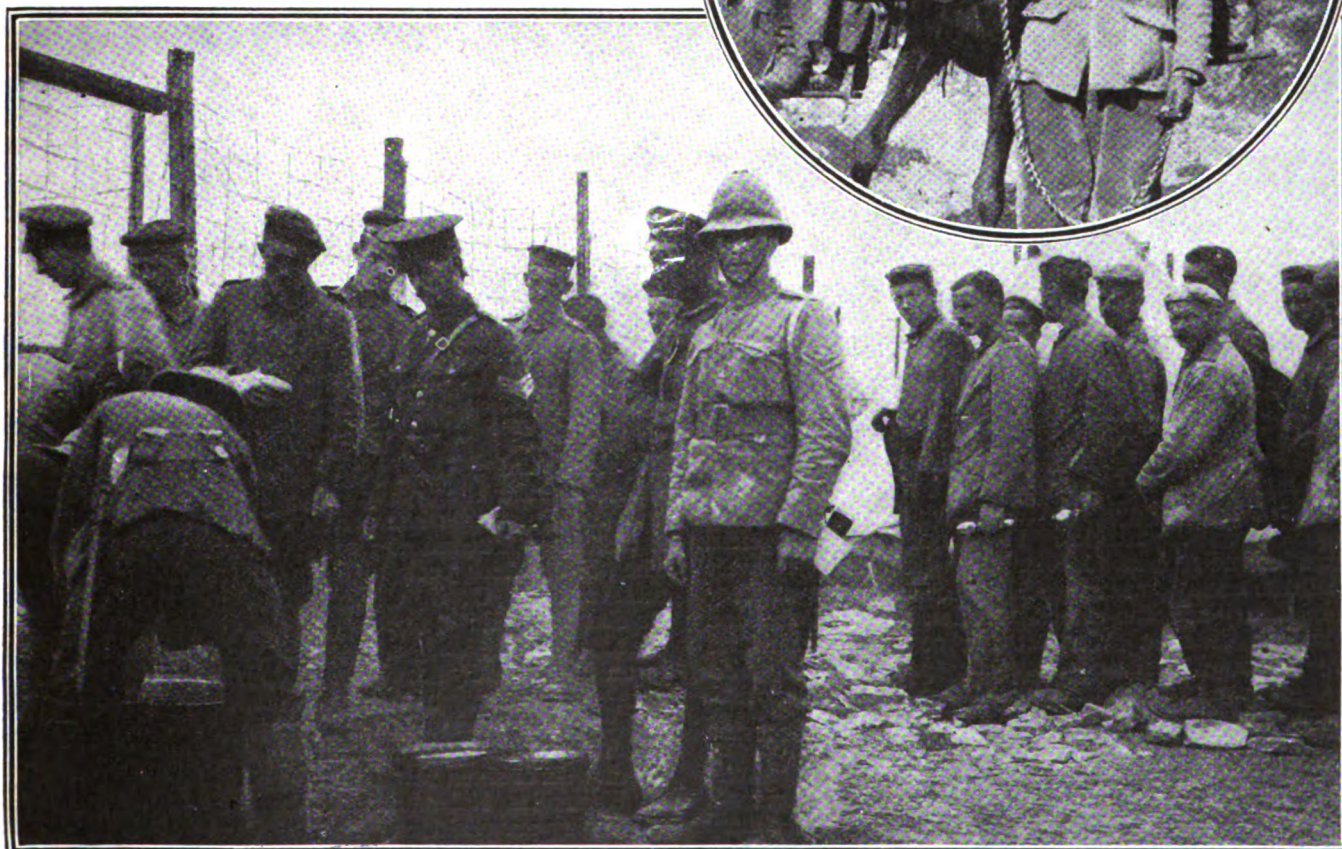
Consequent on the capture of Florina rumour asserted that the Bulgarians were on the point of evacuating Monastir, but this was far from being correct. Strong fortified positions gave them a breathing space and time to concentrate fresh troops. On the side of the Allies it has to be remembered that in their retreat the enemy had destroyed the bridges on the railway, and that other transport facilities were lacking. Further movement in force needed time, but meanwhile Sarrail was extending his left towards Lake Prespa, on the other side of which, in Albania, the Italians were making progress, and coming in his direction from the Adriatic. The advance of the Allies from Florina was not an easy matter unless very strongly supported. Both sides of the valley were walled in by hills from which the Bulgarians swept it with their fire. Yet Sarrail pressed forward, meeting with considerable resistance on the heights north of Pisoderi, midway

**Sarrail's slow  
fighting advance**

between Florina and Lake Prespa, and in the direction of the Monastery of San Marco, north of the town. East of Florina, in the River Brod district, a Bulgarian counter-attack, in which cavalry took part, was dispersed towards Boreshnitsa by French "75's" before reaching the Serbian lines. But next day, September 20th, the enemy renewing his attempts in this sector, succeeded, after several fruitless assaults, in setting foot in the village, and was then driven out of the place by Serbian bayonets. On the same date the allied troops, in spite of an intense fog, advanced as far as Hill 1,550, about 5,000 yards north-west of Pisoderi, and took many prisoners. On the 22nd the French announced that the Serbs had reached the outskirts of Vrbeni, north-east of Florina, that, north of Florina, an enemy attack was broken by infantry fire, that all the ground north-west of Armensko, west of Florina, had been cleared, and that, after hard fighting, progress had been made on the heights dominating the



MULE-BORNE STRETCHERS FOR HILLY COUNTRY.  
How the Serbians brought their wounded down from the mountains.



CIVILISED WARFARE WAGED IN THE BALKANS BY THE ALLIES.

[British official photographs.]

German prisoners of war in a Salonika compound filing up for rations. In circle: Serbians bringing wounded Bulgars in on saddle-chairs carried by mules. The Allies' treatment of all wounded, whether friend or foe, and of their prisoners was most humane.



road from Florina to Popli, on Lake Prespa. Bad weather interfered with the operations, but, as reported two days later, they resulted in the repulse of violent assaults near Hill 1,550, with heavy loss to the enemy, and a slight advance north-west of Florina.

At noon on September 24th. Sarrail launched a general assault of Serbians, French, and Russians against the Bulgarian positions north of Florina.

**Northward from Florina** The battlefield was a flattish grass plain, bounded on the west by black mountains, and on the east by grassy heights, with

Krushograd set in the midst of them. For the most part it was a frontal attack. In the advance the Serbians reached the frontier crest north of Krushograd; French infantry, north-east of Florina, carried the first houses of the village of Petorak after a brisk fight, and on the west the Russians stormed Hill 916, which had been strongly organised by the enemy. In the last-named region a Bulgarian counter-attack was beaten back by French bayonets. South-west of Florina a French observation detachment had lively

the Struma-Doiran fronts, with a view to giving increased aid to Sarrail's offensive. These were conducted by Lieut.-General C. J. Briggs, C.B., and he began by seizing and holding some villages on the left bank of the Struma, for the purpose of enlarging the bridge-head at Orliak, from which he would be able to threaten a further movement on Seres or Demirhissar. The attacking infantry, on the night of September 29th, crossed below the Orliak bridge and formed up on the left bank of the river. At dawn next morning the Gloucesters and the Cameron Highlanders, under cover of artillery fire, advanced and took the village of Karadjakeui Bala at eight a.m. Almost immediately the Bulgarians opened a heavy and accurate fire on the British, but the remaining two battalions of the brigade—the Royal Scots and the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders—pushed on against the village of Karadjakeui Zir, though their ranks came under an enfilade. The Bulgarians put up a stubborn resistance, but the place was taken by half-past five in the afternoon. Attempts to bring up enemy reinforcements during the day were

frustrated by the British artillery, but during the night the Bulgarians made several strong counter-attacks, all of which failed with heavy losses. Next night they again delivered repeated assaults, but with no better success. The British held their ground firmly, and by the evening of October 2nd the position was solidly organised. General Briggs then turned his attention to the capture of Yenikeui, an important place on the main road to Seres, and one of the Bulgarian centres.

Its assault entrusted to an infantry brigade composed of the Royal Munster and the Royal Dublin Fusiliers, Yenikeui was taken in fine style on the morning of October 3rd. The way had been thoroughly prepared for them by the artillery, which had got the range on the previous day; there was a pause in the firing, the infantry advanced, and, armoured cars co-operating, Yenikeui was occupied, with few casualties to the British, by seven o'clock. It was after that that the heavy fighting began. In the course of the day the Bulgarians launched three heavy counter-attacks. The first came across the plain from



"PASS, FRIEND!" BRITISH MARINES CARRYING EQUIPMENT PAST GREEK SENTRIES. While for reasons which were intelligible, if not convincing, the King of the Hellenes and his Government hesitated to enter definitely into the Great Alliance, the people of Greece were in the majority pro-Allies in their sympathies, and usually her soldiers were on the friendliest terms with ours.

encounters with Bulgarians coming from Biklishta, south of Lake Prespa. On the 26th the French communiqué stated: "East of Florina the French troops, who were violently counter-attacked by considerable Bulgarian forces beyond Armenohor, offered a magnificent resistance to all the enemy's assaults. Mown down by our artillery and infantry fire, the attackers suffered many losses and retired in disorder. West of Florina the Russians, in conjunction with our troops, were engaged in sharp fighting north of Armenosko, in the course of which they took fifty prisoners and four machine-guns." Sofia, on the other hand, claimed to have repulsed the Allies, with heavy losses to them. Bulgarians were attacking east and west of Florina on the 27th and 28th of the month. Then for a time the struggle died down to trench warfare and artillery duels. Sarrail was not yet in a position to advance on Monastir. A great deal of work had first to be done.

It was now that the British under General Milne began those more important operations, previously referred to, on

Papalova, and at least 3,000 men took part in it, but it withered under the accurate shooting of the British guns, and the Bulgarians retreated without ever reaching the British line. The second also failed under a punishing fire. The third, which took place in the afternoon, was the most serious. Of it, General Milne in his despatch of October 8th said: "At four p.m. the village, the ground in the rear, and the bridges, were subjected to an unexpectedly heavy bombardment from several heavy batteries which had hitherto not disclosed their positions.

**Capture of  
Yenikeui**

Following on the bombardment was the heaviest attack of the day, six or seven battalions advancing from the direction of Homondos, Kalendra, and Papalova with a view to enveloping our positions. This attack was carried forward with great determination, and some detachments succeeded in entering the northern portion of Yenikeui, where hard fighting continued all night until fresh reinforcements succeeded in clearing out such enemy as survived." A





**TIGHTENING THE HOLD ON GROUND REWON IN THE MONASTIR REGION.**

French soldiers digging trenches on Serbian territory from which the invading German-Bulgarian forces had been driven. During the steady advance of the Allies over the new ground towards Monastir the troops

had frequently to dig themselves in, and were fortunate when they were able to do so in such terrain as that shown, where the sloping ground and scattered shrubs afforded helpful cover during the operation.



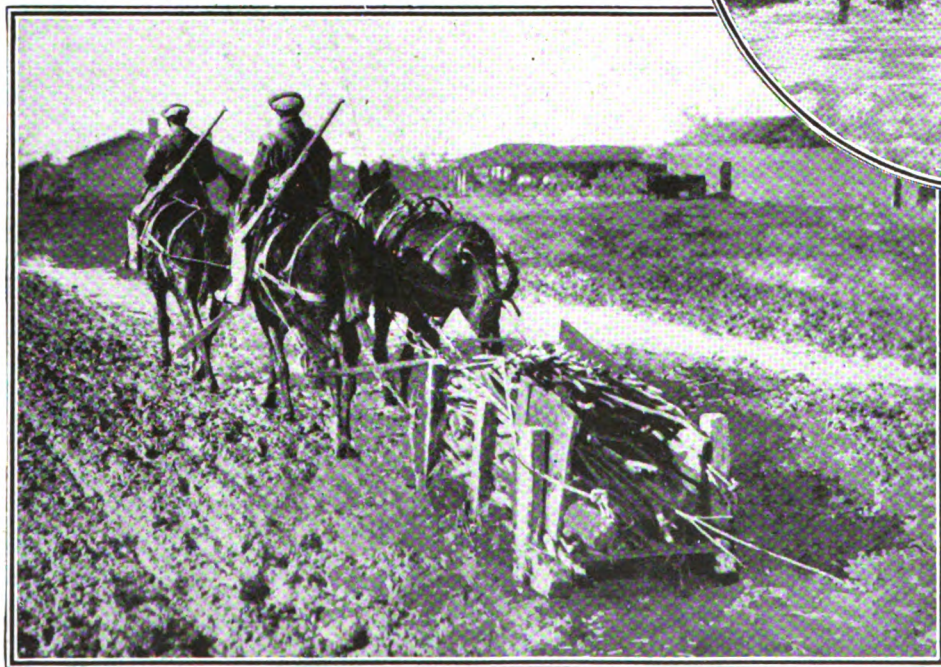
correspondent wrote that the whole plain round the two Karadjakeuis and Yenikeui was littered with Bulgarian dead, and added that the losses of the enemy at the former alone were put as high as 3,000 men. Under cover of their artillery the British consolidated their new line, which now formed a satisfactory bridge-head, on the 4th. Next day Nevolyen was shelled, but the Bulgarians evacuated it as soon as the British infantry advanced to the attack—whereupon it was occupied. Pushing on, the British further extended their front, and by the evening of the following day it reached from Komarian on the south, through Yenikeui and Nevolyen, to Elishan on the north.

Though the Bulgarians, stout fighters as they were, had been disheartened by the severe experiences they had undergone, they attempted on the night of September 5th a counter-attack against Nevolyen, but the spirit had gone out of them, and it was easily repulsed. Next

day a string of five villages fell into the hands of the British—Ago Mah, Komarian, Kristian Kamila (Homondos), Kukuluk, and Elishan, all lying north of Lake Tahinos to a point within three miles of Prosenik, a station on the railway between Demirhissar and Seres. On the 7th a strong cavalry reconnaissance located the enemy on this railway, with his advanced posts on the little River Belitsa, and a considerable force at Barakli Juma, south-west of Demirhissar. Meeting with little opposition, the British continued to advance, and on October 8th they stood on the front Ago Mah-Homondos-Elishan-Ormanli, with mounted troops at Kalendra, near the railway, about six miles due west of Seres.

On the left wing of the Allies—on the west, with Florina as centre—September had closed with long-contested

side of the Cherna from Floka to Petalino. In the course of the afternoon the Serbians to the south-west crossed the River Sakuleva, and came within five hundred yards of Kenali. A French telegram of the 4th stated that the allied forces on the previous night reached the line Petalino, the bend of the Cherna, Kenali, and Negochani, with their left at Pisoderi, at the foot of Mount Chechevo. Berlin confessed that between Lake Prespa and the Nidje Planina the Bulgarians had withdrawn to new positions "in accordance with orders from the Command," but added that on the Nidje fighting was still going on. Sovich, the first of the Serbian villages to be rescued from the foe, was occupied by troops of the Danube Division on October 3rd. Two days later it was calculated that ninety square



SLEIGHS INSTEAD OF CARTS FOR SLOUGHS IN MACEDONIA.

An immense amount of soldier labour went to making the hard roads necessary for transport of guns and munitions in Macedonia. By-roads, however, remained very bad in some parts, and, as shown in these two photographs, the troops sometimes resorted to the use of sleighs instead of carts for light transport, the runners being less liable than wheels to sink into the mud.

Kaymakchalan in the possession of the Serbians, who, as October opened, advanced a mile and a quarter north of the peak. The conquest of the mountain had immediate important results. Before dawn on October 3rd the Bulgarians evacuated Starkov Grob, a mile west of the mountain, and Floka, three miles north-east. On the same day they abandoned their whole line from the Nidje Planina on the east to Krushograd on the west, and continuing their retirement yielded the region on the east

miles of Serbian territory had been recovered. On the same date Berlin admitted that the Nidje Planina was in the hands of the Entente troops.

Among the most interesting features of the war, the return to their native land of the Serbians, who had lost and endured so much for the cause, was naturally a subject of cordial congratulation among themselves and the Allies. The reconstitution of the Serbian Army had been more than justified. Nor did it cease to be justified. Now began the crossing of the bend of the Cherna, with all the severe fighting which it entailed, and that figured so frequently in the communiqués for some time. A few miles east of Kenali the Cherna, which comes down through the Monastir plain in a southerly direction, turns to the east, makes a wide loop, and then flows on almost due north until eventually it falls into the Vardar above Krivolak. About October 4th the Serbians began to cross the bend in the vicinity of Dobroveni and Brod. Higher up on the east side of the river they advanced to the outskirts of Budimirtsa and Grunishte, north-west of the Nidje Planina. On the 8th they captured Skochivir in the Cherna bend, after rushing two lines of Bulgarian trenches and taking several hundred prisoners



with eight machine-guns. More than once the enemy counter-attacked with great violence, but was repulsed on each occasion, and eventually forced back for over half a mile to his third line of entrenchments, which the Serbians began assaulting next day, gaining the position at Slivitsa. A Sofia despatch admitted

**Serbian cross the Cherna** that the Cherna had been crossed, but said not a word about the defeat of the Bulgarians. Berlin pretended that the

Serbian had achieved only small results. On the 10th the Serbians got a footing in the village of Brod, and for many days an intense struggle proceeded, with varying fortunes, between that place and Skochivir. Farther east other Serbian forces—the Second Army, the First and Third Armies being engaged on the Cherna-Kenali front—took by assault on October 6th the height behind Pojar in the Moglena, and on the 7th carried the Dobropolye summit, and from it commanded with their guns the solitary road by which the Bulgarians obtained their supplies in the range.

While all this incessant fighting was being maintained on the right of the Allies' left wing by the Serbians, who were supported by French guns and armed with British hand-grenades, the Entente troops progressed, west of Kenali, on both slopes of the Baba Mountains, and reached Buf and Popli. Kenali Station was in the occupation of the Allies, and on both sides of the railway they were assaulting the powerful defensive organisation north across the plain, which had been brought into existence by Mackensen. On October 5th and 6th lively actions were reported along the whole front, and on the 10th the French announced that the offensive continued with

success. But the Kenali line was very strong, and heavy guns were brought to bear upon it in an attempt to batter it down. Besides, the Bulgarians had been reinforced, and fought with the utmost tenacity, trying by all means to keep the Allies out of Monastir. After artillery preparation Sarraill made a general assault, in which French, Serbian, and Russian troops participated, on this main enemy position in the afternoon of October 14th; but the guns had not done enough, or were not sufficiently numerous, to ensure success for the infantry attacks, and the effort, though made with determination and pressed for hours, failed to make an impression. As was to be expected, Sofia exulted in this reverse for the Entente. But the next few days showed how little reason she had for jubilation. Too strong to be taken by frontal assault, the Kenali line was capable of being turned, and turned it was.

Day after day as fierce a struggle as any in the war had been going on in the bend of the Cherna. What the enemy had to say about it was disclosed by the Bulgarian communiqué of October 17th, which read: "In the course of October 14th and 15th the Serbians made unprecedented attempts to break through our front on the Cherna, between Brod and Skochivir, but all were in vain."

**Bulgarian version of events**

On the night of the 15th the Serbians undertook eight successive and very violent attacks in the same sector, but were repulsed with great losses. Our infantry allowed them to approach as far as the wire entanglements in front of our trenches, when they completely repulsed all the eight attacks. We then made a counter-attack, driving the Serbians back



AN ANXIOUS MOMENT FOR THE ARMY SERVICE CORPS.

[British official photograph.]

Fire broke out in a British camp on the Salonika front, and large stocks of supplies of all kinds were threatened. Trains were hurried up as rapidly as possible along the light railway and hastily loaded with stores stacked in the next dump before the latter had time to become involved.



into their original positions." This account, though somewhat confused, at any rate bore witness to the resolution with which the Serbians conducted themselves in the terrible Cherna fighting. At their head was the veteran Marshal Misitch, who had led them to victory against the Austrians in the latter's second invasion of their country, and

**New glory for  
Marshal Misitch**

he was convinced that by way of the Cherna would the desired result be obtained. On the 17th he made a sharp thrust forward, and drove the Bulgarians out of the villages of Gardilovo and Velyeselo and took Brod, on the outskirts of which his troops had been for several days. Two cavalry regiments crossed the river, pressed on through Brod, and turned the defeat of the enemy into a headlong rout. All the Serbian forces in this sector got across the river and pushed on. It was another great day for Serbia. Serbian Headquarters announced the capture of seven guns, fifteen machine-guns, and several hundred prisoners, and stated that the strategic importance of the advance which had been made was very great, as facilitating the operations of the Allies farther west. The

of Bulgarian prisoners. Remembering the cruel manner in which they had treated Serbian prisoners, the Bulgarians were afraid to surrender to the Serbians, thinking they would be tortured and killed. According to a correspondent the Serbians reassured their old foes by having photographs taken of long files of Bulgarian prisoners drawing rations, with loaves of bread under their arms and bowls for soup in their hands. Two thousand copies were printed, and the Bulgarians who had surrendered were invited to write messages on them to their comrades, saying how they had been received. The two thousand picture postcards were then dropped by aeroplanes into the Bulgarian lines. "Since then," the correspondent said, "surrenders have been much more frequent, and prisoners always try to bring with them a copy of the photograph, which they regard as a sort of safe conduct. One man stated that he had paid fifteen francs for his, and carried it always with him in case he should be captured."

In the Serbian communiqué of October 25th, which announced that the Danube and Drina Divisions had taken several heights on the left bank of the Cherna, facing the

mouth of the Strosnitsa torrent, it was stated that four hundred and eighty prisoners and deserters had been taken. The mention of deserters was significant of the new belief of the Bulgarians in the magnanimity of the Serbians. During the closing days of the month there was constant fighting in the Cherna bend, the whole seriously interfered with by bad weather, but generally turning to the further advantage of the heroic Serbians, who proved themselves more than a match for the Germans in this district. As October came to an end the position on the left of the Allies was that a good deal of ground, strategically valuable, had been gained on the Cherna and on the north-east, that the line in front of Kenali on both sides of the railway was stationary, and that progress had been made westward in the mountains looking down on Monastir, and, farther west still, there had been an advance on the shores of Lake Prespa. On October 24th connection had been established between the



[British official photograph.]

**FIRING A SHOT FOR THE FREEING OF THEIR LAND FROM THE HUN.**

Howitzer about to be fired on the Serbian front. Wonderful bravery was shown by the reorganised Serbian Army which took an important part in the forward move through Macedonia and, by way of the heights of Kaymakchalan, reoccupied part of their own country and the town of Monastir.

Serbians had, in fact, outflanked the Kenali line from the east. German reinforcements now arrived for the Bulgarians in this sector, but Misitch went on with his advance, and on the 19th defeated a Bulgaro-German force in the neighbourhood of the village of Baldentsi, some four miles north-west of Brod. Then the weather broke, and to a large extent interrupted the fighting.

The struggle was resumed on October 22nd. The German contingents which had been sent to help the Bulgarians in the defence of Monastir attacked the Serbians, and attempted to regain the positions which had been lost on the 18th and 19th. Some Germans who had been captured in a slight engagement two days before stated that they had come from Koslin, in East Prussia, having been twelve days on the journey; they had previously been on the Galician front. Other Germans captured had been in the Balkans for a year. The Bulgaro-Germans attacking on the 22nd were heavily defeated by the Serbians, who thereupon advanced and carried several of the enemy's trenches to a depth of eight hundred yards, and inflicted heavy losses. During the operations in the bend of the Cherna the Serbians had taken many hundreds

French and the Italians at Korcha (Koritsa), west of Biklishta and south-west of Prespa, their cavalry detachments having come into touch.

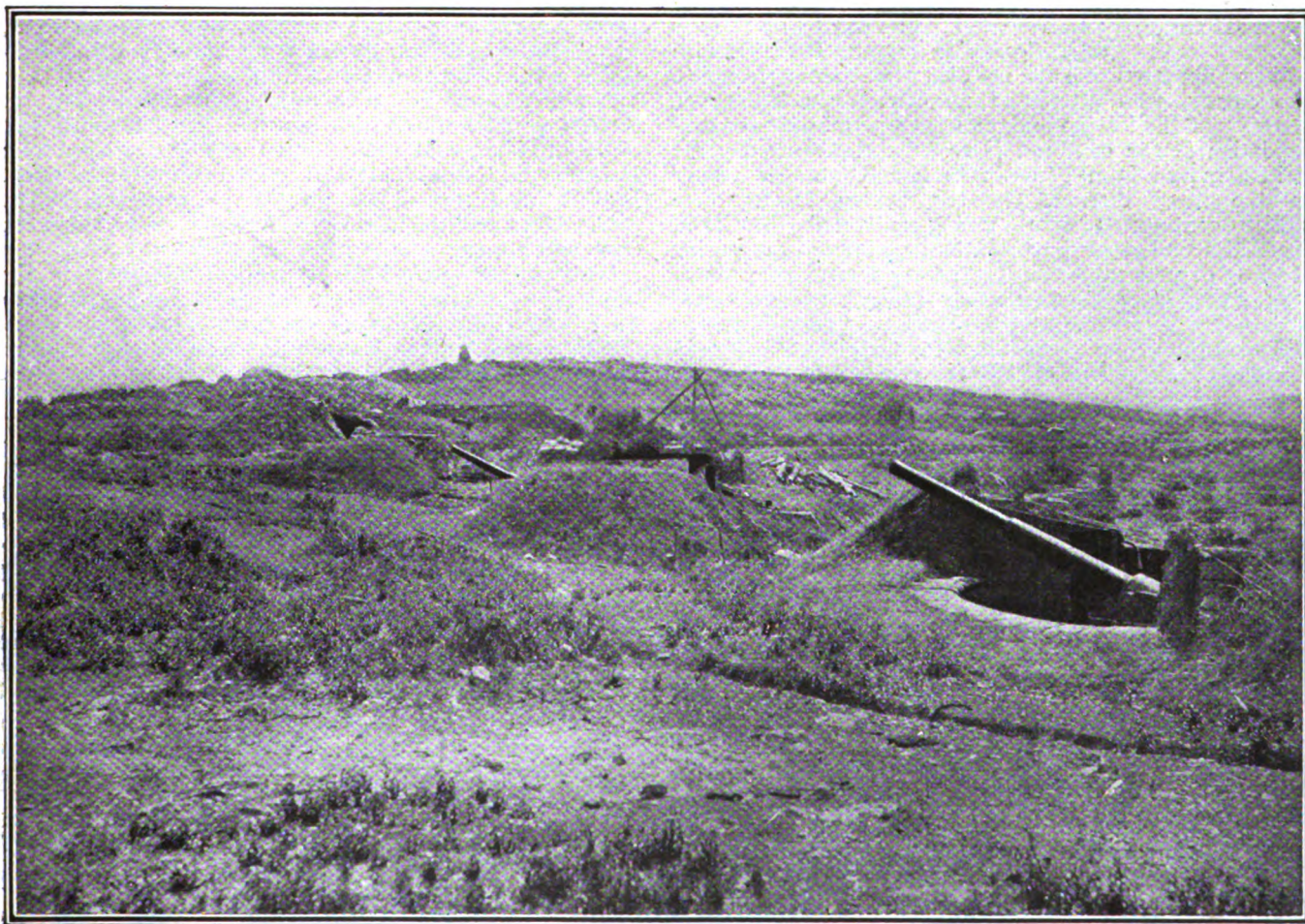
On the right of the Allies the success of General Milne's offensive during the first eight days of October, and of various actions during the rest of the month, of no great individual importance in themselves but cumulatively significant, resulted in the gradual withdrawal of the bulk of the Bulgarians from the valley of the Struma to the mountainous region beyond Demir-hissar and Seres, the enemy retaining only some villages near his old front as advanced outposts. Reconnaissances confirmed that he held Seres in some strength, and his works there were repeatedly shelled by the British guns. West of the place Papalova and Prosenik were occupied, and on October 12th a force of hostile cavalry was driven back two miles south of it. Constant patrol actions took place during the third week of the month, and Barakli Juma, where the Bulgarians were strongly entrenched, was vigorously bombarded. From the sea the fleet co-operated by shelling enemy positions near Neohori and along the coast

**Gradual Bulgarian  
withdrawal**





Men of a French machine-gun section returning from their outposts on the Balkan front. Small machine-guns—weapons which the men could conveniently carry for themselves as these men are doing—came to occupy an important prominence among the weapons of the war. (French official photograph.)



Battery of guns on the French line near the summit of one of the hills in "rolling" country on the Macedonian front. These French guns, sunk in pits and masked by breastworks to lessen the chance of discovery by the enemy, proved of great service in the retaking of Monastir. (French official photograph.)

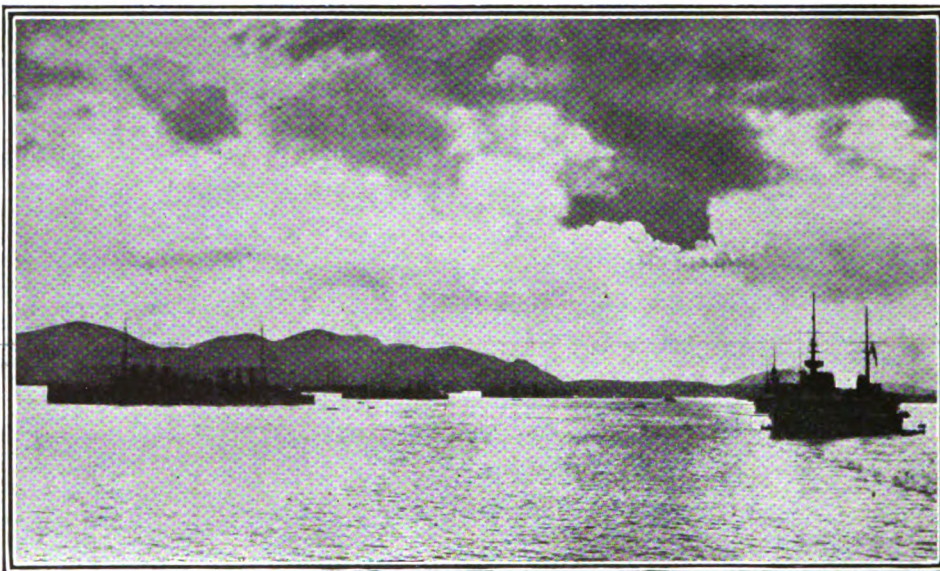
**FRENCH GUNS, MASSIVE AND MOBILE, ON THE BALKAN FRONT.**



to the Meshtian ; on this part of the front Turkish troops had now come up to reinforce the Bulgarians. During the fourth week heavy storms of rain, which caused the Struma to rise several feet, and soaked the terrain, impeded operations. About the 27th-28th Bulgarian attacks in some force on Ormanli and Kalendra were repulsed and broken, with considerable losses to the assailants. On the 31st the British took by storm Barakli Juma, a biggish village, and strategically valuable as it stood in front of the Rupel Pass, one of the chief roads into Bulgaria.

Before October 31st Barakli Juma had been shelled more than once, but early in the morning of that day a bombardment of increased intensity was opened on the Bulgarian defences—it was so fierce that only half an hour afterwards it was discontinued to allow the infantry to advance to the assault, preparation for which had been very thorough, a new bridge having been built over the Struma and advantageous positions secured beforehand. The British pressed on, and as they approached the village the Bulgarians ran out of their trenches and fled back to the shelter of the houses, out of which they were driven with a loss in prisoners of over three hundred men. The Bulgarian resistance was comparatively feeble, and the British had few casualties. The power of the British

artillery appeared to have instilled a wholesome fear into the enemy, who attempted no counter-attack for the recovery of the lost ground, and thus permitted easy consolidation of the captured place. On the same day the British moved from Prosenik to Kumli, another village in the same district. On the Doiran front, where Italian contingents were fighting near Lake Butkova, the Allies undertook no operations of importance during October beyond subjecting the enemy's entrenchments to constant artillery fire. A strong Bulgarian assault near Doiran in the middle of the month was repulsed. The Allies made some raids which were successful, but the respective lines remained practically the same as in September.



THE MENACE OF THE FLEET: ALLIED SHIPS OFF SALAMIS.

The Allies treated equivocal Greece with long forbearance, but a composite Fleet under Admiral du Fournet lay off Salamis, west of Piræus, prepared to act forcibly if imperative need arose. That the menace was not by any means an idle one was proved by the establishment of a strict blockade in December, 1916.

Nor was there much change in November on the Struma-Doiran lines, but, continuing to aid the offensive of Sarraill against Monastir, General Milne maintained his pressure on the enemy on both fronts. Having carried by storm the village of Ali Pasha, south-west of Demirhissar, the British ambushed Bulgarian patrols near Salmah, south of Seres, and made repeated raids elsewhere, keeping the enemy occupied and anxious. On November 14th a Bulgarian concentration at Krastali, on the Doiran front, was shelled and dispersed, and about the same date Kakaraska, a village south of Seres on the eastern shore of Lake Tahinos, was carried after a brilliant action. Two or three days later the British captured Barakli, south-west of Demirhissar, and again drove the Bulgarians from Prosenik and Kumli, which had been temporarily evacuated. By this time there had been great developments on the left of the Allies, and the menace to Monastir had become both close and strong.

Bad weather marked the opening of November in the bend of the Cherna and on the Kenali front, artillery duels and slight infantry encounters only taking place. On November 4th the Bulgaro-Germans attempted three separate assaults on the Serbian positions south of



ALLIED TROOPS MARCHING TO THEIR POSITION IN THE FRONT LINE.

In September, 1916, the line held by the Allies, under the supreme command of General Sarraill, stretched from the Gulf of Rendena (or Orfano), on the east to Lake Ostrovo in the west. The French troops under General Cordonnier, with the Serbian Army and a Russian contingent, were on the left, whence the brilliant recapture of Monastir was effected; the British under General Milne on the right.





WHERE THE ALLIED FLEETS KEPT WATCH ON GREECE.

On board a French warship off Salamis. In 1916 allied warships anchored off Piræus ready to enforce the demands made necessary for safeguarding the Salonika front from threatened Greek treachery.

Budimirtsa and Polog in the Cherna loop, but each of them was easily repulsed. On the 7th the French guns with the Serbians began a tremendous bombardment of the enemy positions in the bend, and three days later the battle for Monastir was commenced by a heavy shelling of the whole hostile front from the mountains on the east, on and across the plain, to the mountains on the west. Perhaps this led the enemy to expect a general attack, but an assault on that day was made alone by the Serbians on the right, the object of which was to oust the Bulgarians from their formidable positions on the heights of Chuke, in the Cherna bend north of Skochivir. After the allied batteries in the early morning had concentrated on the Chuke heights, the Serbians made a converging attack, advancing on a two-mile front from the south and a two-mile front from the west. The Bulgarians held on tenaciously, and even repelled the first waves of the assault, but by two o'clock in the afternoon their outlying trenches were taken by storm, and before the evening closed they had lost one height after another until all were gone. The struggle had been one of the usual desperate hand-to-hand description—a most sanguinary affair. The victorious Serbians pushed on in pursuit and reached Polog, having taken nearly six hundred prisoners, eight guns, nine machine-guns, and much ammunition and equipment.

Next morning the Bulgarians thrice fiercely counter-attacked, but were driven back in disorder, with substantial losses. North of Velyeselo the Serbs also progressed, capturing trenches and prisoners.

The battle in the Cherna bend continued all next day. Sofia reported on November 12th that there had been a lively artillery duel west of the railway, but that east of it all the Allies' attacks were broken, though it went on to state that "the enemy succeeded in holding the heights, making a salient before our positions north-east of the village of Polog." A French communiqué of the 13th said that the great battle was developing into a brilliant success for the Entente. Supported by the intense fire of the French artillery the Serbians gained a fresh victory in the loop over the Germano-Bulgarian

forces, who, after a sanguinary struggle, were compelled to abandon Iyen, fifteen miles east of Monastir, and to fall back for nearly two miles to the north. Five counter-attacks did the enemy deliver with marked ferocity, but not one of them checked the advance of the Serbians, who made free play with their bayonets. Nearer Monastir in the bend Serbo-French troops accentuated their progress north of Velyeselo. The despatch concluded by noting that a thousand prisoners and sixteen more guns had been counted, and that since September 12th, the date on which the general offensive began, the enemy had left in the hands of the Allies 6,000 prisoners, seventy-two guns, and fifty machine-guns.

#### Fighting in the Cherna bend

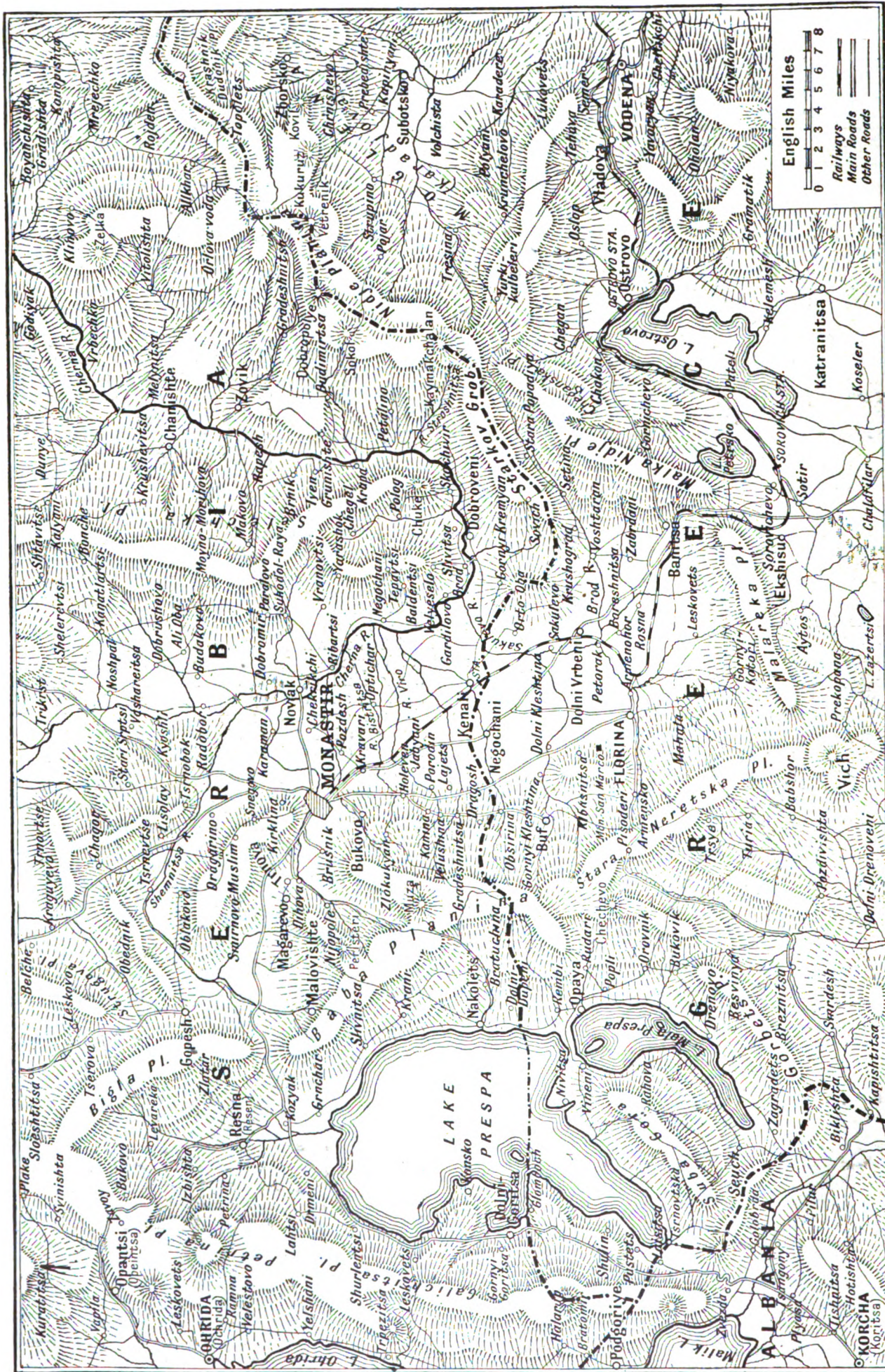
Great pressure was brought to bear on the enemy's whole western line on November 14th. On that day the Serbians, continuing their irresistible flanking movement in the Cherna bend on the east, definitely occupied, after violent fighting, all the Germano-Bulgarian positions south of Tepavtsi, among the spoils being over five hundred German prisoners, and then took Tepavtsi and the neighbouring hamlet of Gules, whence they progressed in the direction of Yarashok. That night the enemy, who had brought up fresh troops, made the most resolute efforts to retrieve his fortunes on the Iyen-Yarashok line.



SUPPLIES FOR THE FIRST LINES CROSSING LOW-LYING COUNTRY ON THE SALONIKA FRONT.

Horse convoy of supplies on the way to the Macedonian front. Wonderful organisation was shown in maintaining the allied forces in the diversified country occupied by their armies, varied means of transport being employed, according to the nature of the ground, for good roads were the exception.





The Great War.

AREA OF THE ALLIED ARMIES' OPERATIONS AGAINST MONASTIR: ACROSS THE BABA RIDGE, CHERNA BEND, AND MOGLENA MOUNTAINS.

Copyright





[French official photograph.]

#### ON VIGIL IN THE MACEDONIAN HILLS.

Typical scenery on the Monastir front. The rugged, roadless hill country characteristic of Macedonia was most unfavourable to the movement of modern large armies hampered by much artillery and heavy supply trains.

This line the enemy had fortified long before, but on the 15th the Serbians were able to pierce it at several points and drive him out of Chegel, Negochani, and the Monastery of Yarashok. Meanwhile, during the afternoon of the 14th, Sarrail's French, Russian, and Italian troops, operating west of the Cherna, attacked frontally the strong Kenali line, and despite the most strenuous opposition the French captured the whole system of defence of which that town was the centre, as well as Kenali itself. The official French despatch mentioned that the fighting was desperate at some places, "the men being up to their necks in water and mud." Snow and rain had fallen, and a great part of the fighting occurred during a heavy storm of rain which flooded everything. The Bulgarians, with their German friends, had not yet had enough, and in the night they made strong counter-attacks, recovering part of their trenches, but in the early hours of the 15th, having heard, no doubt, of the triumph of the Serbians on the flank, they abandoned under cover of a fog the whole front line and retired on the River Bistritsa, where they had organised a second line of defence in front of

Monastir. The retirement was discovered at dawn, when the Russian troops advanced to assault the village of Lajets, where on the previous day the enemy had made a stubborn stand. The Bulgarians retreated for about five miles to the north, Monastir being four miles farther on. At last, after two months of hard work, the Kenali line was in the hands of Sarrail.

Victory was now in the air, yet there seemed a good deal to be done before it could be realised. The Bulgarian line on the Bistritsa had been prepared for over a month, was well entrenched, and protected by formidable wire entanglements. The weather continued unfavourable, with heavy snow and rain. On the left the Italians fought in the snow, trying to turn the position, while on their right the French at Kanina were held up by machine-guns on a narrow, wretched road by which alone attack there could proceed. The Russians, farther



[French official photograph.]

#### FRENCH OBSERVERS RECORDING ENEMY POSITIONS.

Artillery observation was brought to such perfection during the Great War that gunners firing by the map were enabled to hit the desired object, although it was invisible to themselves, with a single shot.

east, forded the Viro River breast-high, but were vigorously opposed, and the French, who came next on the front, were held in check by strong German and Bulgarian forces. It was the action of the Serbians, heroic as ever, in the now famous bend of the Cherna, that finally decided the fate of Monastir. Fierce fighting had been going on daily for possession of the dominating heights north-east of Chegel. On the 15th, Hill 1,212, the central point of the enemy's defence on the Iyen-Chegel-Yarashok front, was captured after prodigious efforts by the Serbians, but was lost again to the Germans. Of this Berlin said that General Otto von Bülow, who was in the middle of the fighting, recaptured the position at the head of the German rifles which stormed it, and that the Kaiser, in recognition of the services of this officer and the men under his command, had promoted him. But on the 17th there was a very different story, for on that day the Serbians once more took



the height, and the Germans fled precipitately, abandoning everything. "A large number of machine-guns, very many rifles, an enormous quantity of munitions, and in one spot alone fifty cases of hand-grenades" fell into the hands of the Serbs, according to their official telegram of the 18th. On that day they carried Grunishite, Brnik, and Yarashok, helped at the last-named village by French contingents. They completed their triumph in the Cherna bend by taking by assault all the fortified positions on Hill 1,378, which lay above Hill 1,212, and by driving the enemy out of Makovo as the 19th dawned. The same day several lines of Bulgarian trenches in the direction of Dobromir, north-east of Monastir, were captured by the Serbian troops. Monastir was now completely outflanked, as the

they might fly the French flag, but were told to hoist that of Serbia.

And so Monastir, after being in the possession of the enemy for about a year, became Serbian again; the "Queen City of Macedonia" had been redeemed. It was the first notable success of the Entente Powers in the Balkans. Naturally the Germans did their best to minimise it, but the recapture of Monastir was a heavy blow to them and more especially to the Bulgarians, to whom the permanent occupation of the place was one of their most cherished ambitions. Unfortunately for the Allies the gain of Monastir was more than offset, as events demonstrated, by what was occurring at the same time in Rumania, where the Germans, after defeating the Rumanians in the second

**Serbian Army's  
achievement**

into the Wallachian Plain from the mountains of Transylvania and seized the Craiova-Orsova Railway (Chapter CLIX.). It had been hoped that Sarraill's offensive, with its increasing pressure on the enemy's southernmost line, would have brought effective assistance to Rumania, and with the fall of Monastir this hope gained in strength, but unhappily it proved to be fallacious. Within a month the Germans held Bukarest and practically all Wallachia, the largest and richest part of Rumania.

At the moment the Allies congratulated themselves on possessing Monastir, the taking of which had involved so



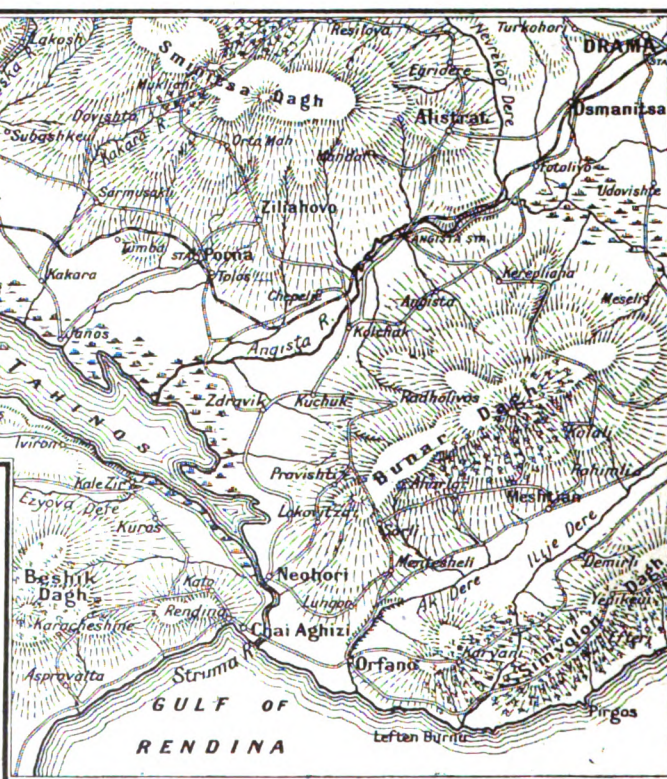
**EASTERN FRONT OF THE BRITISH SALONIKA ARMY.**  
In September, 1916, the British eastern line stretched from Chai Aghizi northward along Lake Tahinos and the right bank of the Struma to the Butkova River; thence their Doiran-Vardar front extended westwards.

Serbs commanded the Prilep road behind Monastir, and threatened to cut the enemy line of retreat northward.

Early in the morning of November 19th, under this compulsion, the Bulgarians and Germans evacuated Monastir. No other course was open to them if they were to avoid attack and destruction from the rear. The French communiqué of next day handsomely acknowledged that it was the bold forward movement of the Serbian Army that had brought about this splendid result, and the Berlin despatch of the same date admitted this also when it said that "after the enemy had succeeded in making progress

#### **Recapture of Monastir**

at Hill 1,212, north-east of Chegel, German and Bulgarian troops occupied a position north of Monastir, and Monastir was evacuated." French troops, hard on the heels of the retreating enemy, entered Monastir at eight o'clock in the morning of November 19th, the anniversary, singularly enough, of the taking of that town by the Serbs from the Turks in 1912. With the French were Serbian cavalry and a Russian infantry regiment, and as they marched along the streets the inhabitants of the town, after hesitating reconnaissances from their barred windows, ventured out and offered them garlands of flowers. Later the citizens sent a deputation to Headquarters asking if

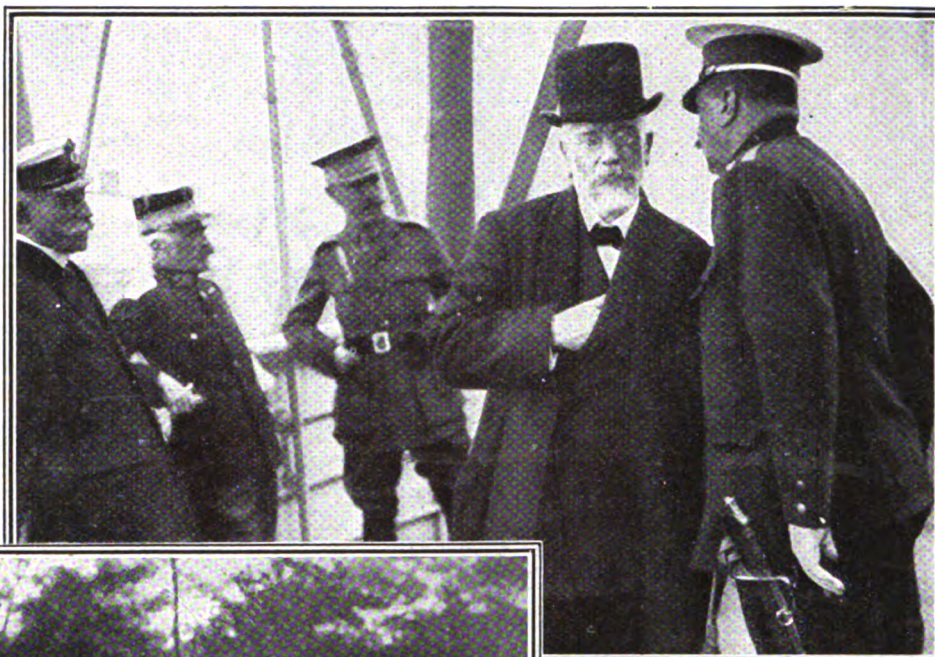


sustained and heavy an effort. The Serbs greatly rejoiced, as they had every right to do. Afterwards General Sarraill, in an Order of the Day in which he addressed each nationality of his soldiers in turn, gave the Serbs the place of honour, saying to them: "You were the first to open the road. You first saw our enemy finally in retreat, and your continued attacks have brought about the fall of Monastir." Telegrams of the heartiest congratulation were sent to the Crown Prince of Serbia, who had taken an active part in the campaign at the head of his Army, and who now took up his residence in the town. It was noticed as a fortunate omen that a perfect rainbow hung over the Serb lines and Monastir on the morning of its capture, and it needed little imagination on the part of those who had undergone such sufferings in the past



to see in it a glorious triumphal arch "not made with hands." But though the enemy had lost Monastir he was far from being beaten. Large German reinforcements had been hurried down to this front, probably with the intention of arriving in time to relieve Monastir, but if that was the plan they came too late, and these immediately got into position, offering a most stubborn resistance to the farther advance of the troops of the Entente towards Prilep, some twenty-five miles to the north-east, and their next objective.

Having handed over the administration of Monastir to the Serbians, Sarrail pushed on immediately north of the town and took several villages. On the right the Serbians also captured several villages among the hills, including Novak and Suhodol-Raya, on November 19th, and next day defeated German forces north of Suhodol, north-east of Monastir, and occupied Rapesht, north of Brnik and Iyen. On the left the Italians repulsed violent counter-attacks from the mountainous region of Muza, about six miles south-west of Monastir. The weather again interfered with operations, and the enemy was able to strengthen a line of heights which extended from Snegov, about two and a half miles from Monastir, to Hill 1,050, south-west of Makovo, some ten or eleven miles east-north-east of that town, and there he made ready to offer an energetic resistance. On the 21st the Allies occupied the villages of Paralovo and Dobromir, and a day or two later the Serbians carried Budimirtsa and held it, notwithstanding mighty attempts of the reinforced Germans to retake it. Bad weather again intervened, and for a while artillery fire alone took up the tale, except on the west, where the Italians made farther progress, pressing their advance in the vicinity of Mount Peristeri and moving on in the direction of Trnova, captured the heights south-west of Nijopole. On the 27th the Serbians, assisted by French Zouaves, gained a valuable strategic position by their capture, after a series of fierce assaults, of Hill 1,050, on which they were opposed by the élite of the German troops, the Chasseurs of the Guard, who had been ordered to hold the hill to the last man. At the same time Sarrail attacked along the rest of this front, but was held up. As



[British official photograph.]

M. VENIZELOS AT SALONIKA.

On October 10th, 1916, M. Venizelos landed from the *Hesperis* at Salonika and definitely joined the Provisional Government that had been established.

the month closed the Germano-Bulgarians were trying in the region north-west of Grunishite to recover the positions which the Serbians had conquered, but met with little success. Then bad weather once more prevailed and hampered the combatants for some days.

Meanwhile the situation in Greece had taken a distinctly unfavourable turn for the Entente Powers, and sinister events which took place on December 1st and 2nd at Athens made matters much worse by suggesting belligerent action against the Allies on the part of King Constantine and his Army, and consequently imperilling Sarrail and his forces in the Balkans, as well as the Provisional Government at Salonika. The story of the shifts and equivocations of King Constantine and his Governments was narrated in Chapter CXLV. as far as the resignation by M.



[French official photograph.]

PATRIOTS WHO WOULD NOT SELL THEIR COUNTRY.

General Zimbrabakis (left) and Colonel Christodoulos, who forcibly resisted the Bulgarian occupation of Seres in September, 1916. The general accepted the position of Minister of War in the Greek National Provisional Government.

Zaimis of the Premiership, which occurred in the middle of September and was significant of the condition of the country. In the first week of that month, under the pressure of the fleet of the Allies, the Greek Government had agreed that Germans and other foreigners who were unfriendly to the Entente should be deported, and the notorious arch-plotter and intriguer, Baron Schenck, with seventy Austrians and Germans, was conveyed by sea to Kavalla from Athens. On the 9th the French Legation was attacked by Greek Reservists, and French bluejackets were landed for its defence. At this juncture there was much disorder in the Greek capital, which was caused by these reservists who, under Gounarist influences,

Disturbances in Athens





SCENE OF A GREAT SERBIAN TRIUMPH: KAYMAKCHALAN AFTER ITS CAPTURE FROM THE BULGARIANS, SEPTEMBER 28TH-29TH, 1916.

Kaymakchalan is the highest peak at the southern end of the Moglena range, and is essential for the defence of Monastir. It had been strongly fortified by the Bulgarians, who had orders to hold it at all costs. On September 12th the Serbs began an advance towards it, and after fierce fighting carried the highest peak on the vital position. The Serbian losses in the fighting were heavy, but those of the Bulgarians were enormous.



had formed themselves into leagues or societies in opposition to the Venizelists and the Entente; and who vociferously announced their entire devotion to the King. The Allies demanded the suppression of these organisations, but the Greek Government, though professing compliance, did not suppress them, and in reality encouraged their continued existence.

**Posts and telegraphs taken over** Zaimis tendered his resignation to the King on September 10th, but it was not accepted till two or three days later, as

Constantine had some difficulty in finding another Prime Minister. The King in vain tried M. Dimitracopoulos, who had been Minister of Justice in the Venizelist Cabinet of 1911, but had subsequently dissociated himself from his old leader. Zaimis was asked to withdraw his resignation, but declined to do so. On the 16th a new Ministry was formed, the Premier being M. Kalogeropoulos, who had held office in previous Governments as Minister of the Interior and Minister of Finance. He declared that personally he was in sympathy with the Entente, but the composition of his Cabinet scarcely accorded with his words, and the diplomatists of the Allies would have nothing to do with him. On the same day the Entente Ministers took over the control of the posts and telegraphs, a thing which had formed part of their demands in their previous Note, presented on September 2nd. Control of the telephone system was next established, and the services were directed by censors appointed by the French.

Throughout all Greece the unrest and dissatisfaction occasioned by the surrender of Eastern Macedonia to the Bulgarians were intensified when about this time it became known that the Fourth Greek Army Corps, which had been stationed at Seres, Drama, and Kavalla, with headquarters at the last-named town, had been carried off to Germany. According to the Berlin account of this unique affair, the commander of this corps asked, on September 12th, for the protection of the German Chief Command in order to prevent the Entente from "forcing these Greek troops to its side, or preparing for them a fate similar to that which befell the overpowered portions of the 11th Greek Division." The German communiqué also said that the commander and his men were threatened with hunger and illness, and, further, that he was unable to communicate with the authorities at Athens. The message cynically added that the corps would enjoy the privileges of guests in Germany until Greece was evacuated by the Allies, and German journals joyfully estimated that this coup would deprive the Entente of the possible support of 25,000 men. This figure, in any case, was an exaggeration. The corps comprised the 5th, 6th, and 7th Greek Divisions, and a large part of the 6th Division under Christodoulos had declared for the Allies. The Greek Army had been partially demobilised, and the total strength of the force appropriated by Germany could not have been above 15,000 men at most. But this extraordinary incident filled the Venizelists and other Greek patriots with dismay and anger, particularly when they heard that on September 12th the 7th Division, with Colonel Hadjopoulos at its head, had really surrendered to the Bulgarians at Kavalla, which important town was thereupon fully occupied by the enemy.

Under its pro-German inspiration the Greek Government tried to justify this disgraceful surrender of the Fourth Army Corps, but when it discovered that general opinion strongly condemned this action it issued a communiqué announcing its disapproval. There was no doubt, however, that the surrender was actually negotiated from Athens, and was connived at, if not ordered, by King Constantine, though on September 23rd the Greek Foreign Minister published a statement that his Government had demanded the return to Greece of her lost army corps, a statement which was the veriest "bluff," and deceived no one. The National movement against the Bulgarian invaders, which had started at Salonika at the

end of August, grew in strength under such incitement. Christodoulos with his soldiers reached Salonika on September 15th, and thither, often secretly and by devious ways, went officers and men from all parts of Greece. A spirit of revolt broke out in the islands, and Crete, through her thousands of peasants who were Venizelist to a man, rose up against the Government. The position of Venizelos himself, still hoping the King might change his mind, became more difficult at Athens, where a plot was hatched to kill him, but a bodyguard of faithful Cretans kept him from harm. He saw that at last the time had arrived to take a strong step, and on September 25th he sailed from the Piræus for Crete, accompanied by Admiral Condorioutis and other leading members of his party. He had come to the justifiable conclusion that it was useless to look any longer to the King for a truly National leadership, yet in a proclamation made after reaching Crete he said it would be a happy event if at the eleventh hour Constantine would decide to place himself at the head of the National forces in the country.

The action of Venizelos created a profound impression



MAP OF GREECE, SHOWING THE NEUTRAL ZONE. As the National movement grew in Greece, so did the friction between the Venizelist and Royalist troops. In October, 1916, a neutral zone, two to five miles in depth, was delimited between them, from Litohoros on the Gulf of Salonika to Grismuni on the Albanian frontier, and from Vrontdusa, further north upon the gulf, to Armatovo.

in Athens and in Greece generally, and many of the best elements rallied to him. So strongly did the popular tide set in towards him and his policy that for a few days it seemed as if it might carry all before it; a report gained ground that Greece would throw off her "neutrality," and the pro-Germans were in despair. General Danglis, a former War Minister, joined Venizelos in Crete. The National movement kept on increasing in strength, but Constantine hardened his heart, and the Gounarists, gradually regaining courage, stirred up the Reservist Leagues to attack the Venizelists and provoke disorders in some of the larger Greek towns. On October 4th the Kalogeropoulos Ministry resigned. It had never been recognised by the Entente Powers, but before it quitted office several of its members, including the Prime Minister himself, had come round to think that Greece should abandon neutrality and side with the Allies. They told





The Crown Prince of Serbia and General Sarraïl entering Monastir, recaptured November 19th, 1916.

the King as much, but he replied that the Greek Army was not ready to take the field. Constantine next made efforts to set up another Cabinet, and, after several unsuccessful attempts, induced M. Lambros, a professor of the University of Athens, to form a Government, which came into office on October 9th, and was a collection of political nonentities. Next day Venizelos, after a tour among the islands, landed at Salonika, where he was welcomed by General Sarraïl and the Provisional Government in being there—one more dramatic episode in the long and chequered story of that city. With himself, Danglis, and Condorioutis forming a triumvirate at the head of affairs, the Salonika Provisional Government soon afterwards was merged in the National Provisional Government, with a duly constituted administration.

No improvement taking place in the situation at Athens, but, on the contrary, indications that war material was being transported to Larissa, in Thessaly, suggesting action hostile to the Entente, the Allies, on October 10th, through Admiral du Fournet, who was in command of the allied fleet which had been stationed in the Gulf of Salamis since the beginning of September, presented another Note to Greece, which was a virtual ultimatum. In this it was stated that the dispatch of artillery and ammunition into the interior of the country, the movements of Greek ships, and the continued activity of the Reservist Leagues, aroused fears that disturbances might occur at points where the allied fleet was anchored, and might also endanger the security of the troops of the Allies on the Balkan front. Admiral du Fournet therefore demanded the handing over of the Greek Fleet and of the naval yard at the Piræus to the Entente, as well as control of the railway from the Piræus to Larissa. With

respect to the Greek Fleet the larger units, such as the Kilkis, were to be disarmed, and their complements reduced to one-third, while the smaller units were to be transferred as they were. In addition, two forts commanding the mooring ground of the allied fleet were to be given to the Entente, and other coast batteries were to be dismantled. The admiral said it was imperative that the breech-blocks of the Piræus batteries should be surrendered to him. The Greek Government was given till one o'clock next day to reply, but accepted the demands of the Note, though under protest, before the time had expired. The Greek Fleet was transferred to the Allies in the course of the afternoon, and towed to the Keratsini Gulf.

**Royalists' pro-German scheme**

On the 12th, Admiral du Fournet presented a Supplementary Note which demanded allied control of the police in Greece, the prohibition of the dispatch of war material to Thessaly, and the prohibition of the carrying of arms by citizens. The Greek Government again assented. It was high time for the Entente to take drastic measures, for some of the extreme Royalists had made no secret of their scheme, which was that, if the Allies should seek to coerce Greece into joining them, or to force Venizelos upon the King, then Constantine was to proceed to the north with his troops, concentrating them at Trikala in Thessaly, and lie entrenched there till the arrival of a German army, in co-operation with which he would strike at Sarraïl. And no sooner were the demands of the Entente accepted than attempts to evade some of them were made, efforts to send further munitions into Thessaly being partially successful. It was significant, too, that there



The Crown Prince and the Commander-in-Chief were interested in the evolutions of an aeroplane over the "Queen City of Macedonia."



[French official photograph.]

It was a proud and jubilant Prince who received the congratulations of the Serbian inhabitants of Monastir on the victory that had been gained.

THE RECAPTURE OF MONASTIR, 1916.





*[French official photograph.]*

#### GREEK VOLUNTEERS AT SALONIKA.

Volunteers flocked to the standard raised at Salonika by Venizelos. The men were of fine soldierly appearance and won the enthusiastic admiration of General Roques, the French Minister of War, who saw them in October, 1916.

arrived in Larissa at this time, on a tour of inspection, General Dousmanis and Colonel Metaxas, ex-Chief and ex-Sub Chief respectively of the Greek General Staff, who, with Dr. Georges Streit, formed the inner cabal around King Constantine, and were in such constant and close communication with him that they constituted his private Crown Council. All three were hostile to the Entente and Venizelos, who some weeks afterwards said that if the King would send them packing there would be some prospect of a change in his policy, and some hope for the country.

Athens continued in a highly electrical state, and the Reservist Leagues still actively fomented disaffection. Admiral du Fournet, on October 16th, landed a naval force of French and Italians, numbering with reinforcements sent later about 2,000 men, to police the city and preserve order. The bluejackets occupied the municipal buildings and the railway-stations at Athens and the Piræus, though their presence was attended by hostile demonstrations, Admiral du Fournet himself being hooted in the streets. But King Constantine thought it prudent to show a willingness to meet the demands of the

**Naval contingent  
landed in Athens**

Allies to some extent, and he declared his readiness to withdraw half the Greek troops concentrated at Larissa, and to place the Greek Army on a peace footing. Four days later the Entente Ministers demanded the removal of the troops in Thessaly to the Peloponnesus, the dismissal of all effectives, except the 1915 class, and the handing over



*[French official photograph.]*

#### SALUTING THE NEW REGIMENTAL COLOURS.

Colours were blessed and presented to the regiments formed under the auspices of the new Greek National Government, and after the ceremony, which took place at Salonika, the colours were borne by the troops past M. Venizelos and General Danglis.

of all war material to the Allies. The British and French Ministers, after the Boulogne Conference on October 20th, and as a result of it, had audiences with the King, and a satisfactory solution, it was believed, was reached of all outstanding questions. Constantine received assurances from the Allies that they had no animosity against himself or official Greece, and that they regarded the Venizelist movement as directed entirely against the Bulgarian aggressor. All the same, it had already been announced that the Entente had recognised the Provisional Government in Crete, but in Athens it was asserted by the Royalists that Venizelos had not been recognised, except in an unofficial manner, and Venizelist circles in the Greek capital were much disturbed and discouraged.

Among the Allies generally, however, it was thought that the Greek situation had greatly improved, and a statement made in Parliament by Lord Robert Cecil, then Foreign Under-Secretary, on October 31st, took that



view. Reports had reached London that the Venizelists were being prevented from supporting the National movement, but Lord Robert doubted them—wherein he was wrong. Assurances had been given by the King that his subjects would be free to join Venizelos without fear of Government reprisals, but in the last week of October measures were put in force against all who sympathised with him. Officers and men who were about to go to Salonika were thrown into prison or placed under strict surveillance, and it was intimated that officials, as well as officers of the Army and Navy, who adhered to Venizelos would be cashiered. Under a relaxed pressure of the Allies, the Royalists grew exceedingly bold, loudly denouncing Venizelos and his followers as rebels, and cruelly persecuting the latter at every opportunity.



[French official photograph.]

#### TAKING POSSESSION.

French troops entering Monastir. Following on the loss of Kaymakchalan and the brilliant fighting of the Serbian Army in the Cherna bend the Germano-Bulgarians were forced to evacuate the town.



[French official photograph.]

#### FIRST FRENCH ARRIVALS IN MONASTIR.

Though it was the dash and vigour of the Serbians in their fighting to the east of Monastir which hastened its recapture, the gallant French troops were the first who entered the town hard on the heels of the retreating enemy and took possession of it on Serbia's behalf.

Germanism became rampant in Athens and throughout Royalist Greece. In Greek waters a German submarine, which got supplies from Royalists, torpedoed the Angeliki, which was conveying volunteers to Salonika, and sank other vessels. As a protest the seamen of the Piræus went on strike, but the Government tamely submitted to the outrages, and damped down the agitation. Admiral du Fournet sent a Note on November 6th demanding that the destroyers and other light craft of the Greek Fleet in his hands should be used against German submarines, and the King refused compliance—whereupon the admiral next day hoisted the French flag over the ships in question, but found the breech-blocks had been removed from their guns. Also, on the 7th, French troops took possession of the naval arsenal, including the submarine defences and powder magazines, at Salamis.

Meanwhile, news reached England that what had been stated respecting the persecution of the Venizelists was true. The King was then reminded by the Entente that he had definitely promised, on being assured that the National movement under Venizelos was not anti-dynastic, that that movement should receive his support, and that part of the Greek mountain batteries should be handed over to the Allies. But the persecution of the Venizelists continued,

and the batteries were not surrendered. It had come to a veritable duel between the King and the Royalists on the one hand and Venizelos and the Nationalists on the other. At the end of October a collision, with bloodshed, had occurred between the Venizelists and the Royalists at Katerini, on the west shore of the Gulf of Salonika, and to avoid civil war the Allies had garrisoned the town. In spite of persecution the National movement grew. On November 9th Mr. Asquith, then Prime Minister, said at the Lord Mayor's banquet that the British Government was "in hearty sympathy with that great Greek patriot, M. Venizelos," and expressed the pious hope that Greece "might rekindle her lamp and show herself worthy of her immortal past." Royalist Greece had no intention of the sort. Matters drifted on without improvement. On the 14th General Roques, the French Minister of War, who had been at Salonika, and spoke enthusiastically of the troops of the National Army he had seen there, had an interview with the King with the idea of bringing affairs to a head. He demanded the establishment of a neutral zone between the Royalists and the Venizelists, complete liberty of action to all desirous of joining Venizelos, and the use of the Greek railways by the Allies.

#### Neutral zone delimited

A neutral zone was delimited on the 16th. It was from about two to five miles in depth, and extended from south of Litohoros, on the Gulf of Salonika, to Grismuni, towards the Albanian frontier, and from north of Vrontusa, above Litohoros, to Armatovo. Nothing further of a substantial character having come out of the interview of General Roques with King Constantine, Admiral du Fournet presented on the 16th another Note, demanding the delivery of eighteen batteries of field-guns, sixteen of mountain-guns, and other munitions, and the Greek Government replied that acceptance would be a breach of "neutrality." While



this was being further debated Admiral du Fournet succeeded in ridding Athens of the German, Austrian, Turkish and Bulgarian Ministers. He wrote them a letter ordering them to leave, as it was impossible, he said, for them to remain on the soil of a nation containing people whom their warships intended to attack. The King offered no opposition, and the enemy Ministers and their Staffs departed. In the meantime the Reservists had been stirring up hostility to the surrender of the guns, and the Government persisted in its refusal. On the 24th the admiral told Greece that he must have ten batteries by December 1st and the rest by the 15th, and threatened to take coercive measures in the event of non-compliance.

Fighting in  
Athens

Two days afterwards the French detachment occupying the Zappeion barracks was reinforced. The situation rapidly became critical. Athens was in a ferment, the Royalists prepared to resist, and the Venizelists were menaced with massacre, their houses and shops being marked with circles in red paint.

As the King—nominally the Greek Government—continued obdurate, allied troops began landing at the Piræus early in the morning of December 1st, and by daylight a French naval force, with British and Italian contingents, or about 3,000 men in all, marched from three directions towards Athens. When the troops approached the city they found Greek forces ready to dispute the ground with them, though King Constantine had passed his word of honour that the Greeks would not offer opposition. Fighting began at 10.30 and

went on till about two in the afternoon, when Du Fournet, at the request of the King, agreed to an armistice. The allied strength had been wholly inadequate to deal with the situation. About three hundred British bluejackets took part in the operations, and eight were killed and many wounded in holding the munition factory. The loss of the French was much heavier, and the Italians also suffered. It was a wanton, unprovoked attack on the part of the Greeks, and the King was personally responsible for it. In the course of the afternoon he offered to hand over six batteries to the Allies. Meanwhile Athens was given over to anarchy—calculated anarchy against the Venizelists, who next day



BULGARIAN AND GERMAN PRISONERS NEAR MONASTIR.

[British official photograph.]

At first the Bulgarians were terribly afraid of falling alive into Serbian hands, fearing ghastly retaliation. They were treated, however, with most generous forbearance. Above: Interrogating German prisoners near Monastir. A French communiqué, dated November 13th, 1916, stated that since September 12th, when the general offensive began, the Allies had taken 6,000 prisoners.

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were murdered or imprisoned and cruelly maltreated throughout the city. The Allies had shown that they were powerless to protect their friends; it was a horrible humiliation for the Entente. About a hundred Venizelists were shot, and on that day and during the ensuing week over 1,800 of them were thrust into prison. The British and other Entente colonies retired to the Piræus, and the Greek Government, having regained control of the telegraphs, sent out false despatches to London and Paris saying that all was well again. But such was not the case. How it really stood was shown by the resignation of the Greek Ministers in Paris and London, who declined to serve

**Warrant for  
Venizelos' arrest**

King Constantine any longer. Admiral du Fournet was recalled, and his place was taken by Admiral Gauchet, who had been second in command.

An ultimatum was presented by the Entente to the Greek Government on December 14th, stating that, as events had proved that neither the King nor the Government had sufficient authority over the Greek Army, the Allies demanded the withdrawal of the entire Greek force from Thessaly, and that all movements of troops and war material to the north should cease. Meanwhile a blockade had been instituted on the 8th, and it was intimated that this would be maintained until reparation was made for the unprovoked attacks of the Greek forces at Athens, and until adequate guarantees for the future were given. The British and French Ministers had withdrawn to the fleet, and though Greece signified her compliance with the ultimatum they remained afloat. They had at length learned to distrust Constantine, and their attitude was confirmed by the issue at Athens of a warrant for the arrest of Venizelos on a charge of high treason, and by the discovery that the acceptance of the ultimatum contained reservations founded on the Allies' toleration of Venizelist "sedition" in the islands. It was plain that the King and the Royalists were still impenitent. In the last days of the year this was made more apparent by a request of the Greek Government that the blockade should be raised, but the Allies replied in a fresh Note on December 31st, stating that the blockade would be maintained until all Greek troops were removed to the Peloponnesus and the allied control of the Greek services was re-established. At the same time they demanded that the flags of the four chief Entente Powers should be saluted in a public square at Athens, and that Callaris, the Greek general responsible for the attacks on December 1st and 2nd, should be removed. This Note differed from those that had gone before inasmuch

as it was signed by the representatives only of the three Protecting Powers—Great Britain, France, and Russia. It was not well received by the Royalists, whose tone towards the Entente became increasingly hostile and impudent.

Playing for time, the Greek Government—in other words, King Constantine—set forth objections to the Note; but on the morning of January 9th France, Great Britain, Russia, and Italy issued an ultimatum requiring, within forty-eight hours, acceptance in their entirety of its terms. It had been reported that Italy was not in agreement with the other Allies with respect to Greece, but a conference at Rome, in which Great Britain was represented by Mr. Lloyd George, who had succeeded Mr. Asquith as Prime Minister in December, reaffirmed the solidarity of the Grand Alliance. In the ultimatum the name of Italy was a proof of it. On January 10th the Greek Government replied in an unsatisfactory manner.

For a day or two it looked as if Constantine, still hoping for the assistance which Germany was said to have promised, would resist. It was reported that fresh German forces had arrived on the Monastir front, and it was stated that the redoubtable Field-Marshal Falkenhayn was at Larissa. But the promised help did not materialise, and the blockade pressed more and more heavily on Greece. The King was compelled to submit, and on January 16th the Greek Government accepted the demands of the Entente in their entirety without reservation. The Venizelists were released from prison, and compensation was to be given to them. General Callaris was cashiered. The Greek troops were to be withdrawn to the Peloponnesus, fifteen days being allowed for the completion of the process, and the Allies intimated that the blockade would be maintained till they were satisfied that the withdrawal was sufficiently complete.

**Greece makes  
reparation**

The Entente Ministers returned to Athens, where, on January 29th, representative contingents of the four Entente Powers, accompanied by the Ministers themselves and Admiral Gauchet, assembled in the Zappeion Park and had their flags saluted by a large Greek force of all arms. Notable in the march-past was the free and soldierly gesture with which King Constantine's brother, Prince Andrew, saluted as he rode at the head of a detachment of cavalry. This gave a good impression, as the duty might have been so easily delegated to a deputy. The ceremony, which was made most impressive, closed the chapter, Greece's written apology having been presented some days previously.



TEETH DRAWN FROM THE DRAGON'S HEAD OF GERMANOPHIL GREEK ROYALISM.

Greek torpedo-boat destroyers anchored at the Piræus. Admiral du Fournet, who commanded the Allied Fleet, took practical possession of the Gulf of Salamis in September, 1916, to enforce Greek compliance

with the requirements of the Allies. Early in October these included the handing over of the Greek Fleet and of the naval yard at the Piræus to the Allies, as well as control of the railway from the Piræus to Larissa.





A COAL-DUMP

## CHAPTER CLXVI.

IN THE SNOW.

# MARVELS OF THE BRITISH TRANSPORT SERVICE ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

By Basil Clarke.

Magnitude and Complexity of the Transport Problem Confronting Great Britain—Mobilisation of the Mercantile Marine for Oversea Transport—Institution of the Royal Naval Transport Service—The Army Unequipped to Deal with the Overland Transport Problem—General Principles Underlying the Solution of the Transport Problem in France—Administration: The Quartermaster-General's Branch and the Inspector-General of Communications—Collecting Centres at the Bases—Eighteen Months' Purchases by the British Army—Advance Depots and Dumps—Canals and Barges—Railway Service in France Efficient but Inadequate to the Strain Imposed upon It—Contribution of Personnel, Rolling-Stock, etc., from the British Railways—Divisional Rail-heads—The British Mechanical Transport Service—Repairs and Refit Workshops—Types of Motor-Lorries in Use—Divisional Horse Transport—Separation of Ammunition from Supplies—Sub-Parks and Refilling Points—From Refilling Point to the Front—Reorganisation of Traffic to Meet Army Movements—The Australian Divisional Train—Field Supply Depots—Work of the Battalion and Company Quartermasters—Ration Parties—Upkeep of Roads: Engineering and Labour—Light Railways for Heavy Ammunition: "Antennes" and "Rocades"—Marvellous Organisation at Verdun—Light Vans, Motor-Omnibuses, and Char-à-Bancs—Aerial Railways—Mules, Donkeys, and Dogs—The Postal Service.



GR<sup>EAT</sup> BRITAIN'S transport work in the European War may fittingly rank in history among the victories which it made possible. And when the full record of the many great achievements of the war—the enemy's as well as our own—comes to be drawn up and viewed in one dispassionate perspective, this transport work of Great Britain must hold a prominent place in it.

From none of the greater combatant Powers was such a *tour de force*—especially as regards military transport—so little expected; for in none of these countries at the outbreak of war was to be found so small a means, establishment and personnel, for the undertaking of so huge a task. To Great Britain fell the biggest and most complex transport problem of all. Not only had she longer and more difficult journeys to take her own men, munitions, and other means of war—and in numbers and quantities never previously dreamt of—but in addition she had to play willing handmaiden to a greater or lesser extent to every one of her Allies, making, fetching, and carrying for one and all alike.

The oversea part of this problem was difficult enough, but not inconceivable, because to the British as a

sea and shipping nation, sea transport, even for war purposes, was no great departure from their own line of business. By a mobilisation of their mercantile seapower, a mobilisation which at its apex embraced about 75 per cent. of merchant ships, this side of the war-transport problem was managed at least satisfactorily, if not very adroitly. There was criticism, not a little of it; and astute shipbrokers and others accustomed to the economical freighting and chartering of ships succeeded in proving accusations they had hurled at the naval authorities of over-lavishness in the use of merchant shipping. They pointed out, very truly, that the freighting of ships was a very different thing from the fighting of ships, and that skill in the latter art did not necessarily imply skill in the former.

These criticisms were called for. But the main object

was achieved. Nothing went wrong with the armies in the field through faulty sea transport or lack of shipping; and this end, rather than that of strict economy, was the more important consideration at the moment. As an earnest, perhaps, of repentance, and of a wish to remedy their shortcomings in commercial knowledge, the naval authorities instituted in December, 1916, a Royal Naval Transport

### TRANSPORT ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

This was the amazing record and position of British transport work as it stood in February, 1917. The most remarkable figures given here were obtained specially for "The Great War" from an authoritative source, with permission to use them. No details of the kind had been published previously.

(I.) There had been some 8,000,000 troops conveyed by British sea transport.

(II.) More ammunition was being shipped out of England every week than had been made in thirty years before the war.

(III.) An average of ten thousand miles of telephone wire was being shipped every month.

(IV.) Some 2,000,000 tons of mailbags had been shipped to France alone.

(V.) About twelve thousand tons of supplies were shipped every day. The term "supplies" is used here in the military sense of the word, and comprises only food, forage, light, and fuel. It does not include ammunition, war material, etc.



Service, to which service would be entrusted the duty of studying the business of economical chartering and freighting and allocation of ships.

If the oversea transport problem that faced Great Britain at the sudden outbreak of war was huge, the overland transport problem was colossal. The Navy possessed in their brother sailors and the ships of the British Mercantile Marine a wonderful service, ready-made, to fall

**Magnitude of  
the problem**

back upon for transport work; but the Army at the outbreak of war had nothing of the sort ready-made—or a mere handful of men and machines at best. To cope with the work before them they had, therefore, men and means to find and to make. To the credit of those responsible be it said that as Great Britain's Army of "more than five million men" grew into being, and as her workshops and factories began to pour out, in quantities that staggered the world, guns, munitions, and supplies for that vast Army and for the Allies' armies, the means of transporting all this output of men and things was evolved at the same time.

It was wonderful work. Waggon-builders, both for horse and for motor vehicles, in all parts of Great Britain and abroad were set to work at fever pace; the world was

Engineers, Railway Section. And the outcome of it all? It was to be seen at its best in the wonderful organisation that day by day carried men and arms, munitions, food and materials, and a thousand other things, to the trenches, batteries, and billets of our troops fighting so resolutely across the Channel. The same kind of system existed on every other war front, but it was in France and in Flanders that one saw the new British transport organisation at work in fullest capacity.

More than one civilian visitor to the British front, when asked what was the outstanding impression of his visit, replied, "The war transport." It was understandable. If you brought a cultured native from his home in Timbuctoo to see, say, the Tower of London, and asked him what had given him the outstanding impression of his visit, he would probably reply, "London." And just as the Tower is a thing of wonder immersed in a bigger, more conspicuous thing—London—so is war and actual fighting a thing of wonder immersed in a more conspicuous thing—its transport. For fighting is comparatively only the rim, the edge, the selvedge of war. The rest of war is mainly its requisites and transport and the means to them.

In France there was evidence of these things everywhere. On the quays, where men and goods were landed, in the

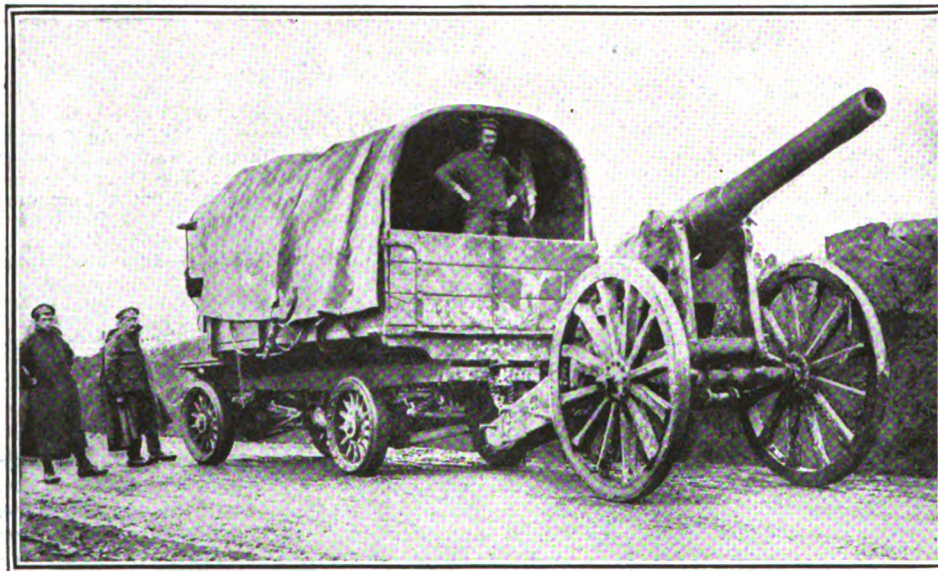
storehouses and depots to which they were first taken, on the railways and the roads and canals that took them thence and right up to trench and battery and billet—here and elsewhere one saw little more than supply and transport in one or other of their many phases. Even the war-weary German prisoners whom one saw working so very leisurely with pick and spade on those busy country roads of France under tolerant British guards—their presence and work there were remoter phases of the great war question of transport, for the maintenance of roads stood in closest relation to the supplying as well as the moving of fighting troops.

At first the ubiquity of stores and men and means of transport to be seen throughout the fighting territory of France and its hinterland to the coast gave one the impression of being designless and chaotic, a medley of work,

parts of a system so intricate and complex as to discourage an inquirer from peering into it and trying to grasp the method underlying it all. Fishing-lines and boys' kite-strings get into similar-looking knots, apparently quite unravelable. But a little patience worked wonders, and it was fascinating to find, on closer examination, how interdependently and orderly and methodically these many and conflicting phases of war transport linked together to form one big co-ordinated system. We will try to put in a simple way some of the broader general principles underlying the solution of transport problems such as that faced and solved in France.

**Complex beauty  
of organisation**

First as to its general administration. Of the three great branches of the Army, the Quartermaster-General's branch, as is usual in British war organisation, had control of transport, supply, and such things. It was the duty of this branch to be cognisant of the ideas of the Commander-in-Chief of the forces in the field, and to keep him supplied with all requisites for the carrying out of his military schemes. For the sea-transport side of this problem the Quartermaster-General's branch was in close touch with



*[British official photograph.]*

**CAPTURED AND CARRIED OFF TIED TO THE CONQUEROR'S CAR.**

German gun captured on the western front being towed away from the field of its past battles by a British motor-lorry. These ubiquitous lorries, of which thousands upon thousands were employed, were utilised in greatly varied ways, besides that of taking up supplies for men and guns at the front.

scoured for horses; the country-side was scoured for drivers and men with a knowledge of horses; the towns were festooned with advertisements for motor-drivers, mechanics, and men with a knowledge of motors; the War Office was beset daily with knots of young men anxious to become officers in this new, vast branch of military service; and, according to their fitness and knowledge, they were allotted to horse transport or mechanical transport, as the case might be.

Nor had railways to be neglected. Men skilled in railway making and working, and in the handling and despatch of goods by rail, had to be found for service in foreign countries through which British transport would be necessary. Such men were forthcoming. British railway engineers and managers who had thrown up positions abroad to come home and help the "Old Country" were garnered in. General managers, traffic managers, locomotive superintendents, constructional engineers, and others earning their thousands a year in railway systems throughout the world, were soon immersed in this great new home undertaking, and standardised under the khaki and red piping and one star of an officer in the Royal



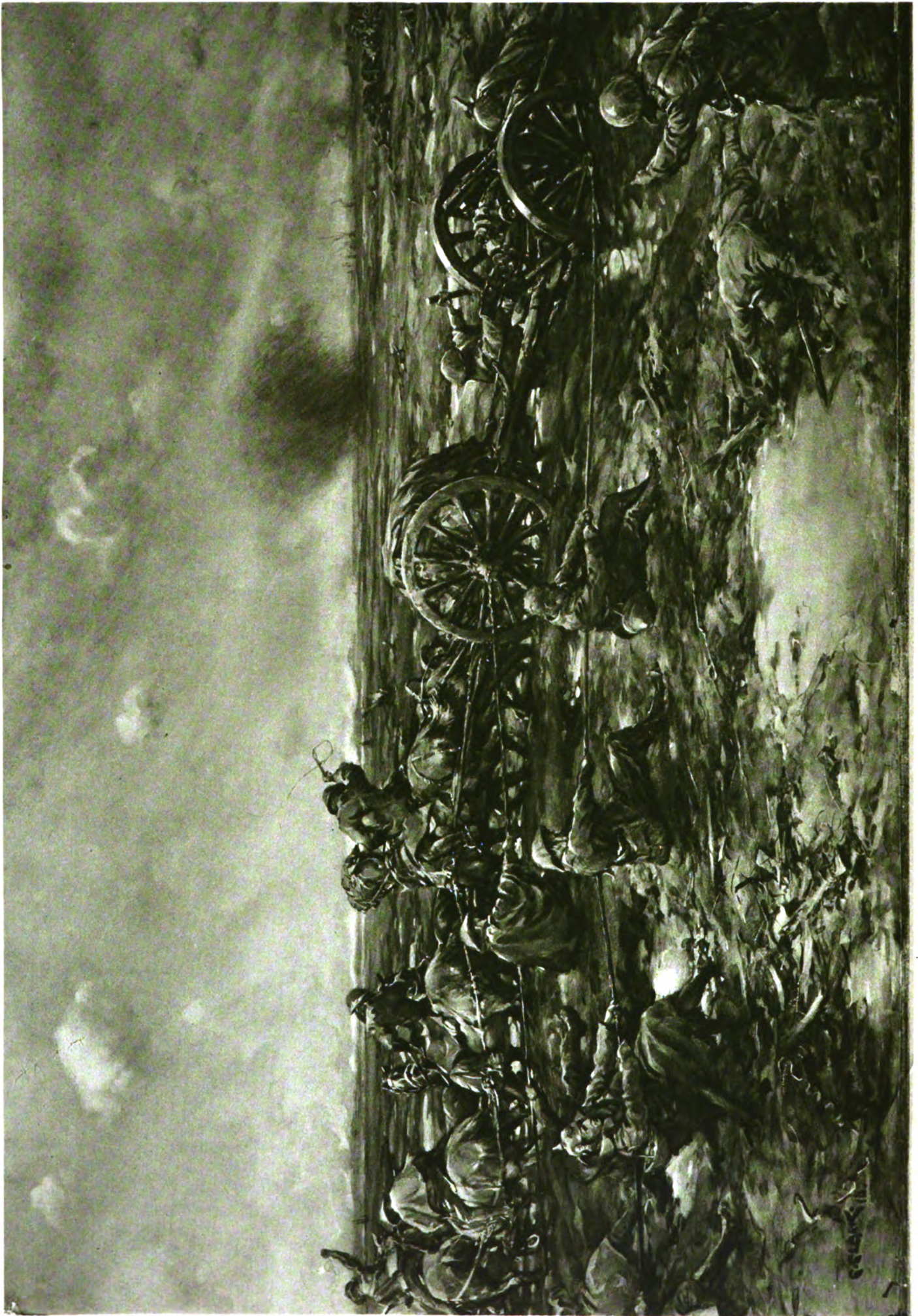


*Nissen huts—an invention which vastly reduced the hardships of the third winter campaign.*



*On the permanent way: In winter the most practicable road for troops on the western front.*





*Difficulties of gun transport: Bringing up an 18-pounder through the mud. Man power had to reinforce horse power.*





*Bavarian battery caught by British gun fire while limbering-up south of the Bapaume road. Only three guns escaped.*





*Hauling horses out of a mud-filled shell-hole on the western front.*



*Another transport incident: Digging an artillery horse out of a quagmire.*



the Admiralty, and after soldiers, munitions, or goods had been delivered at dock-side in England, responsibility for them passed for the time being from the hands of the Army to the Navy, whose duty it was to see to their safe transport and landing. A naval transport officer was on the dock-side at the port of arrival in France, and also an Army officer, styled "military landing officer," and the naval officer formally handed back to the Army, in the person of the military landing officer, the men or things that had been carried overseas.

From this moment, and until they reached their final destination at the front or elsewhere, they came under the control of that immensely important person in modern warfare, the Inspector-General of Communications. Lines of communication, you remember, are a definite, pre-arranged route, or routes, by which men and supplies reach or leave armies in the field. In a hostile country they may have to be defended by troops specially set apart for this purpose; but in France, of course, this duty did not amount to much. Lines of communication were maintained to the British front from "bases" at the ports of France—Havre, Calais, Boulogne, Rouen, and elsewhere. The next stage of transport from these "bases" was by railroad or canal.

It will help to a clearer understanding of the transport scheme in this great war area if it be explained that there were separate directors of railway transport, canal transport, and road transport for the lines of communication, all of whose work was linked up under the department of the Inspector-General of Communications, and through him with the Commander-in-Chief and his Staff. And every base on these lines of communication, and every post on them, and every section, had its commandant as representative of the Inspector-General of Communications, with representatives, if necessary, of the directors of railway, road, or canal transport. To the Inspector-General's department, therefore, and his Staff fell immense and important duties. They were responsible for the control and arrangement of everything sent along the lines of communication—men, munitions, animals, supplies, and the rest. (The luckless soldier or civilian found in this area without proper credentials came under the ban of the Inspector-General or his agents.) They also controlled the administrative services on the lines, in addition to regulating transport supply and the hundred activities relating to it.

They were responsible for the disposal of all reinforcements, munitions, supplies, and other materials in the area, and for their despatch to the front when word for them came down; also for the taking away from the front all that was useful no more. Even the removal of wounded came under the ultimate, if not the immediate, control of the

**The Inspector-General's Department**—all-important Inspector-General of Communications. Another of the activities of his vast department was the selection and taking over of sites and buildings for depots of every kind, and all offices, quarters, and materials that might be necessary for the upkeep of the lines of communication and their functions; also the feeding and housing of all troops living or moving in this area, including prisoners of war. Naturally, so vast a work was split up into many separate departments, each with its own head and representatives; but the

question of transport touched all alike; by transport they had their being and carried on their many functions; by transport they, one and all—just like the fighting men at the front—had to stand or fall.

The bases were the collecting centres for all the commodities needed by every part of the Army. Virtually all of these had to be brought from overseas. France could yield little. The French were busy supplying their own war needs, and even of such things as fresh, home-grown produce, material, and stone for roads Britain had to draw to a large extent on home supplies and carry them overseas. Mr. Balfour mentioned in 1916 that under the guardianship of the British Fleet 4,000,000 fighting men, 1,000,000 horses, 2,500,000 tons of stores, and 22,000,000 gallons of oil had passed overseas for Great Britain and her Allies.

The work of the year 1916 is calculable from the colossal figures set out on page 431. The vast bulk of these men and things transported overseas went to France. The bases there, at the foot of our lines of communication, were receiving them day and night.

What hives of activity and of war resources these bases were could be well appreciated after a walk round any one

Some amazing figures



VILLAGE STREET NEAR VERDUN—FATE OF A FIELD-KITCHEN. Scene of desolation in the Grand Rue of Fleury, before Douaumont, showing the way in which the cottages were demolished and the roadway reduced to a pool. The field-kitchen, which had slipped into a shell-hole in the middle of this wrecked roadway, had to be abandoned.

of them. A moment's thought as to the quantities and the innumerable kinds of things required by an Army of millions of men—food, ammunition, arms, clothing, fighting and building material, medicaments and surgical appliances, stationery, and a hundred others—will give an idea of the size, number, and variety of the stores and depots at the bases through which all these things had to pass. To help to some conception of their capacity some figures of Army purchases may be given. In eighteen months the British Government bought:

TABLE SHOWING EXTENT OF ARMY PURCHASES.

Boots .. ..	20,693,000 pairs	Buttons..	841,913,000
Woollen Cloth ..	89,818,000 yards	Flannel ..	87,703,000 yards
Tent Duck ..	53,944,000 "	Braces ..	10,618,000 pairs
Drawers ..	28,964,000 pairs	Shirts ..	26,340,000
Socks .. ..	53,920,000 "	Blankets	20,782,000
Brushes ..	43,011,000 "	Knives and	
Horseshoe		Forks..	23,689,000
Nails ..	795,000,000	Pickaxes	2,097,000
Spades ..	3,640,000	Wire Rope	11,394,000 feet
Sand-bags ..	700,000,000	Biscuits	214,718,000 lb
Cheese .. ..	69,000,000 lb.	Flour ..	846,564,000 "
Jam .. ..	176,520,000 "	Oats ..	10,368,000 qrs.





[Canadian War Records,  
NEWS FROM THE FAR WEST.  
Arrival of Canadian mail at a postal  
centre behind the firing-line on the  
western front.

These purchases—which represent, of course, only a small part of the many different kinds of things that had to be bought—were up to the spring of 1916. The next year's purchases were on a considerably larger basis, compatible with the great increase during the year in the fighting strength of the nation. An immense proportion of these, as well as a thousand other purchases on a similar gigantic scale, had to pass through the base depots of France to reach the Army in the field and the reserve troops there.

As an illustration of the kind of depot store that was to be found at these bases, one may instance the motor-fittings store at one particular base. In it were to be seen tyres in piles, several feet high and hundreds of feet long. Separate compartments, each as big as a small warehouse, were set apart to contain spare parts for one make of motor-vehicle. Within each compartment inside this place were hundreds of pigeon-holes, each to contain merely one part of this one type of car, and this single part was there in thousands. It was computed early in the war that there were some 500 different types of motor-vehicle used for war purposes, one class of vehicle alone being represented by 20 different types. There were 156 types of solid tyre in use; 679

types of ball bearings; 63 types of magneto. All these and innumerable other parts had to be distributed as required, and at a moment's notice, throughout the war zone from the bases in France.

These depots in turn drew their supplies from huge depots in England, one of which covered many acres underground, and had stocks of tyres, for instance, standing side by side in rows 300 feet long. As with motor "spares," so with all different kinds of war supplies. There were clothing depots—bigger than any clothing emporium ever imagined in ordinary life—provision depots, grocery depots, butchery and meat depots, equipment depots, medical store depots, and a hundred others. From these base depots were fed innumerable smaller depots called advanced depots and field depots, or "dumps," throughout the country. Each of these places would "indent" on base depots for the materials and supplies needed by the troops in its neighbourhood, and the base depots would forward them at best speed.

One begins now to realise the immense work that confronted the transport sections of the Army; their task it was to get all these things—food and clothing and fighting material and ammunition—up to the men in the front lines away from any railway, and to the



[Canadian War Records.  
THE FIELD POST: SORTING AND DISTRIBUTING LETTERS FROM HOME.  
Canadian mailbags arriving at a distributing centre in France. In circle: Sorting letters from home for distribution. The arrival of the home mail was always eagerly looked for by the men in the field



thousands of other soldiers working in other parts of France.

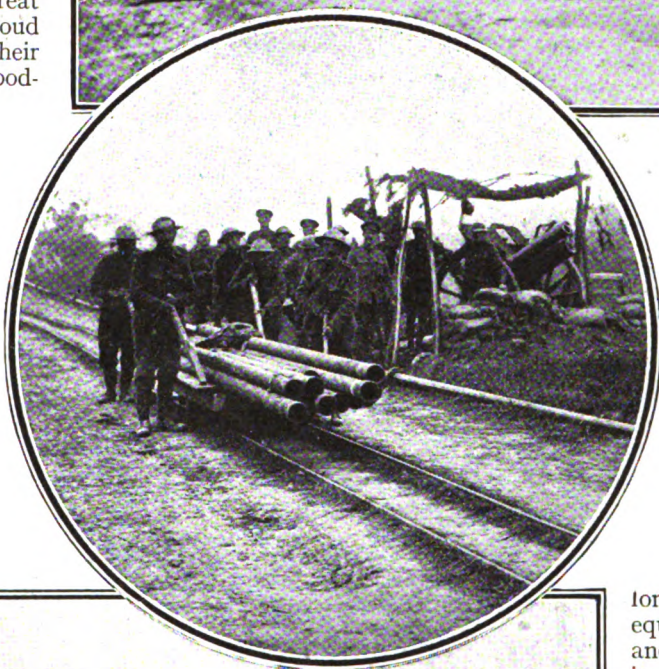
Should they be sent by road, rail, or canal? Their destination, their character, their urgency had to be taken into consideration before arriving at a decision. Their journey might ultimately prove to be by any one of these three means of transport, or by any two, or by all three. But as a rule the canal's share of the work was limited to the carrying of bulky, non-urgent material such as hay and fodder, pit props for the support of dug-out roofs, planks for the lining of dug-outs, iron roofing, cumbersome and unwieldy machinery parts, and the like. The canal barges, were manned by soldier bargemen from the rivers and canals of Great Britain and Ireland—very proud of their military status and their military uniform; very good-tempered and jocular, and well able to hold their own against the chaff levelled at them by British soldiers passing along the canal banks. They had only one regret, these quaint water-soldiers, and it was that they never encountered an enemy craft of their own kind. They dreamt, perhaps, of barge warfare, but it never fell their way. Occasionally they came in for shell fire, however.

One excellent purpose of war for which barges were used, both by British and



(British official photograph.)

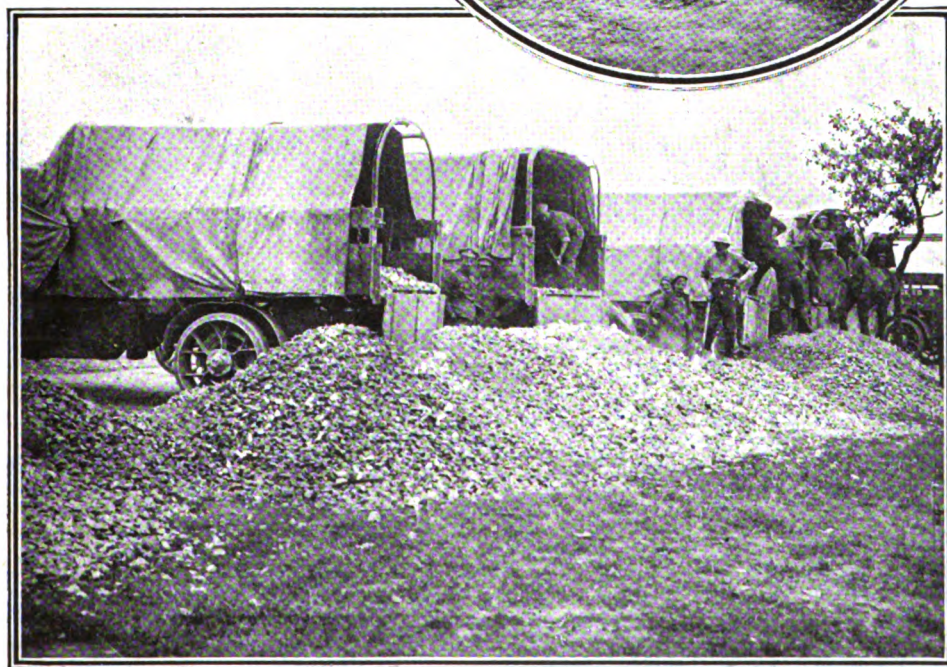
WOOD FOR TRENCH PROPS.  
Unloading rough timber that was to be used for props in the trenches.



French, was the moving of wounded men who, through the nature of their injuries, could not stand removal by jolting train or ambulance-waggon. In areas containing navigable rivers and canals, cases that had to be kept very quiet and still were carried by hand on to the barges fitted up as hospitals, and towed quietly down to the coast. The journey was long, but as the barges were fully equipped with beds, nursing staffs, and medical men, the time spent in them was much the same as time spent in a hospital.

The railway was the next great means of transporting men and commodities towards troops in the field. The French railway staffs alone could never have coped with the vast amount of extra work which the presence of millions of British troops threw on the railways of the country. At the outbreak of war the French mobilised more than 200,000 men for railway work, and these men did prodigies of transport in the first few weeks of the war. The Paris to Lyons Railway on August 5th, 1914, for instance, carried 3,000 military trains; the Orleans Railway 1,500.

In 22 days 42 army corps, each needing 142 trains, had been sent along the latter line, and by the end of September, 117,000 tons of food, 66,000 tons of forage, 107,000 cattle, and twice that number of sheep and pigs, had been sent along the same system. Civilian



(British official photograph.)

HOW THE HIGHWAYS WERE MAINTAINED IN THE BRITISH LINES.  
Unloading stones for metalling roads during the Somme advance. The work of maintaining good communications with the rear was an important feature of every advance. In circle: Taking up water-pipes along a light railway for establishing a regular water supply to the front line.





BEHIND THE FRENCH LINES ON THE SOMME FRONT: ART'S IMPRESSIVE STATEMENT OF TRANSPORT'S GIGANTIC TASK.

French transport behind the lines on the Somme front. In this suggestive picture the brilliant French artist, M. Georges Scott, presents a wonderful impression of the passing columns of men and materials, of motor, horse, and rail transport, perpetually going and coming to and from that front on which the great decisions of the war were being fought out. In a single glance, as it were, he makes plain to us something of the intricate organisation, the gigantic efforts, necessary to maintain that constant flow of the wonderful tide of transport, in all its miscellaneous manifestations, which was essential to victory.



trains suffered, of course. There was not enough rolling-stock for all. The arrival later of locomotives and rolling-stock saved from the Belgian State Railways when the Germans overran Belgium, added to the French railway resources to a valuable extent, but even then there was little enough for France's own war needs. In addition, the need for men for the French Army became pressing, and after some time nearly a quarter of the number mobilised for railway work were taken away to go into the fighting-lines.

When the railway demands of a huge British Army in France came to be faced, therefore, it was seen that some considerable contribution to the railway resources of France would be necessary if the needs, of both these armies in the field, as well as of the civil population of the country, were to be met. It was agreed that the British should undertake certain proportions of the manning and staffing necessary for their own transport work over French railways. One saw on these railways, as a result of this agreement, many British soldier railway servants. Some of the railway sections, more particularly British in their traffic, had even British engine-drivers. Contribution of rolling-stock was also made, and "Le Temps" announced in December, 1916, that Great Britain was shortly to send 10,000 trucks to France, and 10,000 more in the spring of 1917, or earlier; also some locomotives. Thus was provision made against any overtaxing of the capacities of the French railways owing to the ever-increasing size and demands of the British Army in France.

#### British railway-men in France

A month or so earlier the question of a contribution of steam-tugs for relieving the congestion on the French waterways was gone into. Large quantities of coal were lying both at the pit-heads and in barges on the rivers owing to shortage of tugs. The appointment of M. Clareville as Director of General Transport for all France was a measure aimed at meeting this and similar transport difficulties brought about by the heavy tax the war made on all means of transport in France. Our contributions to the staffing of the French railways included both technical personnel, to deal with the construction, maintenance, working, and repair of railways in the war zone, and railway transport establishment personnel to control the arrangements between the Army and the technical personnel for the transport of troops and war commodities.

It may be said, therefore, that to a large extent the British controlled for their own war purposes the lines or parts of lines that they needed between their bases and their war zone in France. Troops and commodities were despatched along these railways in special trains to the working of which hardly any French people contributed. Goods trains and ammunition trains were "made up" at the bases by British soldier railwaymen and despatched to the war zone with all the regularity and method employed in a London railway goods-yard. Certain trains left for certain parts of the front at a fixed time every day, and many of them had a fixed load, or one which varied hardly at all from day to day. Of such a kind were the food trains. For, once the Army had settled



POWERFUL "CATERPILLAR" TRACTOR HAULING A HEAVY HOWITZER.

For moving heavy artillery on the bad surfaces over which they had frequently to be taken to the front in France, the tractor with "caterpillar" movement proved of great value. The odd assortment of boxes and cases for which the tractor provided transport were but a negligible addition to the weight which the tractor had to haul. The horseshoe on the front was presumably mounted as a luck-ensuring charm.

down into well-defined positions, which varied only at long intervals, if at all, it became possible to despatch rations and other requirements fairly regular in character and constant in quantity in similar loads. Troops, of course, who had long journeys to make were sent by train. But troop transport by railway has its difficulties, and in general it was found better in France to move troops by road for all save long-distance journeys, leaving the railways as free as possible to cope with the supply of food and material and ammunition—a tremendous task enough. The nearness to which railway trains could approach forces in the field varied very much in different parts of the war zone, but, at best, they could not approach nearer than six miles or thereabouts, and more often not within double this distance. The points at which they unloaded their freights—of men or ammunition or supplies—were called "rail-heads." These were points on the railway chosen not so much for their nearness to the troops as for their suitability in respect of roads leading thence to the area occupied by the particular troops for whom supplies were meant. For the purposes of transport and supply, an army "division" was treated as the unit—that is to say, that each division organised its own supply and transport, established its own depots and "dumps," and had nothing to do with the transport arrangements of any other division. Each division had its "rail-head" (though three divisions, making a "corps," might use the same one), and when goods were delivered at these "rail heads," they were met by divisional transport vehicles of one kind or another for transport to each divisional area. If the troops were a long way distant these vehicles would be motor-waggon and lorries of the "divisional supply column"; if the troops were not very far away the vehicles might be the horse-waggon of the "divisional trains," \* but, in the majority of cases,

#### Divisional transport and supply

\* Throughout this chapter care must be taken not to confuse divisional "trains," which are horse-waggon, with railway "trains."





[British official photograph.]

#### BRITISH TRANSPORT LORRIES AND HAND-CARTS PASSING EACH OTHER ON A FRENCH ROAD.

Men of the Middlesex Regiment returning in pouring rain after a spell in the trenches. They were passing a long train of motor-lorries of the British Mechanical Transport Service that were taking supplies up to the

front. Though the "Die-Hards" had ponies to draw some of their small carts, the men had to push others over the miry ways, but readily gave their comrades a "lift" on the way back to the rest camp.

the troops were so far distant from "rail-head" that motor transport was necessary.

A "rail head" at the time of a train's arrival and unloading was quite one of the war sights of France. Rail-head might be an old-established goods siding near a town, with loading platforms and warehouses complete, or it might be a bare bit of railway with newly-made sidings in open country miles from any town, and with no more than a farmstead or two to be seen from it. The roads leading

from it to the main roads might be of logs laid transversely, called a "corduroy" road, over which horse-waggons and motor-lorries would bump and jolt in

liveliest fashion. Motor-vans and horse-waggons might be drawn up against the railway train's side with busy soldiers working in every railway-truck and road vehicle. Or, if the train's load was not for immediate transport to the front, the goods might be piled up on platforms or in adjoining fields, or in any side store space available; for it was an axiom of railway working in France that a train must not be kept waiting; it must be emptied as soon as it arrived, and begin as soon as possible its return journey to the base, carrying any empties or war salvage, or other material that had to be taken down the lines. Vehicles of all kinds beset "rail head" day and night; the place seemed to have no quiet season. When they were not wanting rations they were drawing ammunition or ordnance stores, or material for working parties; for road transport from rail-head for these different kinds of requirements was organised separately, even though all might be intended for the same division in the field.

When it is remembered that a division represented possibly as many as 20,000 to 25,000 men and officers, 3,000 or 4,000 horses, guns, both big and small, carts and vehicles innumerable, hospitals, post-offices and the rest, it will be realised what work fell on the divisional transport

in getting all the requirements for their upkeep and work from "rail-head" to the front, the last stages of the journey being perhaps into inaccessible places where no more than loaded pack-mules could travel, and where even these creatures had to yield up their burden at length to be carried by hand.

A service so big and so thorough as that maintained every day between rail-heads and the front line troops in France, and especially on the Somme, would never have been possible without some service of road transport of extraordinary capacity and efficiency. This was to be found in the British Mechanical Transport Service. This service of British motor-waggons and lorries was one of the great wonders of the war. People spoke of it as "the" wonder of the war, and it had at least some claim to the appellation. Along the war-zone roads of France, roads that were often execrably bad and execrably narrow, that were sometimes ploughed up by shell, or flooded by rains, or broken and crumbled by subsidence, these fleets of motor-waggons, driven by drivers who a few months earlier had been driving the 'buses and taxi-cabs and commercial motors of Britain, maintained day in day out a service of food and stores and shell in quantities never previously dreamt of in warfare. Night or day they rumbled patiently and methodically along the roads with their heavy loads, overcoming innumerable difficulties and getting vehicles through positions and dangers that would have turned any "nervy" motorist's hair grey. All this they did with a wonderful cheeriness and boyish roguery. There were no more ready jesters on the roads of France than the "M.T." men. They were soldiers, of course, and one noted on every waggon and lorry the rifle slung ready to hand just above the driver's head on his sheltered driving seat. But, except through mishaps and retreats, the motor-lorry drivers did not have much fighting to do. In

**The Mechanical  
Transport Service**



the later days of the war, after our advances began, they were fairly safe from actual contact with the enemy, but they came under shell fire at times, and many lost their lives.

These British motor-lorries and waggons in France were to be numbered in their thousands. An official statement made some fifteen months before the war began, and recalled by the "Times" in October, 1914, said that on mobilisation the mechanical transport strength of the various armies would be as follows: Germany, 2,000 motor-waggon units (each unit comprising a four-ton lorry tractor with a two-ton trailer); France, 5,000 three-ton lorries; Britain, 1,000 motor-waggon units. Without disclosing the full number of British motor lorries and wagons in use in the war, it may be said that this estimate of 1,000 would not have sufficed for a tithe of the transport work for which motor transport was used. The motor parks in France alone, in which reserves of motor-lorries were stored for the replacement of casualties among the motor-transport waggon, had probably lorries enough to exceed that estimate.

**Repair and refit workshops**

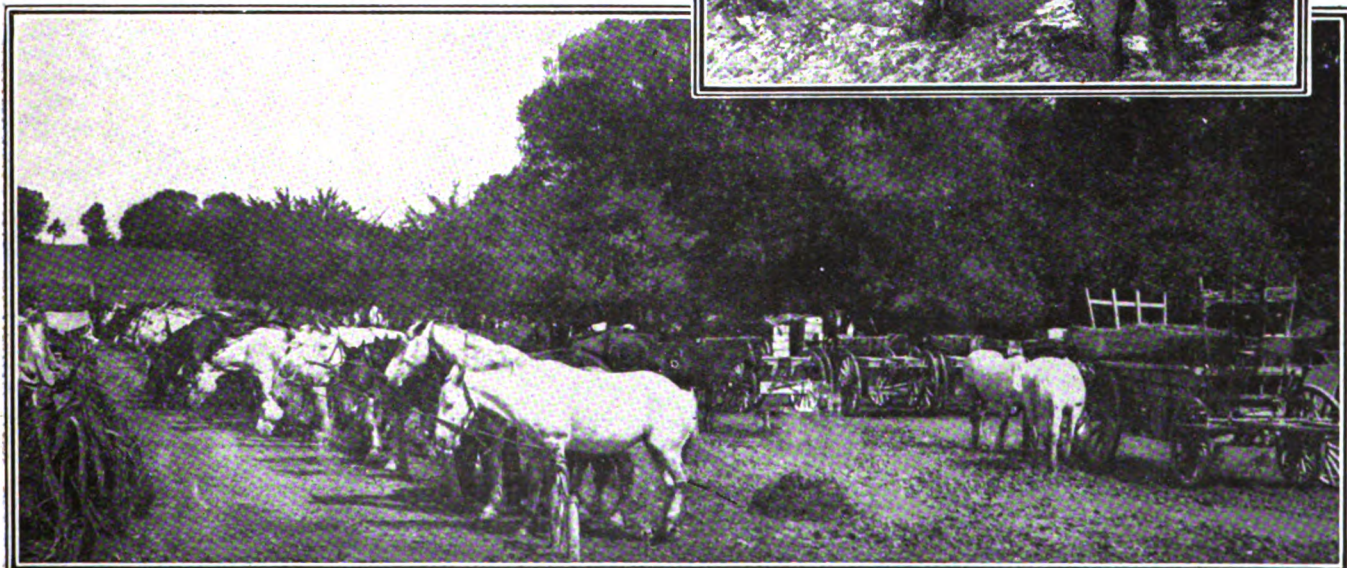
They stood in rows and squares of great size at the base "parks"—brand new lorries all ready to be drawn upon whenever a new supply column was needed or whenever worn out or damaged lorries were to be replaced.

The repair workshops and refit workshops for motor-transport vehicles employed thousands of men. They were hives of mechanical industry, often on as big a scale as some of the big railway-engine works at home. In addition, the lines of communication were dotted with sub-depots to which a car could run or be towed to have its defects put right. There were also moving squads of mechanics—"breakdown gangs," as it were—who at a summons by telephone would dash off in their breakdown waggon to the help of any lorry that had met with casualty on the road. These repair gangs were organised in units on military lines. They had their mobile workshops mounted on lorries, and on a country road near the front one might come at any moment upon a broken-down lorry dragged to the roadside or off the road if possible, and round it a swarm of blue-coated soldiers, mechanics, with their lifting tackle and tools and their portable forge roaring pleasantly in the open air to the draught of a hand or foot bellows. Or if the worst had happened, if the lorry had broken down irreparably—as, for instance, when a shell had lifted it off the road and half over the bank, as in one case I saw—the gang at work on it would

be a "motor salvage party." They would burrow among the debris, unscrewing wheels, lamps, horn or anything that was valuable, and before long all that would remain would be the broken chips of the lorry and perhaps a few twisted bits of worthless iron. All else had been lifted into the salvage waggon to be taken away to the local salvage dump, whence it would be transported later to the base.

Special arrangements had been made for dealing with tyre trouble, which was the most common cause of incapacity. Tyre presses were established at different points well inside the war zone to save lorries from having to leave the war area for their repairs. Some of these presses were mounted on special railway trucks. Broken radiators occurred rather often, owing to the crowded state of the roads and rail-heads and the number of times that lorries had to crawl along one behind another, now moving a few yards, now stopping again, and so on. Early in the war this trouble was more common. To men used to the close and crowded traffic of London streets it seemed impossible to get into the way of driving with the regulation thirty paces between each two vehicles. Often they were only a few inches apart, and it needed only a little hole in the road or some unevenness to take the hinder lorry with a bump on to the back of the one before it, a bent or broken radiator being the result. In time, however, the officers managed to eradicate this habit of close driving. To add to the risk of this form of mishap there was sometimes driving to be done at night without lights. As a general rule the lorries were expected to load up at the rail-heads at night, then to "park" by the roadside or in some convenient ground for the night, and to set off on their

**Tyre and radiator troubles**



HORSE LINES AT A BRITISH AMMUNITION DUMP IN FRANCE.

[British official photographs.]

If the horse came to take a subsidiary part during the protracted trench stages of the war, and was in many respects superseded by the triumphant motor transport, it was yet an essential auxiliary with the guns and waggon

in much of the transport work. Above: Scraping the mud from a mule that had been submerged in mire. Mud-filled shell-holes not infrequently proved traps for the transport animals from which rescue was difficult.





[British official photograph.]  
**FILLING ONE OF THE HOT-FOOD "CONTAINERS."**  
 "Containers" were devised during the war for keeping the men in the trenches supplied with hot food. One man could thus carry up the food necessary for many comrades.

journeys with the coming of daylight. But any little accident on the road might make a lorry late and prevent its arrival back at "rail-head" before dark. Night motoring along the roads in the French war zone was rather speculative work.

The motor-lorries were of many different makes, British and American, and some makes were more popular with drivers than others, but no make that did not prove to possess a very full degree of efficiency was allowed to form part of a divisional supply column, which was expected to run with something of the regularity of a railway train. The lorries were chiefly of three tons' capacity, and weighed when loaded some six and three-quarter tons, though there were also a number of smaller ones. They

#### Lorries and their signs

had a boarded-up seat, with a hood to accommodate driver and two other men if necessary. The lorry sides were boarded up to a height of perhaps two feet, and from these sides ran iron rods vertically, bending over the top of the lorry like the hood of a Cape cart. Over this stretched a tarpaulin cover, generally left open at the back. The lorries of one supply column were all marked with the same sign. It might be a red triangle with a white circle inside, or a hand or a wing, or a white horse, or the ace of clubs, or any other sign that struck the mind of the man who invented these things. The sign was conspicuously painted on the back of the lorry, where it could be seen at a glance. Numbers and letters were avoided because they were more tell-tale to any friend of the enemy who watched their habits and destinations. One man generally rode inside the lorry, and kept a look-out for any faster-moving

traffic—such, for instance, as a Staff officer's motor-car—coming up behind him, and on seeing such a car he would warn his driver by pulling a little bobbin near the top cover of the lorry, which made some sort of a noise near the driving seat for the driver to hear. There was a little secret code between driver and "guard"—one pull for any ordinary car, and one or more for a brigadier or divisional commander, with quite a little series for the Commander-in-Chief himself. And for him, of course, the ordinary motor-lorry driver got on one side of the road very quickly indeed.

In the early days of the war the drivers gave their lorries names, which they painted on them over the driver's hood or on the sides. Supply columns would take series of names having one association. **Life of the motor-lorry crews** One column might have flower names, or girls' names; another might have admirals' names, another names drawn from Dickens' novels—there was a Stiggins lorry, for instance, a Chadband lorry, and a Quilp. But it was feared that these names led to a too close association in people's minds between certain supply columns and the divisions they served, and an order was issued that names of lorries must be removed. Unofficially, drivers still called their lorries by name, but the names were not painted on.



[British official photograph.]  
**SETTING OFF WITH HOT SOUP FOR THE FRONT-LINE MEN.**  
 From a field-kitchen in a conveniently sheltered spot behind the lines the men of the ration-party got their supplies of hot soup, and with their containers tightly screwed down, set out thus on the march back to the trenches.

The motor-lorry crews slept for the most part in their lorries, and at night-time it was interesting to visit a "column" drawn up at the side of some wide road or in an open space and see the cunning little arrangements which the "M.T." crews had devised for their comfort. The tarpaulin hood of the lorry, spread over its tall framework of iron rods, made a tent bigger and more roomy than most tents that fall to the lot of a soldier in the field. Lit by a candle-lamp or by one of the side oil-lamps of the motor-lorry and warmed by a paraffin-stove, a luxury with which many of the lorry crews had provided themselves, an empty motor-lorry made one of the most comfortable of billets. Passing soldiers, tramping through the mud on their way perhaps to dug-out quarters or to cellar billets, peeped inside the wayside motor-lorries with envy and chafed the inhabitants about their "luxurious" mode of life. Often the homely fragrance of grilling bacon would float out to these wet and weary "foot sloggers" from the open flaps of a motor-waggon, and that seemed always to inspire foot troops to extra irony.

You climbed up to these lorry interiors by the aid of a small ladder reaching from the back-board to the ground.



Inside you might see the far wall of wood—at the back of the driver's seat—covered with photographs and pictures from the papers. A small hand-mirror might hang there, and possibly a toothbrush, stuck in a small loop of leather. If the load for the following day's journey were on board the accommodation might be very limited. The floor space might be covered with boxes or shell-cases, leaving only very small room available for the occupants. But if there was any room to spare, as was often the case—for the

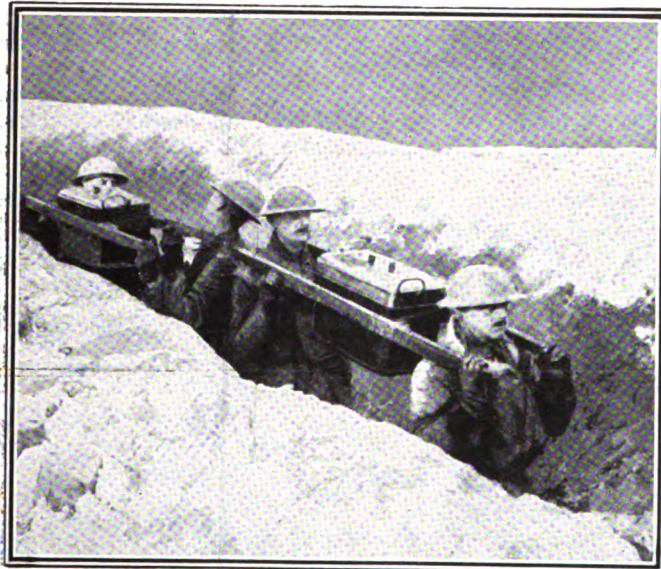
**Caravanning in motor-lorries**

lorries were not loaded to their fullest capacity as a rule—a folding-table and a canvas-topped stool or two might form part of the place's furniture. When bedtime came the men could stretch out their blankets on the floor of the waggon or on the cases of goods or ammunition that formed their cargo, but most of them had devised hammock beds made of canvas or sacking, stretched on wooden frames which fitted into grooves cut in the sides of the motor-lorry. These beds were not supplied by the Army, but were home-made. The materials were obtained in many ways that were not orthodox, and the big letters "P.O." on the canvas of one such bed that was seen might have given a hint to the Postmaster-General as to where

advanced point than "rail-head," to which the divisional horse transport could conveniently come to get them and take them on to the units in the field. A division's horse transport was of considerable strength. The divisional "train," whose duties were connected with food, fuel, light, and other stores, comprised about 160 waggons, 375 horses, and 420 men of all ranks. In addition, a division had its divisional ammunition column of nearly 570 men and some 700 horses. This column was fed by a motor-transport section of 48 motor lorries with 186 men of all ranks. The two services worked on much the same principles but quite separately, for while "supplies" for a division might be a fairly constant load every day, munitions might be a "rush" one week with comparatively little to do the next week. Another factor that made a separate service for supplies and ammunition desirable was the different nature of the commodities handled; also the fact that as the guns were not so far forward as the infantry and as the shells were taken to them were so heavy and unwieldy to "tranship," it was desirable whenever possible to run shell lorries right up to the gun positions or to some near point whence shells could be pushed up by hand rail-way or some other such means. Failing this, shells went to the divisional "sub park" (each army corps had an ammunition "park," each division had a "sub park"), to be taken forward later by the divisional ammunition column; supplies went to a spot called the "refilling point." To this point came every day the divisional "trains" to load up and take back supplies to the three brigades of the division and the "divisional troops"—comprising divisional headquarters Staff and administrative troops not so far advanced in the field as the front-line infantry. Thus "refilling point" was the point at which lines of communication transport and field-transport linked up. "Refilling point," of course, was advanced or retired as the troops which it was intended to serve advanced or retired. Its nearness to the front-line trenches varied very much in different positions, but it might be about ten miles or more.

**Work of divisional "trains"**

From "rail-head" to "refilling point" and from "refilling point" to front, the roads of France were always busy. Yet the enormous traffic was wonderfully well



*British official photograph.*  
**HOI RATIONS IN TRANSIT.**  
Ration-party carrying supplies of hot food along a communication trench to the men in the firing-line.

one of his letter sacks had gone.

The officer in charge of a motor-transport supply column would sleep in billets if his column were parked near its headquarters, but for nights on the road he carried a portable tent, which his servant would pitch at the road-side near his column, and here he would spend the night alone—probably colder and damper than his men with their waggons to sleep in.

The function of motor transport in the war area in France was to serve as the connecting-link between the railways and the horse transport attached to each fighting unit. For motor-lorries, of course, could not take their loads right up to the front-line trenches, nor to within some little distance of them. Instead they took them only to some more



*British official photograph.*  
**SERVING OUT STEW IN A FRONT-LINE TRENCH.**  
Company ration-parties, representing each platoon and special section, attended at the battalion "dump" in charge of a corporal, and thence carried the rations to the trenches by hand. The journey was sometimes as long as two miles, and was frequently one of extreme difficulty and danger.



distributed. Supplies and ammunition for different parts of a division had as far as possible their own routes and their own times for being on the road. Some of those road transport services were worked with all the regularity of railway trains at home. Stand at a certain spot on a certain road at a given time and you might depend on seeing one particular unit's "train" pass by. After an interval

**Road transport  
regularity**

someone else's ammunition column might come along. The soldier policeman on point duty could tell you almost to a certainty which "trains" were coming along the road at that moment and where they were likely to be. It was seldom that things went wrong. During the vile weather of the early winter of 1916, when the roads seemed literally to rot and disintegrate owing to the great amount of traffic that passed over them in their wet state, one came across serious blocks of traffic at times, but considering the enormous amount of traffic these occasions were surprisingly infrequent.

When the Army moved to any considerable extent there was much reorganisation of traffic to be done, but the system was such as to allow of any movement on the part of the Army without throwing out of gear the supply service to it. If there was likely to be any doubt as to a division's position, the divisional supply column motors, on loading up at "rail head" and turning back towards the front again with their loads, made first for a point on the way technically called a "rendezvous." Here they came in touch with representatives of the actual units for whom their supplies were meant, and if there had been

any change in the position of the troops these men were aware of it and informed the divisional motor transport of any change that might have been made in the position of "refilling point" and acted as guides to it. Whenever the position of the troops became fairly constant, however, these "rendezvous" and their use dropped out, though they were revived at once when the necessity for them again arose.

What the motor-transport supply columns deposited at a "refilling point" was taken away again either immediately or, at latest, before twenty-four hours had expired, by the horse "trains" of the division. It was an inspiring sight to see one of these long "trains" of waggons making its way along the road. In the winter they were yellow mud to the axles, the shaggy hair of their horses was muddy, their riders were muddy, so that at a distance they might have been carved out of mud. Much shouting and encouragement were used to get the horses through the ruts and mud pools in the roads, and a "train" on a bad road, with every driver shouting, waggons jolting, horses slipping and straining, could

**Picturesque  
Australian drivers**

be heard half a mile away. Everyone used to admire very much the Australian divisional "trains"—the big bronzed men with their wide-brimmed hats, the struggling horses going forward to queer shouts of encouragement that would have been quite foreign words to an English horseman, and to most fearsome cracking of whips. The Australian horsemen, though economical enough in their application of whips, could crack them in most formidable fashion. Rough

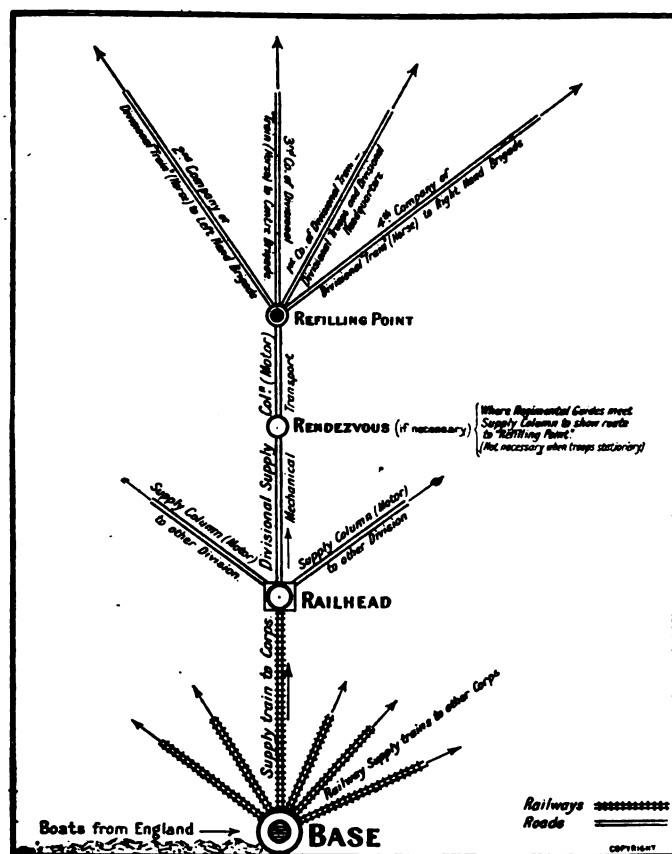


GREAT BRITAIN'S WAY WITH PRISONERS OF WAR: TEA AFTER CAPTURE.

[British official photograph.]

Germans who fell into British hands had no reason to complain of the treatment they received. In contrast with their own treatment of British soldier prisoners, especially with that meted out in the early days of the war, it was indeed generous to a degree that provoked protest from some people, who thought it would be misinterpreted as due to weakness instead of to proper feelings of humanity.





SKETCH PLAN OF TRANSPORT SYSTEM.  
Indicating the way supplies were carried from the base to a division.

roads seemed to cause them no concern. A cart might tilt over to an angle of sixty degrees and yet leave the man inside it still chewing comfortably at his wisp of hay or smoking his pipe as though this was most comfortable travelling. On bad roads the Australians were, perhaps, more expert than our British drivers, but on wet and flooded roads they were at first not so good. The wet and the mud depressed them. They were less used to weather of this kind, but after two years in France they became quite as good "wet-bobs" as the British drivers.

By each divisional horse "train" supplies were taken to field supply depots, or "dumps," near each regimental headquarters, and to the area occupied by the "divisional troops"—that is, the troops such as artillery, engineers, and others whose position was farther from the battle-front than that of the infantry in the line.

Before tracing further the transport of supplies from base to front it may be helpful to show visually, by means of the rough sketch plan above, the progress made so far and the various means of transport adopted, for the whole thing is rather complicated to anyone not familiar with Army transport method and terms.

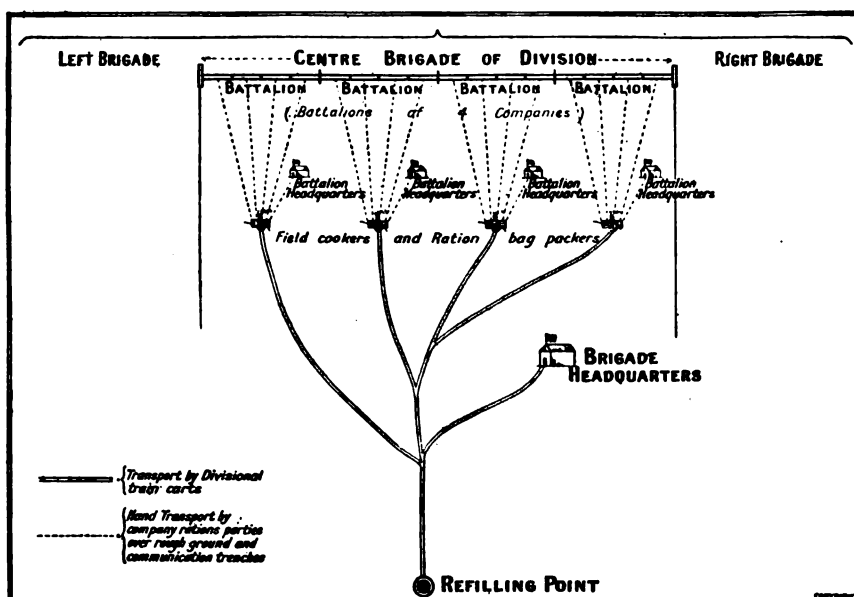
It will be understood that although on this sketch lines representing routes are drawn straight, the actual routes taken by transport might be, and often were, circuitous; also that no sketch to scale was possible, for distances varied with each "rail-head" and each division and brigade. The idea of the sketch is rather to illustrate the means of supply transport. Ammunition transport followed much the same lines.

As far as the "refilling point" transport was all mechanical. From this point onwards to the trenches all transport, as is shown in the second sketch below, was by horse or man power. At the most advanced point that was convenient the food was handed over to each battalion's quartermaster. His men—regimental quartermaster-sergeant and assistants—split up the rations into five parts, one each for the four companies of the battalion, and the fifth for the headquarters of the battalion. The company quartermaster-sergeants were then responsible that the men in the trenches should receive their supplies. Every company quartermaster-sergeant handed over his meat and bacon to his cooks (who, with their cookers, were at the same spot behind the lines), and proceeded to split up his company's rations into parts—one for each company platoon, one for officers, one for machine-gunners, etc. This took him some time, and when he was ready the meat that had been cooking was ready also. This, too, was subdivided, and the whole of the day's rations—cooked meat, bread, tea, jam, etc., was parcelled up in sand-bags, labelled with wooden chips tied on with string. The destination of each sand-bag was written in indelible pencil on the chip—such and such platoon, or machine-gun crew number so-and-so, or what ever the destination might be. The sand-bags and their contents were then taken nearer to the lines under the superintendence of the company quartermaster-sergeants or their corporals. A cart might be used if the roads were good enough, pack-mules if they were not.

#### Distribution of food supplies

They were carried forward to a selected point which might be as much as a mile or (on the Somme) even two behind the front trenches. Here the company ration-parties, representing each platoon and special section such as machine-gunners, came in charge of their corporals to carry up rations to the trenches by hand. Water-parties, similar to the ration-parties, came also. A water squad had seen to the filling of old petrol-cans (two for each platoon or section) with water, and these and the rations were carried up over the rough country and through the communication-trenches leading to the front trenches.

The journey might be one of extreme difficulty, and it happened not a few times—on the Somme especially—that ration and water parties failed altogether to get their supplies through to their companies. In fact, parties to rescue the ration-parties from the mud had sometimes to be organised. On that day the men in the trenches



BATTALION AND COMPANY DISTRIBUTION.  
Showing how the distribution was effected from refilling point to companies in the trenches.



would have to subsist on any "overmatter" they had in the way of food and water from the previous day. Cases happened of men depriving dead Germans of their water-bottles to help them along till the next day's supplies came up.

The matter of the transport of supplies from base to trench has been gone into in this chapter in close detail because every type of trench and soldier requirement, besides food, had to be taken up by this or very similar methods. Ammunition, weapons, wire, materials, hand-grenades, mine explosives, and a hundred other things threw immense work upon the transport departments of the Army, both regimental and Army Service Corps, and that it was done with so few mishaps is great testimony both to the method and to the men responsible for its working.

The side issues of this tremendous transport work were often very big and important. Remembering the great proportion of the carrying that was done by road it will be evident to everyone that the wear and tear upon roads, and therefore the question of the upkeep of roads, was a very great problem. Not only were the war-zone roads ground to bits by much heavy traffic, rotted and weakened by heavy rains, but near the front they were torn by the enemy's shell, in addition. The work that fell to the road engineers, therefore, was very heavy. They dug great sump-holes by the road-sides to drain off the water, some of these being twelve feet deep and more. Road metal in great quantities was needed, and it was not always readily available, for the stones of France are, for the most part, too soft to make very good road surfaces for heavy traffic.

Labour, too, was a problem. Gangs of German prisoners did some work on the roads away from the front, but the rule that prisoners of war could not be employed in zones liable to shell fire was rigorously observed, and the German prisoners' working areas were well back. It often fell to the British infantry soldiers, therefore, to do their bit of road-mending after they had done their spell in the trenches. They were detailed off in working-parties under engineer officers or non-coms., who acted as foremen. They worked very cheerily, if not very skilfully. French peasants cut sticks from the many pollarded trees and bound them up into fascines, which made a very fair dressing for roads that were especially muddy. "Corduroy" roads were also much in use, and the great "rondins," or trimmed logs, were brought up by train or canal or peasant cart.

It became clear as time went on, and as the quantity of British shell of the heaviest sorts rose and rose, that some alternative, or some supplement, to road transport might be desirable for the transport of the heavier loads—such as big-gun ammunition. The solution was found in the extension of railways and the addition of light railways, connecting with the ordinary railways and running forward into positions and areas in which ordinary railways would not have been possible. No fewer

than 230 miles of war railways were built by the British Army in France. The French had dealt with the problem of transporting heavy shells in a similar manner with excellent results, and their Decauville railways served as an admirable illustration of the adaptability of light railways for trench-war purposes. The gauge of these railways was only two feet normally, and near the front this might be reduced to little more than a foot, so that trucks might run by hand even along communication-trenches. The rails were riveted together two by two on metal sleepers. These, fastened together and covered with a thin layer of ballast, could be put down quickly on almost any existing road or path, and even upon open country. The truck was merely a flat platform on bogie wheels, and it carried a load up to eight tons—the weight-carrying capacity of nearly three motor-lorries. The motive power was supplied by steam locomotives, or by petrol motor-tractors, that could pull a load of twenty-five tons up a gradient of three in a hundred.

A normal rail-head was probably ten miles behind trenches but a light-railway "rail-head" could be within a few hundred feet of the batteries that it served. Care had to be taken, of course, to screen these railways when they neared their batteries, because more than one German battery had been located by allied airmen through seeing the rails that took the shells to it. The light railways were liable to be smashed by shell, of course, but they were so easy to repair—rails for them were all ready pieced together, and needed only to be laid and bolted and ballasted a little—that this risk was not of much consequence.

The light railways linked up with the main railways at convenient points. A junction of this sort might be the simplest affair. The military station, for instance, at the point whence 40,000 men in Champagne were revictualled was an unenclosed space containing a few huts, and a long bank about three feet high running alongside the main rail to serve as a platform. On this were usually carts innumerable, to take away the food supplies for the troops. Ammunition and shells, however, went forward by the light railways, which ran away from the junction in four or five directions to different parts of the front.

These lines were called "antennes" and each supplied its own little section of the front. But it might so happen that an attack in one section might throw on that section's light railway more strain than it could carry. The "antennes," therefore, were intersected at points near the front by light railways running parallel to the front. These were called "rocodes." In the event of special stress, ammunition could be sent away by all "antennes" and transferred to one particular section later by the "rocodes." The transport capacity of these light railways was shown by the fact that on one day, working twenty-four hours, 1,700 tons of ammunition had been despatched by one of these "antennes" alone.

"Antennes"  
and "rocodes"



[British official photograph.]

"ARTHUR" AT THE FRONT.

Coffee-stalls—familiar "Arthur's" in the London streets—were established at many points in the war area, and there soldiers in search of refreshment were able to obtain coffee, tea, and biscuits free or at a quite nominal charge.

#### Use of light railways



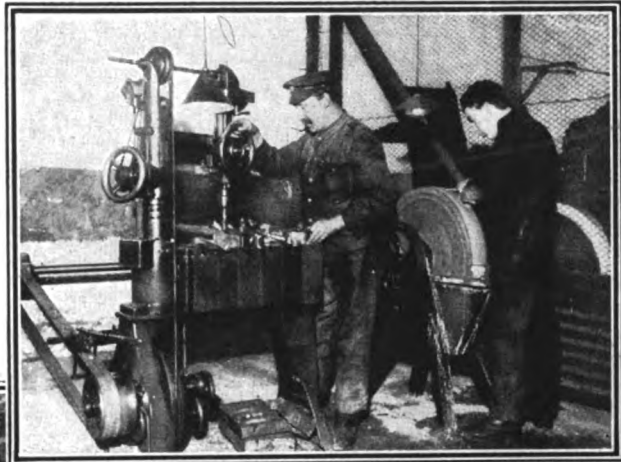
When ammunition had been unloaded from the main-line railway trucks to the light-railway trucks, a little engine came along and pulled the shell trucks to ammunition depots nearer the front. For each size of gun there was a separate shell shed at the depot. One shed was filled high with stacks of yellow 6 in. shells, another with 8 in., and so on. Telephone connection with every part of the front added to the efficiency of these light railways and the work of the ammunition depots. Extra supplies could be despatched at a moment's notice to any gun position. Occasions might arise, of course, when the expenditure of shell by the guns was such as to overtax the capacity of

**Ammunition transport  
at Verdun**

even the light railways, but on such occasions the motor road transport could be brought into play again and ammunition supplies could be going both by road and by light rail as well. This happened at Verdun, and working in addition to the light railways was a series of fleets of motor-waggons, comprising in all no fewer than 4,000 waggons carrying shells day and night to the French guns. Nothing like it had ever been achieved in war, or even conceived as possible.

That light railway could supersede road transport altogether was, of course, impracticable. The light railway, though admirable for taking part of the burden off roads, and thereby making more easy their maintenance, and leaving them freer and in better condition for use in periods of special stress, was too inelastic for exclusive use. The motor van and lorry remained the great "stand by" of transport for supplies and ammunition.

There was, on the front in France, a tremendous amount of transport by light vans and motor-cars and motor-omnibuses and chars-à-bancs. The two last named proved very useful for the quick transfer of troops from place to place. The light motor-vans were employed chiefly in motor convoys of the Royal Army Medical Service as ambulances, and the discovery was made that the lighter, cheaper makes of car were more economical to use than many of the more costly makes. Their simpler mechanism seemed less susceptible to damage from the shakings and joltings they received over the rough roads near the front, and several much despised makes of cheap car, American and other, came through their exacting war service with honours while some more famous and better-known makes of car failed with ignominy.



*(British official photograph.)*

**REPAIR WORKSHOPS FOR MOTOR-TRANSPORT VEHICLES ON LINES OF COMMUNICATION.** Repair and refitting workshops employed thousands of men. In addition, the lines of communication were dotted with sub-depots, to which cars could be towed for repairs, mechanical workshops like the one shown

above, and mobile repair shops which could travel to any point. Tyre mishaps and damaged radiators, due to cars running too close to one another on the broken roads, were the most common causes of trouble.

EEE





One of the depots at a base where supplies were received day and night from England and passed on at once up lines of communication.



Unloading meat from a meat ship on a French quayside and (in oval) a store of yeast for the Army bakers. The daily export of supplies from England for the British Army in France alone was twelve thousand tons, these "supplies" being exclusive of the vast quantities of ammunition, large and small, for artillery, machine-guns, trench-mortars, and rifles.

FEEDING THE BRITISH ARMY IN FRANCE: GLIMPSES OF THE WORK OF THE TRANSPORT SERVICE.

In very hilly and mountainous parts of France all normal forms of transport by road or by rail were at a disadvantage, and some more satisfactory means of taking up supplies had to be found. Eventually aerial railways were established, consisting of a taut steel wire thirty or more feet above the ground, upon which were suspended small trucks running on a trolley-wheel. They were called "transbordeur" trucks, and they flitted through the air in the queerest fashion, bridging valleys and gullies and ravines that would have been difficult to cross by any other means. Some of these were in full view of the enemy, who often tried by shell fire to upset them, but with little success; for a wire offered but a slight target, and, as a rule, in places where the wires were visible to the enemy, trucks were run over only during the night.

#### Transport in mountainous country

For these mountainous districts mules were much used as pack animals. There were, too, a great number of Algerian donkeys—small, whitish, sure-footed beasts of wonderful strength if of equally wonderful obstinacy. The French Colonial troops were almost the only people skilled in the handling of this queer little beast, but under the hands of an Algerian soldier—not always very gentle hands—the donkeys did great work. With shells for field-gun or mountain-gun, packed in wicker cases on their flanks, they could plod their way up or down a mountain side and never lose their feet or their loads. Diminutive railways and trucks were also used for transport purposes in these hilly regions, and harnessed to one of these trucks might be a brace of dogs. Dogs from Canada and Alaska



had been imported for the work with special dog-masters of their own. They worked very efficiently. When snow fell their little waggons were fitted with runners and used as sleighs.

The figures given at the beginning of this chapter show to what extent letters and mails increased the transport work of our Army in France. Mails came along to each rail-head from the base by railway supply trains having "mail" vans attached. "Mail guards" travelled by the train. At rail-head letters for each division were put into 30 cwt. mail motor-lorries for that division, and these lorries travelled forward, manned by special P.O. staffs, with the M.T. Supply Column to a post-office at refilling point, where the letters were sorted out for forwarding to the respective brigade areas of the division.

**Method of forwarding the mails**

Each brigade headquarters had a post-office with sub-officer at the regimental headquarters.

The sending back from the front of damaged material and "returnable empties"—such as shell-cases—was another important branch of transport work. At the bases there were huge depots for salvage of this kind, and articles were sorted and separated. One depot was devoted to rifles, water-bottles, bayonets; another to old bicycles, motor-bicycles, and motor-cars; another to clothing, and so on.

Thus to and fro the stream of war transport went, and so long as the war lasted it could never cease. Thousands of men were engaged upon it. To them the war was transport—just transport.



Newly-baked Army bread. The British Government's purchases of flour in the first eighteen months of the war amounted to 846,564,000 lb.



Lorries loading at a rail-head, and (in oval) putting onions in sacks at a storehouse for entrainment. Vehicles of all kinds beset rail-heads day and night, for it was an axiom of railway working in France that a train must be emptied as soon as it arrived. From rail-head motor-waggons and lorries conveyed the supplies to the divisional area by road.

ONE OF THE WAR SIGHTS OF FRANCE: MOTOR-LORRIES AT A DIVISIONAL RAIL-HEAD.





#### ARRIVAL OF RUSSIAN HELP FOR THE HARD-PRESSED RUMANIANS.

On the quayside at Braila a cosmopolitan crowd accorded hearty cheers to the Russian transport which brought fresh troops and stores for the assistance of the hard-pressed Rumanians in the time of their great

trial. Soldiers, refugees, and a couple of Sisters from the Scottish Women's Field Hospital were among those who enthusiastically welcomed the arrival of help from Rumania's great neighbour and ally.





## THE SUPREME DEVELOPMENT OF TEUTONIC-OTTOMAN METHODS OF BARBARISM.

By Edward Wright.

Devilry of German Science—Teutonic Soldiery Soften in Trench Warfare, and are Incited by Slanders on British Troops—Barbaric Treatment of Britons Designed to Provoke Reprisals—Method by which Austro-Hungarians Turned their Men into Devils—Copy of Austrian Order to Perpetrate Atrocities—How the Serbian People were Exterminated by Bulgars, Austrians, and Magyars—Evolution of the Scientific Gorillas of the Latest Darwinian Age—Lettow Fordeck and the Enslavement of British Prisoners in East Africa—Case of Major Howard—Extermination Campaign in Cameroon—Beginning of Slave Raids in Lille—Horror of Holy Week in North-Western France—French Girls Medically Examined for Most Dreadful Purpose—Thousands of Deportees Starved, Beaten, and Hanged—Germany's Economic War upon Belgium—General System of Slavery Instituted—Economic War Upon Poland and Establishment of Serfdom—Courts of Blood and State Brothels for Polish Girls—Torturing Russian Prisoners of War—Gardelegen and Wittenberg and the Typhus Plot of the Germans—Turks Improve Upon the German Method of Typhus Extermination—How Syria was Dispeopled to Provide More Room for the Turkish Race—Evidence of German Missionaries in Regard to the Ottoman System of Massacres—League of Scientific Savagery between Teuton and Turk—Pitiless Piracy Campaign and Attack on Hospital Ships—How the Children of Germany will Profit by the Racial Extermination Policy of their Fathers.

**I**N Chapter CX, Mr. Arthur D. Innes gave, from the point of view of an authority on international law, a statement of the most important infractions of the laws and conventions of civilised warfare committed by the Germans in the first period of the war. But after that chapter was written there accumulated so large a mass of fresh evidence of the manner in which the Teutons and their allies conducted war that volumes would be needed to set out even a hundredth part of the matter. The Germans, Austrians, and Magyars excelled in State-directed and organised atrocity all nations with any pretence to civilisation since the Assyrians.

Under the management of Teutonic officers and officials, the Turk was enabled to employ the latest discoveries in bacteriology, in addition to an intensified form of all the older means of extermination he was wont to practise upon Bulgars and Armenians. Typhus, cholera, and anthrax germs were made a part of the armament of the



HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL MERCIER.

The fearless Archbishop of Malines made Christendom ring with his denunciation of German atrocities. In reply to a minatory protest from General von Bissing, Governor-General of Belgium, he declared that the Belgians owed neither obedience, respect, nor devotion to German authority.

enemy, after prussic acid, phosphorus, and chlorine gases were developed by him as weapons of civilised warfare. There are grounds for supposing that inoculation of herds in allied countries with foot-and-mouth disease was attempted by German bacteriologists. German and Austrian men of science, who used in days of peace nobly to risk their lives in the close study of living germs of deadly diseases, were proved to have been guilty of the horrible crime of making cultures in their laboratories with the design of infecting Russians, Rumanians, Italians, and Belgians with the worst of maladies which it was possible artificially to communicate.

Had the power of the Germans and Austrians been as great as their evil desires, the war would have ended by Europe being overwhelmed with some artificially-bred plague. In fine, the bacteriological horrors of Teutonic warfare were such as to cast a lasting obloquy on the whole Teutonic idea of civilisation.

The directors of the Germanic-Ottoman confederacy were brutes



of an extreme type, who possessed all the machinery of civilisation without the sentiments on which civilisation had been built. From the generous renaissance of the German spirit in the age of Kant and Humboldt they extracted all the material gains derived from the pursuit of knowledge; but they used these material gains in such a way that their greatest modern man of science, Paul Ehrlich, died broken in spirit in the middle of the war.

The German and Austrian governing classes never sympathised with the glorious work of a disinterested kind that their savants carried on. They shackled many of the best of these men if they tried to work for political freedom as well as for knowledge. They bribed most of the others, by university appointments and social distinctions



GERMAN SLAVE-RAIDERS IN A FRENCH CITY.

Street scene in Lille. Among the barbarities devised by the Germans as occupiers of invaded territory was the wholesale deportation of civilians to do work in Germany in conditions not distinguishable from slavery.

to desert the cause of European democracy and become the technical sub-directors of the great system of military and industrial feudalism on which Germany rested.

The consequence was that many leaders of science in the Central Empires, such as Professor Ostwald, the inventor of the poison gases, degenerated into minds without a conscience. They became human devils; for they had more knowledge than ordinary men, and less conscience than a blood-mad Bavarian peasant who tortured a wounded man before killing him. A certain proportion of the atrocities committed by German and Austrian troops in the movements of invasion in the first period of the war may have been due to nervous strain and cowardice. The inexperienced, overwrought conscripts, drawn by their war-machine into that vast conflict which they had been dreading all their lives, were reduced by the first

battle in which they engaged into a condition of primitive savagery. Their own personal fears overwhelmed the feelings they had acquired as civilised men. As some races are apt to do in a shipwreck or a great fire, they fought with insane savagery, because at heart they were cowards. They tortured their wounded foes because the wounded men were representatives of the nations that were trying to kill them. They ravished and sometimes mutilated girls and women in hostile territories through which they passed as a means of assuaging their angry fear of the armed troops that still opposed them. Had they been confident of emerging alive and victorious from the struggle they might have retained somewhat of the humanity of the truly civilised warrior.

It was worthy of remark that the Saxon troops, who outrivalled the Bavarians in the outrages committed in the first week of the invasion of France, became, some three months afterwards, the least unchivalrous Germans on the western front. When facing British troops they went out of their way to save their enemies from small Prussian surprises, and endeavoured to maintain something of the old standard of chivalry in European warfare. No doubt the exceptional defeat incurred by the Saxon forces on the Marne was largely responsible for the change in their character. Moreover, as they at last recognised that they had met their equals, if not their betters, their fear of the possible treatment of their own civil population inclined them to more civilised ways of fighting.

A veteran soldier has perhaps a steadier frame of mind than a conscript. Having greater control of himself, he is less likely to become a fear-maddened brute. There was abundant evidence that the Teutonic soldiery became softer in manner when the long struggle in trench lines opened in the west. The German military authorities had to print and publish diabolical lies as to the way in which French and British troops dealt with prisoners in order to revive the ferocity of their own men. It is probable that many of the atrocities which the Germans committed on the western front, such as the tortures inflicted on some wounded Canadians during the first gas attack at Ypres, were designed by German military authorities directly to provoke retaliation upon their own troops. They desired that some of their own rank and file should be maltreated as a means of making their men desperate and cruel, and also of preventing them from surrendering.

Provocation by  
German officials

This end seems to have been attained by systematically spreading slanders about the manner in which the British soldiers treated their prisoners. In the Battle of the Somme there were parties of Germans caught in a hopeless position and yet afraid to surrender, because they had been told that if the British did not kill their captives out of hand they gouged their eyes out. Happily, in some cases there was one German in the helpless, frightened, desperate group with personal knowledge of the British character. He was often able to convince his comrades that surrender only meant that they would find in England more comfortable quarters and better food than they enjoyed in their own lines.

The Germans who fronted the French also quickly lost the edge of their first wild fury. To provoke them afresh they also were plied with fearful fictions concerning the revengeful ways in which the French treated their prisoners. This method, however, failed of effect. Apparently the Frenchman enjoyed in Germany a character for suavity and mercy superior to that of the Briton. German privates persisted in believing that the French were highly civilised, and always surrendered to them in larger bodies than they did to the British. But the German military authorities were equal to the occasion. They invented the legend of the awful barbarism of the French-African troops, and continually hinted at it in their official communiqués.



As a matter of fact, the Arabs and Berbers, who formed the larger element in the native forces employed by France, were Moslems of a finer caste than the Turk and, by ancient tradition and modern discipline, as chivalrous as the French officers who led them. Most of the Sudanese troops also were Moslems, and though they had negro blood in their veins they were as good men as the negroes who fought in the American Civil War. But the cunning and devilish German authorities succeeded in implanting in the minds of German privates and non-commissioned officers a fear of the inhuman cruelties they would suffer if they surrendered to "the black friends of France." This led, in the struggles around Verdun in February, 1916, and in the fight around La Maisonnette on the Somme in July, 1916, to acts of uncivilised warfare on the part of the Germans which were as bad as anything they had committed in August and September, 1914.

But we can distinguish an important difference between the early and the later German atrocities. In the first period commanding officers in many cases had but to loosen the bonds of discipline in some Belgian, French, or

**Dawning fear of  
consequences**

Polish village in order to produce such a scene as Attila might have enjoyed. But in the second period, German soldiers as a whole were tired of atrocity, and somewhat thoughtful of the possible consequence of their acts. They had to be excited by lies, sometimes of so abominable a kind that the statements cannot be put into print for general reading. But even then the larger number of Germans appear to have remained sceptical, and inclined reluctantly to carry out the commands of their authorities. Some of the tales spread among the enemy troops by their own officers, and unfit for publication in a work of this

kind, may be read by men in the English translation of the "Reports of the Atrocities Committed by the Austro-Hungarian Army during the First Invasion of Serbia." A neutral authority of Germanic stock, Professor R. A. Reiss, of the University of Lausanne in Switzerland, undertook at the charge of the Serbian Government to inquire into the conduct of the Austro-Hungarian Army. He travelled through a large part of Serbia, and there examined a great number of Austrians and Hungarians and hundreds of Serbians who had witnessed the deeds of the enemy forces.

**Austro-Hungarian  
horrors in Serbia**

The Swiss professor carried out his work so thoroughly that his report did not appear in English until the summer of 1916. It arrived in time to effect a great change in the feeling of the British nation, which had ever regarded the Austrian and the Magyar as kinder and more generous in character than the Prussian or Bavarian.

The Austrians are Eastern Bavarians, forming the German advance-guard against the Turks. They learnt to be savagely cruel in their Turkish wars, and by raising regiments of Croats, who had been brutalised by the Ottomans, they introduced into the wars of religion of the seventeenth century a touch of supreme horror. When they subjugated the Northern Italians they kept down the Lombards with more ferocity than the Prussians afterwards kept down the Poles. When they were driven out of the larger part of Italy and compelled to concede rights to the Hungarians they still continued to be the most efficient race of oppressors in Europe. Being more skilful than the Prussians, they blinded the minds of their subject peoples by preventing them from obtaining a high degree of education or acquiring the rudiments of a spirit of independence. In peace time they kept some races as



A GERMAN SLAVE-RAID IN BELGIUM: DEPORTEES ON THEIR WAY TO EXILE.

On May 2nd, 1916, General von Bissing decreed that all unemployed Belgians should "be conducted by force to the spots where they have to work." This instituted a general system of slavery in Belgium. At

least 150,000 Belgians, without distinction of class, were deported and set under the bayonets of German soldiers to work of military importance not only in France, but in mines, factories, and quarries in Germany.



overlords of other races. The Magyars, for instance, did Austrian work by keeping down Rumanian and various Slav peoples, while the Moslems of Bosnia by plundering and ravaging made the Dalmatians and subject Serbs more submissive to the Austrian suzerains.

When the Austrians invaded Serbia they threw off the mask of gentility they had worn before Britons, Frenchmen, Americans, and other representatives of Great Powers. They

**Austrians use  
explosive bullets**

at once showed themselves, as they had done in the seventeenth century, superior to the Prussians in cold-blooded, calculated ferocity. From the beginning of the war they employed explosive bullets in large quantities. These bullets had been invented by a Swiss as a range-finding device; but the Austrians and Hungarians used them in machine-gun belts in the proportion of fifteen explosive bullets to ten ordinary bullets. Austro-Hungarian prisoners admitted that their best shots were supplied with explosive bullets for breaking up masses of Serbians. The men were told to use the bullets carefully, and refrain

and that no clear evidence of their general use of explosive bullets and dum-dum bullets would be obtained from the broken, cowed, and silenced mountaineers. If they did not use explosive bullets in a wholesale manner against the Russians in the first week of the war it was because they respected the strength of Russia. But they employed from the outset their vast and secret store of "sighting cartridges" against the small and isolated race of Serbians, on the mistaken calculation that they could conquer the country and terrify the people in time to prevent any considerable outcry.

The Germanic doctrine that savagery in war is the purest form of humanitarianism, because it shortens the conflict by terrifying the opposing nations, was fully practised by the Austrians before it was discussed in theory by Clausewitz. The Austrian military authorities took measures at the outbreak of hostilities to work all their soldiers into a condition of bestial frenzy against the Serbians. The Croats, Dalmatians, Bohemians, Little Russians, and Poles—who formed a large part of the forces of the Empire—were Slavs, and

kindly disposed to their fellow-Slavs in the Balkans. But, according to members of these races who were afterwards made prisoners of war and examined by Professor Reiss, diabolical means were employed to induce them to maltreat the Serbians as well as fight them. The men were told that the Serbians did not make war in a civilised way, but mutilated in an obscene manner every wounded man who fell into their hands. Prisoners taken by the Serbs, it was also falsely alleged, would be mutilated after the fashion of Red Indian warfare. The result was, on abundant evidence given by Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war, that wounded Serbians were angrily butchered with knives and bayonets by reason of the ghastly slanders spread by Austrian and Hungarian military authorities.



TOASTING "THE VICTIM": A NEW SENSATION FOR DECADENT GERMANS.

Four German officers, with ingenious refinement of cruelty characteristic of decadents seeking pleasure in new sensations, compelled a Belgian gentleman sentenced to death on the morrow to stand before them while one played Chopin's "Funeral March" and the others drank a toast to "The Victim." M. Dupuy, the artist, effectually perpetuated memory of the atrocity by this very striking picture which he exhibited in the French Salon.

from wasting them where only a single Serb could be aimed at, as the bullets killed two soldiers at a time and inflicted such large wounds that a man who was hit seldom recovered.

Later in the campaign the supply of explosive bullets was apparently increased. For the men of the active Army were then told they could be employed freely against single Serbians as well as against masses. In some companies sixty men of marksman rank were provided with explosive bullets. The order was that these bullets should be used at a range of a thousand metres. This is a distance at which an ordinary bullet goes through the body and makes a small clean wound. But at the same range the explosive bullet, if it did not kill outright, incapacitated a man from further fighting. When the war had been going on for some months the Austro-Hungarians began to manufacture dum-dum cartridges. Cases of them were taken from the enemy as received from the Government factories. The Austro-Hungarians expected they would completely triumph over the Serbians by the end of 1914,

In one case the 53rd Infantry Regiment of Austria, as it was crossing the frontier, was shown a man in Austrian uniform with his ears and forearms cut off. He was led on horseback before the troops, who were told by their officers: "You see what is in store for you if you surrender!" The Austrians said the man was a Croat, but the Swiss professor found reason for supposing that he was a Serbian, who had been mutilated by the men who paraded him, and then dressed up in Austrian uniform in order to excite the invading troops to frenzy. In consequence of this infernal kind of propaganda there were horrible massacres of Serbian soldiers, both wounded and unwounded prisoners of war. In one striking case a large number of Serbian soldiers of the 13th and 14th Regiments surrendered to the Austrians and were massacred by them, and by strange chance the Serbian Government afterwards obtained a photograph of the massacre. Another photograph of a series of official murders was found on a German officer killed in the recapture of Monastir. The scene was 'at

**Wholesale massacre  
of prisoners**





Forcibly removing French civilians from Lille to German labour colonies. "It was not done by whole families," said one of the sufferers. Men and women, lads and girls were picked out by caprice from unwarned families as though to add torture to the indignities and miseries of slavery.



German "dragooning" in Belgium. But for the distribution of food by the great neutral Commission for Relief the Belgian populace—including over two and a half millions of children—would have starved. The Germans could not even permit this distribution without harsh and brutal interference.

TEUTONIC TORTURE METHODS AS EXEMPLIFIED IN FRANCE AND BELGIUM.

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Woman's heavy work in the long journey to the homeland.

Krushevatz, where the mayor of a neighbouring village and five other blameless and wealthy farmers were publicly hanged by a gipsy, while the German officer, for his amusement, photographed the row of gallows. The design was to intimidate the people by slaying their leading men.

The civil population suffered worse than the civil population of Belgium and Northern and Eastern France. Professor Reiss, for example, stated in his report that :

In many of the invaded villages almost all the women from the very youngest to the very oldest were violated. "We were ordered," a man of the 26th Regiment states, "and the order was read out to us, to kill and burn all we met in the course of the campaign, and destroy everything Serbian."



Youth and age returned hand in hand, alike relieved to have got away from the heavy domination of the invader.

The tale of Serbian horrors is too long to republish and impossible to summarise. Children were killed with the bayonet, and villagers were surrounded in their church and slain with butt or steel to save ammunition. Screens of men, women, and children were employed in a more general manner than in Belgium, and the burning of houses, containing old men, women, and children was carried out on a large scale. Some four thousand members of the civil population were estimated to have been killed in the first brief Austro-Hungarian invasion, a considerable proportion being burnt alive or mutilated before their death. As only a small part of Serbian territory was then occupied by the enemy, the percentage of victims was high. Professor Reiss states :

The evidence proves that the manner in which the soldiers of the enemy set about killing and massacring was governed by a system. It was a system of extermination, which was also displayed in the bombardment of open towns with shrapnel and fougasses, and in the systematic way of setting on fire dwellings and farmhouses. It is impossible to regard the atrocities as the acts of a few scoundrels, such as are to be found in every army. My inquiry has proved to me that the overwhelming majority of the civil population most certainly never fired a shot or committed any act of hostility towards the Austro-Hungarian troops. When an army finds itself obliged to execute civilians for taking part in warlike actions, the guilty parties are shot. But almost one half of the victims were bayoneted or clubbed to death, butchered and hanged, burnt alive or even mutilated. The tardy excuses of Austrian officials fall to the ground. Their Army has methodically carried out a mission of extermination, and the butchery of old men, women, and children is part of that mission.

One of the most important documents in connection with



In response to neutrals' efforts the Germans permitted French women and children to be repatriated by way of Switzerland. Pathetic scenes were witnessed on the journey, though the tragic memories revealed in the faces of age had their prophetic contrast in the hopeful smiles of youth.

WOMEN AND CHILDREN REPATRIATED FROM FRENCH TERRITORY IN GERMAN OCCUPATION.





On their arrival at Evian the repatriated families were examined by military representatives of the French and British Armies.



Many of the returned exiles were destitute, and to these the town authorities gave supplies of clothing and refreshments.

the Serbian atrocities is a pamphlet issued by the High Command of the Austro-Hungarian Army, and found in the possession of the men. One passage in it will show how the troops were systematically trained and prepared for the Serbian massacres :

**IMPERIAL AND ROYAL 9TH ARMY CORPS.  
INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING BEHAVIOUR TO BE ADOPTED TOWARDS  
THE POPULATION IN SERBIA.**

The war is taking us into a country inhabited by a population inspired with fanatical hatred towards ourselves, into a country where assassination, as the catastrophe of Sarajevo has again shown, is condoned even in the upper classes, who extol it as heroism.

In dealing with a population of this kind, all humanity and kindness of heart are out of place. They are even harmful, for such sentiments, whose application is sometimes possible in warfare, would here place our own troops in danger.

**Inhumanity  
specifically ordered**

I therefore give orders that, during the entire course of the war, an attitude of extreme severity, extreme harshness, and extreme distrust is to be observed towards everybody.

Hostages taken in traversing a village are to be brought, if possible, to a passage *en queue*, and they are to be summarily executed if even a single shot is fired at the troops in that locality.

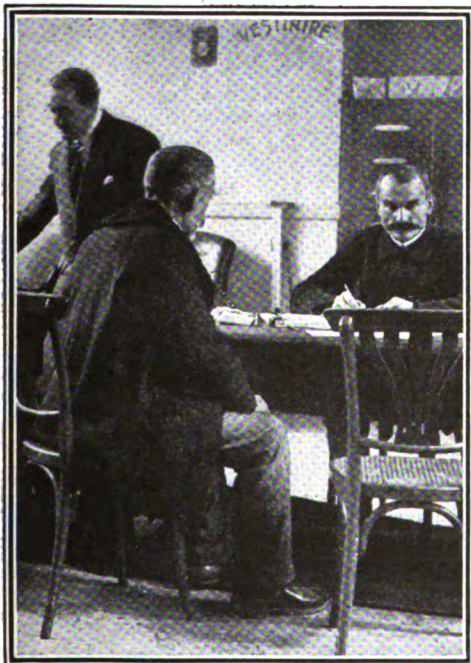
Every inhabitant encountered in the open, and especially in the woods, is to be considered the member of a band which has concealed its weapons somewhere, which weapons we have not the time to look for. These people are to be executed if they appear even slightly suspicious.

Once more discipline, dignity, but the greatest severity and harshness !

It was well known to the Austrians and to all the General Staffs of Europe that Serbia was so exhausted by



Scene in the station-yard at Evian when the repatriated women and children arrived, the worst of their sufferings behind them.



An information bureau was opened for the use of the poor people who, of course, knew nothing of what had been happening in France. Right : They were given an enthusiastic send-off as they started on their journey to other districts of France.

RELEASED FROM THE CLUTCHES OF THE HUN: EXILES RETURN TO EVIAN, HAUTE SAVOIE.



[French official photographs.]



her recent wars that she could provide uniforms only for her active troops and for the smaller part of the men of the second levy. The larger part of the soldiers of the second levy and all the men of the third levy had no uniforms, and therefore fought in their ordinary clothes. But the Austro-Hungarian High Command ordered that all armed Serbians without uniform taken singly or in groups should not be made prisoners, but "be unconditionally executed." These instructions were therefore a downright order to massacre all men of the third levy and the larger part of the second levy.

**Extermination** It was obeyed rigorously by the invading forces, who also thoroughly pillaged the country.

**the real object**

Moslem peasants from Bosnia were detailed to accompany the troops on the march, and according to the statements of prisoners, the example set by these parties of plunderers and anti-Christians at last stimulated the blood-lust in men who had been kindly fathers of families in private life. What happened in the autumn and winter of 1915, when the rabid Bulgars joined with Austrians, Magyars, and Germans in closing around Serbia and sweeping completely over it, is a tale almost beyond belief. While the territory was still in the hands of the exterminators,

the National Assembly to pass a measure against brigandage, under which the Serbians in Macedonia, Old Serbia, and the Morava region could be executed as bandits. But in the territory held by the Austro-Hungarians the work of slaughter was carried out according to a list of crimes drawn up by the Archduke Friedrich.

Among the crimes entailing death were: (1) Possessing more food in the house than the conquerors allowed; (2) keeping copper vessels after being twice ordered to give them up; (3) carrying written messages between third parties; (4) giving food, shelter, or clothing to escaping prisoners. Denunciation by an informer—usually an envenomed, blackmailing foreign spy—practically meant death, the court-martial being a matter of form. By public executions and the exposure of the dead bodies the Austro-Hungarians endeavoured to terrorise the nation at a time when the people were being gathered by the sixty thousand into slave-gangs for work across the Danube. All prominent men were especially pursued, in order to deprive broken Serbia of her natural leaders and advisers and make her utterly helpless under the combined process of extermination and Babylonian exile.

In Great Britain, France, and Belgium the character of the German became fully known. But, as Professor Reiss remarked, the Austrians—and especially the Viennese—had in times of peace a reputation for charm and good-fellowship. This false reputation, enjoyed by the greatest race of systematic oppressors in Europe, beclouded the general judgment of the Western Allies. In practice there was nothing to distinguish the Austrian from the Prussian, for the reason that the Prussian had reached the Austrian level. The military castes of Austria and Hungary never had anything to learn from the Germans in the matter of atrocities.

They were always more careful and more patient in their preparations. Long before the outbreak of war they maintained an official campaign of slander against the Serbians. The far-reaching effect of this campaign was seen in Mr. Bernard Shaw's early play "Arms and the Man," and in the Viennese comic opera

founded upon it, "The Chocolate Soldier." The Serbian, as the British Socialist playwright saw him in the light of Austrian propaganda, was a posturing coward whom any European conscript soldier could easily master, especially if he were a conscript of Germanic stock. When, as a result of the early Austrian Press campaign, such an idea obtained in the mind of the most brilliant sophist in the British Isles, the effect produced on the common opinion of Austria was much deeper. But after the Balkan Wars the courage of the Serbian could not be impugned, even by the Austrian Press Bureau and the Shaw-Strauss operatic combination. So a fresh campaign of an abominable nature was begun, with a view, as Professor Reiss reports, of frightening the Austro-Hungarian troops into a frenzy of sadistic cruelty.

It must be admitted that the Prussian never showed such diabolical skill of this kind as did the Austrian—the gentlemanly, charming, graceful, waltzing Austrian. The Austrian was the more diplomatic. Acting alone, he would never have driven things to so desperate an extremity as the Prussian reached when he developed his last submarine piracy campaign against the whole world. The Austrian

**Austrians—real  
and imaginary**



ROYAL WATCHERS OF AN INTERESTING CEREMONY.

Queen Elizabeth of Belgium and her children with the Prince of Wales (right). King George, when visiting the western front in December, 1914, decorated King Albert with the Order of the Garter as a tribute to his personal bravery and a mark of sympathy with the sufferings of his heroic country.

their apparent aim appeared to be to annihilate the independent part of the Serbian race and repopulate the country, so as to have complete and permanent dominion over the vital corridor in the Berlin-Bagdad system. The sufferings of the Serbian nation were, it is no exaggeration to say, beyond all parallel in modern times, and probably much worse than those endured in parts of Germany in the seventeenth century under Austrian savagery. Bulgaria under the Turk never suffered as did Serbia under the Bulgars and Austrians.

The Austro-Hungarian authorities at first seemed to adopt a more humane attitude towards the people of the occupied country than did the frankly murderous Bulgarian authorities. But this appearance of civilisation was designed only to impress those neutral States represented by medical missions, journalists, and other travellers. When conquered Serbia was finally closed to all neutrals, and the American and other medical missions were dismissed, the Austro-Hungarians proceeded systematically to dispeople the land by deportation, internment, and judicial murders. The Bulgarian Government gave some colour of law to their policy of extermination by inducing





Timely arrival of the lifeboat at a ship torpedoed near the English coast.



Pulling away from the heavily listing vessel to escape the fatal whirlpool.



From the lifeboat and one of the ship's boats the crew of the torpedoed vessel watch her final plunge.

(F. G. Mortimer.)

*Camera records of German piracy: Sinking a stately merchantman off the English coast.*

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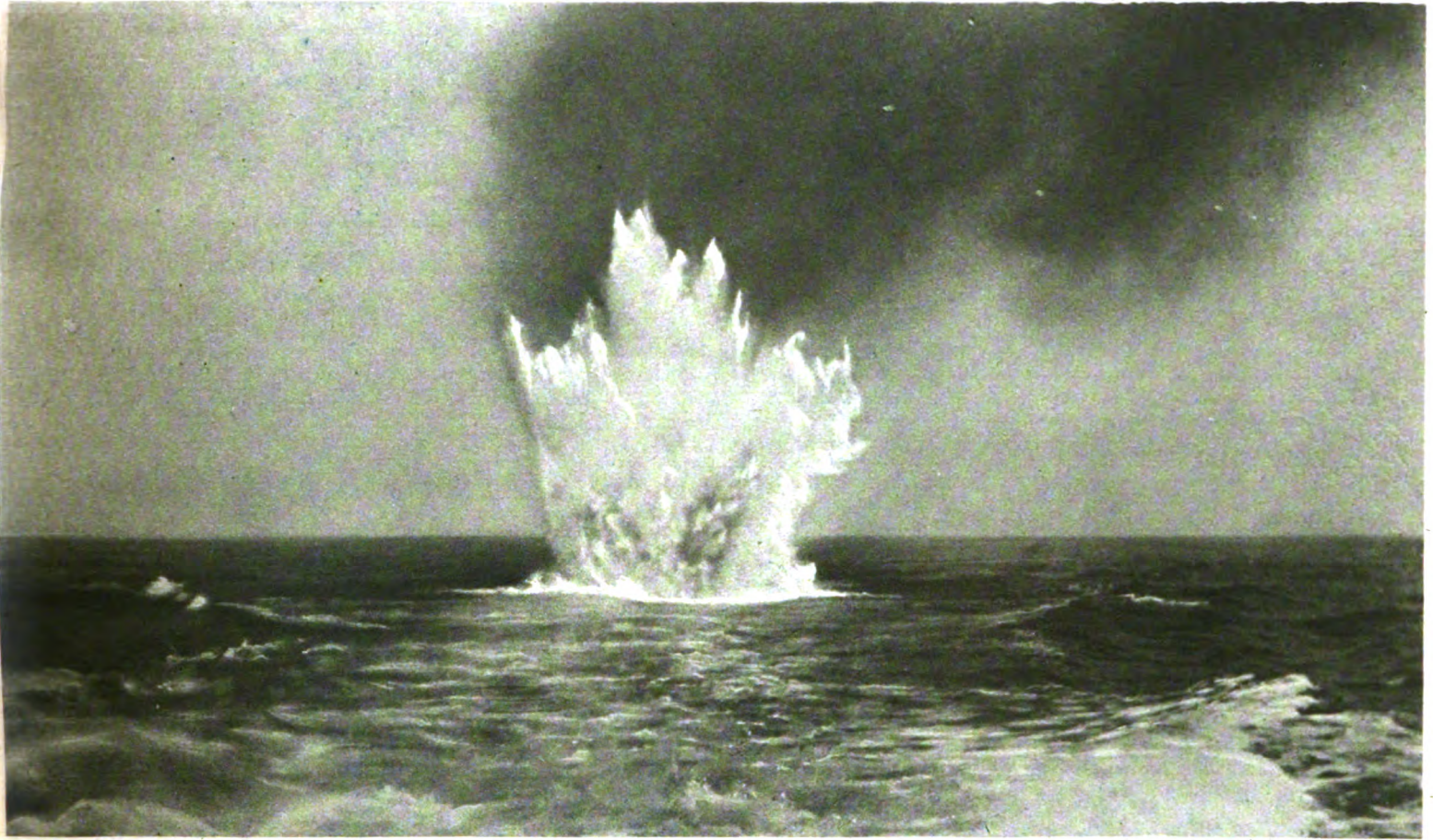


*British patrol boats racing to the oily ring that marks a German pirate's grave.*



*Watching the Diomed sink. The pirates jeered at the plight of her crew and abandoned them.*





*Explosion of a submarine bomb from a patrol where a U boat had been located.*



*Survivors of the torpedoed s.s. Artist picked up after three days' exposure in a gale.*





*Callous brutality: Having torpedeed the Karnak, November 27th, 1916, the pirates turned searchlights on to watch her death agony.*



always knew when it was to his own interest to stop, and see what he could rebuild out of the wreck of his ambitions. Only against weaker nations did he fully show what a devil he was at heart. When fighting against strong Powers he retained sufficient control of himself to preserve some of the appearances of decency. In the decadence of his Empire he was like a toothless tiger that attacked children, but slunk away from men. It was lack of power, not lack of will, that prevented him from being leader in

Austria a  
"toothless tiger"

the work of filling the whole of Europe with horrors like those of the Thirty Years War. Serbia showed what he would have done if he could have ruled on land, as the shell fire which an Austrian submarine poured into an Italian passenger steamer, the Ancona, indicated what he would have done on water had he possessed the full means of murder at sea.

But by reason of the German's superior power, it fell to him to display on land and sea and in the air the complete character of Teutonic warfare. In the earlier chapter on this subject, Mr. Innes discussed, in sound legal fashion, the enemy's infractions of the laws of nations and the modern conventions settled at The Hague Conference. But the German progressed after that in his evolution into the higher ape and scientific gorilla of the latest Darwinian era. Nothing human restricted him. As his spokesman, Dr. Bethmann-Hollweg, explained to all neutral States, the higher German humanitarianism reconciled good and evil by discovering that inordinate cruelty shortens the period of strife, thus becoming the instrument of all the divine blessings of peace.

The authentic official proclamation of the modern gospel of Germanism only appeared at the beginning of 1917. The fear that the people of the United States had not reached the stage of evolution fitting them to accept this gospel somewhat delayed its State announcement. Also, the weapons for putting it into practice had been rendered almost powerless at first by the fighting seamen and fishermen of Great Britain, and time was needed to prepare stronger instruments. But the doctrine had been practised long before it became an open official policy. It was preached with fire and bayonet in Belgium and France—though there denied at first, by mouth and pen, when the missionaries failed to complete their task of dealing with Paris as they had dealt with Louvain. But even at that time there was, in a distant and obscure part of the world, German East Africa, a German commander, Colonel von Lettow Fordeek, who was openly and energetically reducing the new doctrine fully to practice.

The first British East African campaign, directed from India and badly mismanaged, failed against Lettow Fordeek. The result was that the German commander became the absolute master of a large tract of Equatorial Africa. His prestige over the natives was enhanced by victory, and lines of attack were open to him on the Rhodesian frontier, the Congo State frontier, and the British East Africa frontier. He had an enormous stock of ammunition, thousands of white soldiers, tens of thousands of black troops, and naval guns from the Königsberg. He judged he could never be conquered, and he reckoned the German Empire in Europe would survive all attacks, and that consequently he ran no risk of punishment. Under these conditions the Teuton felt safe in

venting his hatred fully upon the Britons who fell into his hands. British university men, wealthy planters, missionaries, and military prisoners were degraded to the position of slaves, and the treatment of British ladies was barbaric. The ladies had to work as Government serfs for six hours every day, and even elderly and weakly women were threatened with semi-starvation if they objected to perform work of a military nature that directly assisted the enemy.

On one occasion thirty British ladies, with nine Britons and forty natives, were shut in an iron shed for nearly forty-eight hours without any means of sanitation, and for the greater part of the time without even bread and water. Half-drunken guards were set over them, and their sufferings were severe. At other times the British women were deliberately starved, and kept in conditions without decency, when food and separate tents could easily have been obtained. The German Chief of Staff, Captain Willmann, on one occasion gave direct orders that British women were to be kept without food.

The design of the Germans was to destroy the British prestige. To this end, they made both civilian as well as military prisoners perform the lowest kind of work under black foremen. The food provided at one camp was only the waste inferior millet that the blacks would not eat



GERMAN EVIDENCE OF TEUTONIC USE OF THE CROSS.

This irrefragable evidence of Austro-German official crime was found on a German officer killed at Monastir. The scene was Krushevat, where a village mayor and five other leading local men were hanged, as though in mockery, on cross-formed gallows—merely to intimidate the people of the locality.

and used for beer-making. It produced various kinds of stomach trouble, as it was designed to do, yet proper stores of food were only two hours away. Half-naked British prisoners were set to pull lorries through the streets—work for which the natives were won't to employ oxen—and compelled to clear out the cesspools of native dwellings. The natives jeered at the white slaves, who were put on three days' bread and water if they made complaints. The news of the degradation of British men and women was spread for great distances throughout Africa by, of course, German influence.

Major Walter Howard, who was captured by the Germans early in the war, and still a prisoner, sent an account of his treatment through a Russian civilian liberated on parole in November, 1916. Major Howard tried to escape, but after wandering about in the bush for four nights he was found by German native soldiers.

They all treated him most awfully (wrote the Russian civilian), broke two ribs, smashed his jaw, and he arrived in camp in an unrecognisable state. He was kept confined in cells for many months, with no fresh air, and abused by the white guards as well as by the Askaris. The food we were supplied with was indigestible for healthy constitutions, but poor Major Howard suffered immensely owing to his smashed jaw, as he could not masticate his food. His

German atrocities  
in Africa





#### DIGNITY AND IMPUDENCE.

German officers who found fun in jeering at a poor Serbian peasant who had fallen into their power.

military rank was not recognised by the Germans, so he had to work together with the civilians and service men. The work they made us do had only one object—to degrade us in the natives' eyes. In this they succeeded well.

Most of us had to sleep on the damp ground, and so pressed together were we that we could only take our meals on our beds (dirty grass). In the yard was no shade, and we were supplied with green logs of wood, which we had to chop ourselves. What with the smoke and burning sun above us it was really torture. I can tell you, sir, we looked and felt a miserable lot. We sent to the officer in charge, Major von Orawest, a protest, which Major Howard signed. The next morning he came down in a rage, called us everything bad, and threatened to bring us before a court martial and have us shot for daring to protest. He stopped us our meat for three days, and we had to live on rice and maize meal. Major Howard wishes you to publish this in influential papers. That is why he begged me to write to you. The slip of paper I enclose is in his own handwriting. He dared not give me more, in case I should be searched and punished. All his diaries have been confiscated, and we dared not have a scrap of paper before a search was made.

Wounded British troops were shot or bayoneted by the Germans in East Africa. The first evidence of this was obtained on September 26th, 1914, when the East Africa Mounted Rifles lost and then recovered the southern slope of the Ingito Hills. Trooper Elliot was shot in the leg, and Lance-Corporal Barridge stood by unarmed to bring him in. The lance-corporal was not seen again, but when the ground was recovered Elliot's body was found with a bullet through his head and a bayonet wound in the neck. Another trooper was found to have been killed by a soft-nosed bullet, and a British Court of Inquiry decided that the Germans were using soft-nosed bullets of the dum-dum type. Mohammedan natives suspected of favouring the British cause were flogged to death or killed in other ways. In some cases their women and young daughters were violated.

#### Murder of British wounded

At Tabora, where the Rev. Mr. Doulton and the Rev. Mr. Westgate were captured by the Germans, the missionaries were charged with having taught the natives to signal by heliograph. The British native converts were flogged to force them to bear false witness. One native, after receiving one hundred and ten lashes with a hide whip, still held to the truth, and said: "The English have taught us to read and write, and educated us and taught us the things of God. Never anything else." Two converts of the mission lost their courage under the terrible floggings they received, and said they had been taught to signal to the British troops. But a day or



#### DRIVEN FROM HOME BY THE DESTROYING LOCUSTS OF "KULTUR."

Serbian villagers on their way to swell the ranks of refugees from the Kaiser's barbaric emissaries and their fit allies, the Austrians, who had sought by systematic methods to depopulate the country. Few were the possessions left to the peasants of a district into which the Germans penetrated.

two afterwards they, too, stood for the truth, and recanted their enforced and false statement.

In another village a small British column temporarily occupied the country, but was compelled to retire. All the natives were then massacred by the Germans, on the allegation that they had welcomed the British. Colonel von Lettow Fordeek and his Chief of Staff soon established a reign of atrocity over the coloured population, and as the natives saw that the British prisoners were in a state of degraded slavery—cleaning out sewers in the black quarters, pulling carts through the streets, and working under black masters—they lost all faith in British power and justice, and strove to assist the terrifying and victorious Germans. It was not until General Smuts began his enveloping movement around German East Africa that the oppressed black population recovered some independence of character. As in the case of Serbia, the story of Teutonic savagery in German East Africa could only be told after the British and other European prisoners had been released and the lips of the natives unsealed by the complete surrender of the German forces.



There was abundant evidence of Germanic methods of Colonial warfare presented in the Blue Book on German atrocities in Africa, published in July, 1916, and relating mainly to the campaign in Cameroon. The outrages fell, roughly, into six classes. They were: (1) Wholesale murder of natives suspected of favouring the Allies, (2) killing and mutilating wounded soldiers, (3) vile ill-treatment of prisoners of war, (4) employment of expanding bullets, (5) use by German native troops of poisoned arrows, and (6) poisoning of wells. The method pursued against their own subjects by the German authorities was explained by the private secretary to the Governor of Cameroon, Lieutenant von Engelbrechten, in a letter written to another German officer:

There are several cases of Dualas attacking my soldiers and openly helping the British. I have ordered the destruction of all Duala villages. All Dualas met on the road carrying weapons—axes, bows and arrows, and spears, as well as rifles—are to be shot. Prisoners will only be made when they are caught red-handed, and can be legally tried and condemned to death.

Yet all that the British general had then done, in regard to the Dualas and other native tribes, was to employ a few men in British occupied territory as guides. The tribesmen did not help the British, as the Germans alleged, by performing safety and outpost duties, by spying on

German movements, or by attacking the Germans. The British general formally protested to the German governor against the manner in which the enemy

troops were carrying on the war, but the protest was without effect. Armed bands roved from village to village exterminating the inhabitants. German officers and German privates encouraged their black troops by cutting the throats of wounded British soldiers with knives, shooting down their own non-combatant population, or hanging them, or killing them with axes. The victims in very many cases were women and children who could not flee as fast as the panic-stricken men. Their bodies were often shockingly treated, and the trouble was that this

Germanic method proved, in the case of some tribes, so effective as to increase the ardour and force of the torturers and exterminators.

For some tribesmen accepted the alternative offer made to them and, to escape certain death, attacked the allied forces, using, among other native weapons, poisoned arrows. This was in direct contravention of Article 33 of The Hague Convention, but the German governor and commander had no respect for any customs or conventions of civilised warfare that tended to restrict their striking power. It was only when the Germans in East and West and South-West Africa saw their utter defeat was inevitable that they made an effort to save themselves from reprisals by returning tardily to some of the forms of civilisation. Their attitude throughout was one of consistent barbarism. They gave their demoniacal feelings full play when they thought they could do so without fear of eventual punishment. They afterwards pretended to be the most highly virtuous and chivalrous of warriors when fear of eventual punishment began to weigh upon them. Their character never changed. In their most innocuous guise they were merely cloaking their hellish

**Brutality, cowardice, and hypocrisy**



SERBIA'S MARTYRDOM: HOSTILE NEIGHBOURS AND HEALERS FROM AFAR.

Troops from Bulgaria—catspaw of the Kaiser—marching through a village in the country which they had invaded. Above: Serbian patients awaiting treatment at a wayside dispensary established by the Stobart

Mission. Mrs. Stobart's organisation did wonderful work among the suffering Serbians, and at this dispensary as many as three thousand patients received medical aid and treatment in three months.





COMPULSORY CIVILIAN SERVICE UNDER THE HUNS IN BELGRADE.

Belgrade was the object of several bombardments by the enemy, and when it was captured by them on October 10th, 1915, it had suffered serious damage. The Serbian civilian population of the capital at once

became practically the slaves of their conquerors; and, regardless of any considerations as to class and previous occupation, the inhabitants were set to all kinds of manual labour, including road-mending.

inclinations under a cunning semblance of distressed humanitarianism.

While in Africa the enemy's system of terrorisation was ended or relaxed by the victorious progress of the allied forces, in Europe and Asia it was intensified and extended by the German successes of 1916. And as the Germans reckoned as successes the failure of the Russians to break their front in Galicia and the failure of the Franco-British

#### Atrocities in Europe intensified

forces to pierce their line on the Somme, their confidence in themselves increased as their difficulties augmented. No fear of final defeat checked the Germans, Austrians, Magyars, Bulgars, and Turks in their outrages against humanity. For a while the possibility of the intervention of the United States made the Teutons preserve some vague appearances of legality in their submarine campaign of piracy. Financial considerations in regard to post-bellum commerce were among the chief reasons for the deceptive deference to American opinion.

For the rest, the governing classes of the Central Empires and the larger part of their population were restrained by no fear of consequence from practising practically every atrocity except cannibalism. The German standpoint in the matter was that the war at worst would end in a deadlock of general exhaustion, and at best in a slow victory by the destruction of British shipping. In either case the Teutons and their allies reckoned that no punishment could be inflicted on them. They therefore harrowed, with diabolical ingenuity, the peoples of the territories they had temporarily conquered. Their conduct was largely based upon the practice of Bismarck, who subjected the northern part of France to methodical ill-treatment in 1870, in the design to make the French public work upon Gambetta and compel him to accept peace on any terms.

In April, 1916, when the attempt to make a sudden break through at Verdun failed and was succeeded by a slower grinding movement, the German authorities tried to work upon the feelings of the French population by means of the women and girls in the Lille district. In

Holy Week the 64th German Infantry Regiment was released from its fighting work at Verdun and sent, on an order from General Headquarters, to carry out deportations at Lille, Tourcoing, and Roubaix. General von Grävenitz directed the slave-raid; but the Kaiser with his Chief of Staff and State Chancellor were the deciding authorities in the matter. The industrial region in and around Lille was the richest part of occupied France and the most densely peopled. It was selected as the theatre for the crowning atrocity for the reason that the sufferings inflicted would cause the largest amount of anguish in France.

The German authorities began by issuing an appeal for volunteers to labour for them. As was foreseen, few Frenchmen were willing to work for the enemy and against their own country. Thereupon, the following order was issued and posted on the walls of Lille, on Tuesday, April 18th, 1916:

All the inhabitants of the house, with the exception of children below fourteen years of age and their mothers and old men, must be ready to be transported within an hour and a half. An officer will finally decide who is going to be taken to the concentration camp. The inhabitants of the house, therefore, must gather in front of their domicile. In case of bad weather they will be allowed to remain in the passage. The door of the house must remain open. All appeals will be useless. No inhabitant, even those who will not be deported, will be allowed to leave his home before eight in the morning (German time). Everyone will have a right to twenty-seven pounds of luggage. If there is any excess weight, everything belonging to that person will be refused without ceremony. The baggage must be separate for each person, and must have a label clearly written and firmly fixed. The address will give surname and Christian name and the number of the identity card. It is absolutely necessary in your own interest to take utensils for eating and drinking, as well as a blanket, good shoes, and linen. Everyone must have his identity card. Anybody trying to escape deportation will be mercilessly punished.

#### The deportations from Lille

ETAPPEN, KOMMANDATUR.

The townspeople had been prepared for some such action as this. Since the end of March there had been a series of small raids. Tramcars, for instance, would be stopped by a detachment of troops, and three or four of the best-



looking girls or able-bodied men would be ordered out, and marched off to unknown destinations. The bishop and the municipal authorities had vainly protested against these small, desultory raids. They arranged a meeting of protest, but while the meeting was being held the general notices were posted on the houses, and three thousand more troops detraind in the city under the direction of General von Grävenitz. At the ends of the streets and at cross-roads machine-gun sections were installed, while the churches were crowded with despairing congregations. Good Friday was spent in prayer by the people and in military preparations by the slave-drivers.

Then between midnight and dawn on Saturday the Fives district was attacked. Patrols of ten to fifteen men battered with their bayoneted rifles on the doors of the houses, and ordered the dwellers into the street.

Outside each house hung a list of the occupiers, and after these had been all checked by name, an officer and a non-commissioned officer selected those doomed to slavery, and gave them variously from ten minutes to ninety minutes to take leave of their families.

Terrible scenes of grief and sorrow occurred. In some cases elderly women went mad when their daughters were torn from them. A maddened woman, who lost husband, son, and daughter, turned upon the German soldiers and invoked curses upon their wives, daughters, and race. One woman broke into a sweat of blood when her only child was taken, and after the boy was brought back she could not recognise him, having completely

lost her reason. Had entire families been taken the strain would not have been so great, as they would at least have had companionship in suffering. But by a refinement in cruelty each family was broken up; some members going away to an unknown place and other members being left to mourn them and vaguely imagine what had become of them. Twenty-five thousand persons of both sexes, between the ages of sixteen and sixty-five, were torn from their homes and forced to work—or do something far worse than work—for the enemy.

For many good-looking girls and women of all classes were examined by German doctors and then condemned, when found perfectly healthy, to the most awful fate. What happened to them had to be published, in order that the British people might loyally assist the French and Belgian people when the day of retribution should break over



GROSS TRAVESTY OF THE NAME OF FREEDOM: GERMAN TYRANNY IN "LIBERATED" POLAND. The Polish village children were dragooned and given compulsory lessons in the German language. Above: Hoping to bribe the Poles to fight for them, the Germans proclaimed the "Independence" of Poland; but immediately they occupied the Russian provinces they sent a million Poles into Prussia as slaves, and employed the remaining males, under Land-sturm guard, to gather in what crops were left, for the Germans' benefit.





(Italian official photograph.)

## WEAPON EMPLOYED BY THE CIVILISED TWENTIETH-CENTURY TEUTON.

Type of club found on several Austrian soldiers taken prisoner on the Italian front. These weapons, suggestive of culture at the stage of cannibalism, had been distributed officially by the Austrian Command.

Germany. After the French girls and women had been medically examined and had passed the test for venereal disease, they were given over to the German soldiery to be used as prostitutes. In plain English, the Kaiser and his Chief of Staff and State Chancellor organised a system of official brothels, and filled these brothels with virtuous French women and girls of all classes of society. In the Scriptural record of the sufferings of the Israelites under the Assyrians there is no such refinement of atrocity recorded. The Assyrian soldiery was no doubt as brutal to women as the German soldiery; but the Assyrian Government did not stoop to systematise violation as did the Christian Government of Germany. Since the distant age of Assyrian deportations the ideal of chastity had been peculiarly strengthened and refined by the long development of Christian civilisation. The French race was eminent for its sense of honour, and the diabolical design of

**Organised  
victimisation  
of women**

the German Government was to torture the entire French nation into submission, by a state-organised attack upon the honour of its virgins and married women.

It will be remembered that this attack took place at a time when the best French forces seemed to be wasting away at Verdun, while the British Army seemed to be standing idly between the Yser and the Somme. In these circumstances the enemy hoped to break completely the spirit of the French people by a most horrible campaign of a systematic kind upon the honour and integrity of a highly-strung race.

The other deeds that occurred during the great slave-drives in the spring and winter of 1916 were terrible and yet not so important. Thousands of deportees were starved, beaten, and hung up on trees, with a view to forcing them to work, often being finally murdered. Some were set to labour in the trenches, where they were exposed to the fire of British and French artillery. We cannot measure the extent of the sufferings inflicted upon the enslaved population; but knowing how strong is the spirit of the French democracy and how severe must be the strain under which the French would break down and submit to work as slaves against their own people, we can believe that, could the full secrets of Westphalian mines and Rhine quarries and German railways and fortified lines be revealed, such records of utter human misery would be disclosed as would remain memorable for thousands of years. But above all this welter of bodily pain and mental anguish there will stand, branded in flame upon the entire German people, the history

of the French girls and women who were medically examined and sent away to an unknown destination.

While transforming the occupied territories of France into the scenes of deepest misery that ever overtook her life, the Germans turned upon Belgium and there instituted the same systematic atrocities. After having violated the neutrality of Belgium, murdered more than five thousand

men, women, and children, and destroyed twenty-six thousand houses, the Germans reduced the country to ruin and starvation, and then completed their work by carrying the Belgians into slavery. This was not the act of a Government desperately struggling against defeat and wildly casting aside the last vestiges of Christianity and civilisation. It was the act of conquerors, confident of eventual victory and preparing for the conditions of a European peace of their own making. Behind the deportations was a policy of spoliation and ruin, carried out with cunning foresight and hard thoroughness, with a view to increasing the economic strength of Germany after the war.

**Preparing for a  
German peace**

From the beginning of the German occupation the Belgians were plundered by a system of requisitions, confiscations, and seizures that left them famishing and unemployed. Three million German soldiers were fed from Belgium and Northern France, consuming, among other things, nearly half the total quantity of meat eaten in Germany in peace-time. That is to say, Germany saved half her meat supplies by robbing the non-combatant populations of Belgium and Northern France of their food. Then under the direction of Dr. Walther Rathenau, of the General Electric Company, metals, textile products, chemicals, and all materials of direct or indirect military value were collected and sent into Germany if they could not be used on the spot by the German forces. By February, 1915, the Germans had drained from Belgium and Northern France produce and material of the value of £100,000,000. Such was the figure

## TOMBES DES Soldats Français & Anglais

Jusqu'à maintenant j'ai toléré que des petits drapeaux aux couleurs nationales soient placés sur les tombes des soldats français et anglais.

Ma tolérance a été remerciée de la façon suivante. Il y a quelques jours on a placé d'une manière provocante et sans goût un drapeau tricolore de trois mètres de hauteur sur les tombes des soldats.

J'ai puni les coupables ainsi que le conservateur du cimetière de peines d'emprisonnement et j'ordonne :

Il est interdit de placer sur les tombes des soldats des objets quelconques aux couleurs nationales des puissances alliées contre l'Allemagne, par exemple des drapeaux, des rubans, des cocardes, etc.

Les objets désignés ci-dessus se trouvant encore sur les tombes doivent être enlevés par la police.

Tout contrevenant sera sévèrement puni.

Roubaix, le 24 Mars 1915.

Commandanture de l'Étape,  
**HOPMANN**  
Major et Commandant.

N° 75.

"It is forbidden to place on soldiers' graves anything displaying the colours of Powers allied against Germany—flags, ribbons, cockades, etc."

GERMAN PROCLAMATIONS POSTED IN OCCUPIED FRENCH TOWNS.

## AVIS

L'Autorité Militaire Allemande a fait fusiller, aujourd'hui, à Henin-Liétard, deux Officiers Français, les nommés :

**Paul THERY & Eric BEUTOM**

qui, cachés pendant plusieurs semaines à Douai, déguisés en femmes, ont essayé de franchir les lignes allemandes.

Le Gouvernement Militaire Allemand se voit forcé d'attirer, une fois de plus, l'attention du public sur l'article VI. de la Proclamation qui est ainsi conçu :

Tout Officier ou Soldat ennemi rencontré sur le théâtre des opérations ou en arrière des troupes allemandes, ayant quitté son uniforme et revêtu des habits civils, sera considéré comme espion et traité comme tel. La personne qui aura fourni lesdits habits ainsi que les personnes qui, ayant connu le fait, n'auront pas avisé les Autorités Militaires, seront punies comme complices.

Cet article ne sera cependant pas appliqué aux personnes qui, ayant eu connaissance d'un fait dont il est fait mention dans l'article précité, en auront informé l'Autorité Militaire Allemande, jusqu'au Samedi 16 Janvier 1915.

Le 7 Janvier 1915.

**Le Général Commandant l'Armée.**

"The German military authorities have shot two French officers, Paul Théry and Eric Beutom, for trying to pass the German lines disguised."



given by Dr. Ludwig Ganghofer, a second-rate German poet acting as Royal war correspondent to the Kaiser. In his book entitled, "Travels on the German Front," Ganghofer explained that "an economic war was being waged upon the conquered territories which was leading to the exhaustion of their manufacturing and financial resources." The design was to remove Belgium and Northern France from the list of competitors with German industries, and so to cripple their powers of recovery that they would not be able to enter the markets of the world for a decade after peace was declared. Plants were taken to pieces and distributed among the German munition factories. Then, when the workless Belgians were being kept alive by the American Commission, they were charged with the crime of being unemployed, and requested to volunteer for work in Germany.

The stagnation of work and industry was complete. Masters and selling agents could not use the Belgian telephone and telegraph systems; the goods traffic was stopped; no motor-vehicles were available; the banks practically stopped payment, and the land could not be cultivated because the enemy had taken the farming horses. By the summer of 1915 one-fourth of the total population of Belgium was without work and without means of living. This was exactly the state of things which the Germans had aimed at producing, and in the name of humanity they offered the Belgians work to keep them alive. In some cases the wages promised were very high, amounting to two pounds a day. But all the work was of a direct or indirect military nature, so that if the Belgians undertook it they would be helping to kill their own countrymen or the allied soldiers trying to liberate them. In these circumstances the Belgians refused the offer, and entered upon a silent, terrible struggle known as "the war with folded arms." They folded their arms and walked out of railway yards, mines, and war factories. The practical effect was that of a great national strike.

#### The "war with folded arms"



[Italian official photograph.]

#### STONE-AGE WEAPONS ADAPTED TO MODERN AUSTRIAN USE.

Another of the iron-headed, nail-studded batons issued by the Austrian Government to its soldiers. Many primitive weapons were reintroduced in the Great War, but this was one of the most brutal.

But in April, 1915, the Germans began against the Belgian railwaymen a system of slave-raids that became of general scope as the war went on.

The Belgian workmen were imprisoned and starved, but, despite their sufferings, they could not be cowed to submission. In October, 1915, the Belgian communal authorities were menaced by military proclamations, and were charged with creating difficulties for the German Army. At this time it is estimated that only ten thousand Belgians had been driven by hunger or fear for their families to accept work in German factories. Again Belgium was ransacked of all her remaining material and produce, in order to prevent the communes finding from one to two days' work a week for their unemployed. The communes in Belgian Luxemburg, for instance, drained a quarter of a million acres of marsh, and laid more than six hundred miles of railway track opening up agricultural districts, in order to keep their men at work and lay the foundation of a larger prosperity when peace came. But these far-reaching plans of agricultural development were directly adverse to the German design for permanently weakening the country. Communal work was more dangerous to Germany than private work would have been; therefore, the slave-drives were organised in a larger way. On May 2nd, 1916, under the direction of General von Bissing, orders were given for all men who seemed to be unemployed to be brought before military tribunals, and if found guilty of having no work to do, the unemployed were "to be conducted by force to the spots where they have to work."

#### Slavery instituted in Belgium

This decree instituted the general system of slavery in Belgium. Instead of sporadic raids on yards and factories, where highly-trained men could be found, a methodical sweep through the country was laboriously planned and executed. The general deportations began in East and West Flanders, where every person who relied on municipal assistance or public charity was summoned to work for the German authorities under a penalty of three months' imprisonment and £500 fine. This decree was issued on October 3rd, 1916, by Quartermaster-General von Sauderzweig, who was, by the way, the officer directly responsible for the execution of Miss Cavell.

Thereupon, as has already been related by Mr. F. A. McKenzie in Chapter CLVI., the Belgians were carried off into slavery to the number of at least a hundred and fifty thousand men. No real distinction was made

**VILLE DE CHARLEROI**

**POLICE**

**Bâtiments incendiés**

Toute personne non régulièrement autorisée qui sera trouvée dans les ruines des maisons incendiées, risque d'être **immédiatement FUSILLÉE**

Des autorisations pourront être accordées aux propriétaires ou à leurs délégués par le Bourgmestre.

Charleroi, le 25 août 1916.

Le Bourgmestre,  
**E. DEVREUX**

"Any persons who are not officially authorised found in the ruins of burned houses risk being immediately shot." An order posted in Charleroi.

SOME CAPITAL CRIMES UNDER GERMAN CIVILISATION.

**AVIS IMPORTANT!**

Le mineur **PAUL BUSIÈRE**, de Liévin, a été fusillé le 23 août, en vertu d'un arrêt du Conseil de Guerre, pour avoir recélé des pigeons voyageurs.

En cette circonstance le Général Commandant l'Armée rappelle à la population civile que :

- I. — Toute personne qui détiendra ou recèlera des pigeons ou pigeons voyageurs sera punie de mort.
- II. — De la même peine sera passible toute personne qui, ayant trouvé des pigeons voyageurs ou des objets, correspondances ou écritures de n'importe quel genre jetés par un aviateur, les gardera ou les cachera, au lieu de les remettre immédiatement entre les mains du Commandant de place allemand le plus proche.
- III. — Dans le cas où des circonstances atténuantes seraient admises, la peine des travaux forcés à perpétuité ou de dix à quinze ans sera appliquée.
- IV. — Toute tentative, provocation ou complicité seront suivies des mêmes pénalités.

Le 1<sup>er</sup> septembre 1915.

Le Général Commandant l'Armée.

"Paul Busiere, miner of Liévin, was shot by order of court-martial for having concealed carrier-pigeons in his possession."



between employed and unemployed, except that men of liberal professions were generally, but not always, exempted. What Germany needed were skilled labourers and skilled mechanics of every kind, capable of doing work that would release able-bodied Germans by the hundred thousand for the Army. No pity was shown in the selection of the slaves. Fathers of large families were carried off, with the sons of widows and the husbands of women who died during the raid and were unburied. Many deportees were formed into "Civil Working Companies" and set, under the bayonets of the German soldiery, to labour in the German lines in France, making roads, building trenches

and machine-gun positions, and constructing new military railways and aviation grounds. Others were sent across the frontier into German mines, iron-works, zinc factories, lime-kilns, and quarries. There they were underfed and ill-treated in a manner in which no enlightened slave-owner would have treated his slaves. An ordinary slave-owner must, in his own selfish interests, see that his human cattle are kept fit enough to continue to work well. But the design of the German murderers of nations was to annihilate the human industrial energy of Belgium and Northern France, so that, in the absence of both labour and material, the economic reconstruction of the countries should be impossible of achievement for at least a generation. Long before the Belgian and French factories were brought back to full productivity the Germans hoped to have captured all available markets.

**Prussian slavery  
in Poland**

In regard to Russian Poland, of which the Teutons pretended to be the redeemers, the same methods of "economic war" were adopted. In the first place, the invading armies were quartered on the country-side and fed upon the meat and corn, causing extreme distress to the people. Then the factories were closed, and much of the machinery and practically all the stocks were requisitioned, and either used by the invaders in Poland or despatched into Germany. The people were left without means of communication and traffic, and, like the Belgians, were forced into a condition of famishing idleness. When it was calculated that their spirit had been broken, they



THE HIGH PRIEST OF FRIGHTFULNESS, HIS CHIEF APOSTLE, AND SOME OTHERS.

The Kaiser, high priest of frightfulness, talking to Von Hindenburg, whose assumption of the military dictatorship was the sign for a renewed outbreak of "ruthless" war on sea and land. The Kaiser's wife, his brother,

and his brother's wife are in the background. Above: Von Hindenburg talking to the egregious Crown Prince, assuredly the least martial prince who ever drove soldiers to the slaughter by the hundred thousand.



were asked to volunteer to work for the invaders, who had redeemed them from Russian oppression. A Teutonic party was formed among the Polish gentry, by the influence of some Austrian-Poles, and the people were promised that the ancient kingdom of Poland would be reconstituted by the kind-hearted Teutons if only they would work for their liberators until the glorious peace was made.

But at the time when Hindenburg and Mackensen were "liberating" Poland by ruining and starving it, a considerable part of the Polish people was already kept in Prussian slavery. Before the war about a million Poles used to migrate into Germany every year, and work from winter to harvest in the fields and mines. When war was declared there remained some three hundred and fifty thousand of these migrant men, women, girls, and lads on the estates of the great Prussian landowners. They were detained by the order of the military authorities and reduced to the position of slaves. If they crossed the boundary of the parish in which they were held they were subjected to imprisonment up to twelve months, and all money they possessed was taken from them. The same penalties were inflicted if they refused to work for the Prussian magnates. After the conquest of Poland, Lithuania, and Courland, the originally large number of agricultural serfs was enormously increased, to allow the Prussian landowners both to work their estates more cheaply and to liberate more men for the Army.

By the autumn of 1916 the remnants of the rural population of the occupied Russian provinces were living on the scanty root vegetables, onions, and turnips remaining in their fields. No peasant had any wheat or potatoes, and tuberculosis and strange starvation diseases sapped what strength in the nation the Teutons had left. Amid this black misery great man-hunts and slave-drives began, on a scale surpassing that of the Belgian deportations. At least a million men were forcibly driven across the frontier to work in mines and munition factories, or to swell the slave-gangs of the Prussian landowners. It is estimated that only eighty thousand men volunteered for work in Germany under the lure of lying promises. Some of these volunteers were killed by the hardships, and in spite of the censorship on all their messages to their countrymen, the truth about their condition spread through the fields and towns. Nothing then could revive the faith of any Pole in his redeemers. The proclamation of a kingdom of Poland, which was not to include Prussian and Austrian Poland, confirmed the tortured and perishing race in its attitude of passive resistance. Poles refused either to join the new Polish army or to work in their enemy's factories. In Warsaw, for instance, scarcely more



**BELGIAN DEPORTATIONS: A PULPIT PROTEST WHILE UNDER GUARD.**  
 Priest reading Cardinal Mercier's emphatic protest against the deportation of Belgian workmen to Germany. Even in their churches the Belgians were made to feel the mailed fist of the invader, as is shown by the German soldier standing in grim watchfulness with fixed bayonet by the pulpit stairs.

than fourteen hundred volunteers, including Polish-Jews as well as true Poles and Lithuanians, were so spiritually broken down by utter misery as to offer to work or to fight for the invaders.

In these circumstances the Courts of Blood and the slave-hunting forces organised a general system for the destruction and dispersion of the populations of Poland, Lithuania, and Courland. The Courts of Blood were military tribunals with firing-parties attached. Any man who seemed to have the gift of leadership and appeared to be helping to maintain the general spirit of resistance was brought before some Court of Blood, charged with communicating with the enemy, and shot. Thousands of men were thus murdered who often were antagonistic to Russia rather than favourable to her. Their real crime was that they were Poles of independent courage, who laboured for justice to their own race, and thereby hindered the designs of the Teutons.

On Sundays churches were surrounded by German troops, and as the men came out they were collected at





**MEN OF THE GALLANT RUMANIAN ARMY THAT SOUGHT TO STAY THE RUTHLESS INVADER.**  
Group of Rumanian soldiers with a petty-officer of the R.N.A.S. Armoured Cars, which did good service in delaying the further German advance after the fall of Bukarest. The Rumanian Army, heroically as it fought to keep off invaders who had gained so unenviable a fame for behaving like barbarians, was not fitted for withstanding the mass of men and material which the Central Powers had been able to concentrate against it.

the bayonet point and marched to the nearest station, crowded into cattle and goods trucks, and sent under guard to Germany. In the industrial districts the working quarters were usually surrounded at night, and the strongest men and women selected from the houses and placed upon the railway.

There is, unfortunately, reason for supposing that in the winter of 1916 many good-looking Polish girls were not sent to munition factories or agricultural estates, but were medically examined, like the girls of Lille, and reserved for German officers. When this happened the Poles—in Wola, for instance—were already known to be eating their dogs.

The winter was terribly severe, coal was not to be had in the cities, and flour, meat, and potatoes had gone with a large part of the adult population into Germany. The general

misery was such as no civilised people would dare to impose upon its worst criminals. Yet the German and Austrian

Emperors, with their principal Ministers, still proclaimed to the world that they had liberated Poland and were making her a free kingdom. The infernal mockery was without parallel in the history of mankind. Poland had more title to fair treatment than even Belgium or Luxemburg had; for she was not even a neutral State that had stood in the path of the conquerors, but a redeemed country, which they professed to be ready to erect into a buffer territory between the Central Empires and the Russian Empire.

Even from a self-enlightened military point of view the Teutons would have done well to treat the Poles with some consideration, by way of lending colour to their claim to be their liberators. Thereby they might have inflicted great

moral damage upon the reactionary party in the Russian bureaucracy, which had prevented the Tsar's proclamation of Polish freedom from being partly carried out in the early phase of the war. But the Teutons were too stupidly atrocious to put on a semblance of humanity in order to win over the discontented Poles. They were too greedy for plunder in the first place, and afterwards, when they had stripped Poland bare, they saw no way of retrieving the error they had made except by proceeding to enslave a nation of twelve million people, and wearing it down to death by over-labour, under-feeding, and bodily and mental suffering.

#### Stupidity in atrocity

It was, for example, credibly reported that the Poles transported to Weimar and set to forced labour there were paid ninepence a day in the case of men and sixpence a day in the case of women. On these wages they were supposed to feed and clothe themselves. But having regard to the cost of food in Germany in the winter of 1916, sixpence or ninepence a day was not sufficient to buy the means of life. Dutch workers who made £6 a week could not purchase enough food to keep up their strength. What, then, must have been the condition of Polish women who earned 3s. 6d. a week!

But sad as was the condition of the Polish civilian slaves, that of the one million Russian prisoners of war was still worse. In some cases the Russians were harnessed to the plough, together with oxen, and put into the shafts of heavy waggons and made to drag enormous loads. The slightest disobedience was punished in the hardest manner possible, though the apparent slackness was often due to ignorance of the German language. The Russians were put on bread and water, beaten, or lashed by arms and legs



to posts for a couple of hours. Their arms and legs were at times put out of joint by this form of crucifixion.

Cossack prisoners, according to the report issued by a Commission of the Russian State Duma, were singled out in internment camps for savage tortures. In some cases the ingenious Germans used strong electric shocks upon Cossacks, after binding them so that they could not move. In other instances the older method of red-hot irons was employed. The Commission traced in detail eighteen cases of burning. No doubt it was because the Germans dreaded the Cossacks more than any other class of Russian soldiers that they more frequently tortured, starved, and hanged them.

British prisoners of war were regarded in somewhat the same way as the Cossacks. The Germans feared the British, and while they were confident they could either win or end the war in a deadlock, they did all they safely could to vent their hatred upon their prisoners of war. In this connection we need not go over the ground already covered in previous chapters. But to continue the record of the things we must specially keep in mind, reference must be made to the later revelations of the horrors of the typhus camps.

On October 24th, 1916, the Committee on the Treatment of British Prisoners of War issued a report upon the camp of Gardelegen. This report was a sequel to the dreadful history of the horrors of Wittenberg Camp, related in April, 1916. In both camps there was a preliminary overcrowding that was probably intentional. At Wittenberg some sixteen

#### Horrors at Gardelegen Camp

thousand prisoners were restricted to ten and a half acres, and kept without proper fuel. At Gardelegen fourteen thousand prisoners were packed into a space measuring three hundred and fifty yards by five hundred and fifty yards. Major P. T. C. Davy, R.A.M.C., who was transferred to the camp just before the epidemic broke out, states:

The overcrowding was such as I have never before seen or imagined anywhere. The hut contained in the breadth four rows of straw or shaving palliasses, so arranged that laterally they were touching, and only terminally left the narrowest passage-way between. Here men of all nationalities were crowded together. In these huts, devoid of tables and stools, the men lived, slept, and fed. They sat on their bags of shavings to eat their meals; they walked over each other in passing in and out; they lay there sick, and, later on, in many cases, died there cheek by jowl with their fellow-prisoners. The atmosphere by day, and still more by night, was indescribably fetid, and this was their sole alternative to going outside in their meagre garments for fresh air.

I have no hesitation in saying that the diet the prisoners received was not sufficient to keep an adult in a normal state of nutrition. I mean that every man who subsisted on what was issued to him was gradually getting emaciated and anæmic, and was constantly a prey to the pangs of hunger.

Had the German bacteriologists arranged a massacre in the latest scientific manner they could not have improved upon the conditions their military and medical authorities established in the camps. Tens of thousands of prisoners were starved to a condition of extreme weakness in the winter of 1914, when there was no lack of food in Germany. Most of them had their greatcoats taken from them, and though their clothes were so worn that they shivered with the cold, the German authorities would not serve out the new kit that was available. Proper fuel was not provided, and there was only one stand-pipe at Gardelegen for twelve hundred men to wash by, without soap. Most of the men were therefore unable to wash, and the result was that every man was infected with body vermin, swarming in every garment he wore and in every blanket he slept in.

Everybody acquainted with the part that body vermin plays in communicating disease must strongly incline to the judgment that the event that happened was subtly and skilfully **Deliberate introduction of typhus**

typhus were introduced into the crowded camps, and the lice spread the infection as thoroughly as if each man had been bound and pierced with a hypodermic needle containing the living deadly germ. The only difference between the two methods is that the one the Germans adopted is the more natural and far the easier to carry out on a large scale. While the plague was just beginning to spread the German guards created a reign of terror and brutality. According to the evidence of Major Davy:

At the daily roll-call parades men were driven out of their barrack rooms with kicks and blows. The German under-officers were the chief offenders. The German officers, of whom one was in command in each company, were mostly elderly men, who seemed quite in the hands of their under-officers. I never once saw one check an under-officer for the most flagrant bullying.

The Germans clearly knew what was coming at this time, February 11th, 1915. For they brought two British medical officers to the camp, with a small band of French and Russian doctors, in order to release and save their



DURING THE RETREAT OF THE RUMANIAN ARMY ALONG THE DANUBE.

Rumanian soldiers at a point on the Lower Danube. After the united forces of the Central Powers from Transylvania and the Dobruja had swept through Wallachia, and Bukarest had fallen, the Rumanian Army

fell back for re-forming on a new defensive line. Above: Two members of the Scottish Women's Field Hospital on the quay at Braila. Their admirable organisation did splendid work in Serbia and Rumania.



own men. Two months previously all the German staff at Wittenberg had left the camp, both military and medical men fleeing and abandoning the sixteen thousand prisoners to their fate. Gardelegen Camp was abandoned in the same manner in February, 1915. The German guards packed and departed; the German medical officers went; and in both camps communication with the prisoners was only maintained by orders shouted through the barbed-wire. The insufficient supplies of food and stores were passed in on trollies, worked by winches at either end.

The German guards formed cordons outside the camps, and shot down any men who tried to escape from the plague centres. With the guards were dogs to assist in raising the alarm if any prisoner got through the barbed-wire. No milk, no eggs, or other invalid fare was provided at Gardelegen; and, though half a cup of milk a day was provided at Wittenberg during the first month, neither camp received the simple drugs it needed, nor any surgical dressings or hospital clothing. Gangrene was common, owing to the fact that many patients lacked the clothing to keep themselves warm. Day after day at Wittenberg a list of medical requisites was sent out, but only a third of the things requested was supplied. At Gardelegen, Major Davy and Dr. Saint Hilaire, the senior allied medical officers, vainly asked for drugs, milk and eggs, and other medical necessities. The German commandant would do nothing. When a new German medical officer appeared the only answer he made to Major Davy's entreaties was to storm at him across the barbed-wire for not saluting properly.

The evident intention was to allow the camps to cleanse themselves of the plague as quickly as the typhus germs could work. The food for the stricken men was acorn coffee and potato bread, potato soup, horse beans, a very little margarine, with sometimes a smell of meat and sometimes no meat at all. One kilogramme of bread was the daily ration for ten men, which amounted to less than one-fifth of a pound each.

It largely consisted of potato-flour, of low nutritive value, with other inferior ingredients that made it unpalatable. A small quantity of this black bread, with a midday meal of thin potato soup, one raw herring a week, and some thin soup at evening, in which most days the men could not find a trace of meat, formed the diet of thousands of men in an acute and deadly illness.

Some milk was at last obtained at Gardelegen by paying a German non-commissioned officer a commission to induce him to purchase it at the cost of the British and French doctors. As these officers lacked gloves and gowns, where-with to safeguard themselves while treating the typhus patients, many of them died, with their orderlies, in nobly trying to fight the disease. This again was no doubt the event the German authorities, when they refused medical supplies, intended to bring about. They desired to see practically all the prisoners of war slain by the pestilence.

The dying men had no beds. They had to lie mostly on piles of shavings or straw mattresses on the ground, while

vermin swarmed over them. There they were often soaked and soiled with their own faecal matter. A Zola could not fully describe the horrors of the scenes in the plague camps. The Black Hole of Calcutta was hot and airless, while at Wittenberg and Gardelegen ice gathered on the dying men, as there were neither bed-pans nor paper for sanitary purposes. The stench, the masses of vermin, the condition of men in delirium, lying in some places packed together on the floor, the dead with the dying, made a spectacle more appalling than that which the barbaric Asiatics created in Calcutta.

Once, at Wittenberg, during the course of the plague, a single German doctor entered the camp. His memorable name was Aschenbach, and he came attired in a complete suit of protective clothing, including an antiseptic mask and rubber gloves. As a reward for his brief and rapid visit he was given the Iron Cross. Yet for months after his inspection the camp continued to be starved of the bare necessities of existence and of the simplest drugs and surgical dressings for the patients' wounds. The answer given by Dr. Aschenbach in person, when asked

**The infamous  
Dr. Aschenbach**

for only one medical requisite that was urgently required, was, "Schweine Engländer!"—"You English swine!" Clearly, he was doing all in his power to accelerate the death of the "English swine," and his single visit of inspection was made only to see how the pestilence was spreading. Another German doctor, who also entered the camp with great precaution, came to obtain a culture of the typhus germ, to make a vaccine for some German guards, who had caught the disease through selling the prisoners goods across the wire entanglement.

At Wittenberg the German military doctors never entered the camp. But in March, 1915, a civilian medical officer, Dr. Kranski, who had been deported from Egypt at the beginning of the war, appeared outside the wire entanglements and did all he could to help. But

though he tried to get drugs and dressings, his military superiors prevented him from obtaining them. In April, 1915, Dr. Ohnesorg, of the American Embassy at Berlin, came to the outside of the camp and told one of the British officers there, through the wire entanglements, how favourably impressed he was with the store of meat provided for the patients. The British officer exclaimed there was no meat. It then appeared that the German authorities had exhibited carcasses of mutton outside the camp and had carted them back to the town after the American doctor had been impressed by the cunning display. Not a scrap of the meat was sent inside the camp.

By the heroism and devotion of the allied doctors and orderlies the plague was gradually fought down in all the typhus camps by the autumn of 1915. But, terrible to say, at both Wittenberg and Gardelegen the multitudes of prisoners showed more signs of happiness during the pestilence than before the outbreak. For when the German guards and officers fled and abandoned them to their fate, the prisoners, on the evidence of the allied medical men who afterwards saved them, felt a positive relief.



BRITISH AND RUSSIAN OFFICERS IN RUMANIA.  
Two officers of the R.N.A.S. Armoured Cars with a Russian comrade at a Danube-side station. The figure on the extreme left is one of the Rumanian refugees who were driven from their homes by the invaders.



They had been flogged with whips, terrorised by savage dogs, crucified to posts, and continually struck without provocation. Therefore, many of the men looked upon the typhus, with all its horrors, as a godsend. They preferred it to the presence of the German guards. This statement, made by Captain Lauder, R.A.M.C., in regard to Wittenberg Camp, and confirmed by Major Davy in regard to the Gardelegen Camp, tells more than volumes of details could of the methods used by the Germans with regard to British, Belgian, French, and Russian prisoners of war. It consummates the record of atrocities committed on captive soldiers and contained in our earlier chapters.

**Turkish barbarism  
in the Hauran**

The typhus method of torture and death, which the Germans invented, was afterwards employed by the Turks, under German and Austrian supervision, with a view to exterminating the Syrian and Arab population of the wheat-growing district of the Hauran. The Hauran lies between Jerusalem and Damascus, and was peopled by a mingled race of strong character, upon which the Ottoman yoke sat lightly. The mountainous nature of the country, flanked by the great Syrian Desert, made military operations difficult. But in the autumn of 1916 the Turks and their Teutonic helpers formed a military cordon around that part of the Hauran which was not dominated by the Syrian railway line. Then, among the besieged people, they introduced hundreds of typhus-carriers in the form of Armenian and other prisoners, who had been specially infected in prison, in order to transform them into plague weapons against the independent part of the Syrian population.

In the early period of the war the atrocities in Syria were so shocking to the conscience of the Moslem race as to lead the Arabs of Mecca to revolt against the Ottoman rule. The murder of many Syrian notables set Arabia on fire, with the result that the Young Turks lost all control of the Holy Places of Islam, and became, in spite of their military strength, the practical outcasts of the Moslem world. They lost influence in Afghanistan and in the wilder parts of Mohammedan Africa, and the plan of a

Holy War, which they had made in conjunction with the Teutons, utterly failed of effect. By their policy of racial extermination the Ottomans defeated themselves by completely exhausting their religious influence as wielders of the power of the Caliphate.

The full story of the extermination of the Armenians by the order of the Ottoman Government has been told in a large volume of evidence collected by Lord Bryce, edited by Mr. A. J. Toynbee, and presented to Parliament in the middle of December, 1916. The larger part of the evidence was obtained from neutral witnesses residing or travelling in Asiatic Turkey while the events were happening. Another part of the evidence was obtained from natives of the country, and the last part was derived from Germans residing in Turkey and watching the massacres.

The design of the Turks was to kill at least one million Armenian men, women, and children, in order to repeople the country in accordance with a Pan-Ottoman policy. This Pan-Ottoman policy was also directed against the Syrians and many Arabs, all of these being fellow-believers with the Turks. The policy was thus of a political and racial character, being intended to spread the Turkish race by the complete depopulation of fertile territories held by the subject races of the Ottoman Empire. The Armenians were first attacked by the atheistical leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress, not because they were Christians, but because they were a subject race occupying rich territory, holding a great trade route, and in danger of being liberated by the Russian Army of the Caucasus.

**Extermination of  
the Armenians**

The principal massacres began on April 8th, 1915. In each town or village the public crier went through the streets, announcing that every Armenian must present himself at once at the Government building. The men came in their working clothes, leaving their shops and work-rooms open, their ploughs in the fields, and their cattle on the hillside. Without explanation they were thrown into prison, then roped man to man, and marched out and halted at the first lonely place on the road. There



WRETCHED PLIGHT OF RUMANIAN REFUGEES BEFORE THE INVADERS.

Rumanian refugees leaving their homes before the advancing tide of German invasion. The sinister reputation of the Teutons made flight—even by roads ankle-deep in mud—the only course for people in any threatened district, and the consequent misery of the populace was terrible.

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they were butchered. After an interval of a few days the public crier called upon the Armenian women and children to come to the Government building. In droves, varying in size from two hundred to four thousand, the women and children, with the old and sick, were marched along mule-tracks towards the places where the Kurds were waiting for them. On the way the guards violated any woman or girl they pleased, and any Moslem of the country-side was allowed to take what slaves or concubines he wished.

At last the Kurds met the convoys, and the great butchery began. The old men and boys were slain, together with the women the Kurds did not care to carry away. If the women selected as slaves were carrying

embarked on thirteen Tigris barges. A short time after the start the prisoners were stripped of all their money, and then of their clothes; after that they were thrown into the river.

For a whole month corpses were observed floating down the River Euphrates nearly every day, often in batches of from two to six corpses bound together. The male corpses are in many cases hideously mutilated, the female corpses are ripped open. The corpses stranded on the bank are devoured by dogs and vultures. To this fact there are many German eye-witnesses. An employee of the Bagdad Railway has brought the information that the prisons at Biredjik are filled regularly every day and emptied every night—into the Euphrates. Between Diarbekir and Ourfa a German cavalry captain saw innumerable corpses lying unburied all along the road.

Another German missionary reported, in regard to the Mush district:

Harpout has become the cemetery of the Armenians; from all directions they have been brought to Harpout to be buried. There they lie, and the dogs and vultures devour their bodies. In Harpout and Mezré the people have had to endure terrible tortures. They have had their eyebrows plucked out, their breasts cut off, their nails torn off; their torturers hew off their feet or else hammer nails into them, just as they do in shoeing horses. This is all done at night time, and in order that the people may not hear their screams and know of their agony, soldiers are stationed round the prisons, beating drums and blowing whistles. It is needless to relate that many died of these tortures. When they die the soldiers cry, "Now let your Christ help you."

One old priest was tortured so cruelly as to extract a confession that



LIKELY TO GET A SHORT SHRIFT.

Serbian peasants, suspected of espionage, before the German Headquarters. An order of the High Command said of the Serbian peasants: "These people are to be executed if they appear even slightly suspicious."

babies, the infants were either left on the ground or dashed against stones. Many of the massacres were consummated by the Euphrates, where women and children were driven into the water, and shot if they seemed likely to be able to swim to the farther bank. In the Van district there were no pretences at deportations. The work was done by wholesale massacre on the spot. At Trebizond the Armenians were either drowned at sea or cut down at the first resting-place on the road. Altogether six hundred thousand Armenian men, women, and children were massacred. Another six hundred thousand seemed to have escaped; while a similar number survived, by various methods, the agonies of the long and murderous marches.

The most remarkable evidence was obtained from German missionary journals, which the German censor made strenuous but belated attempts to suppress. For example, the "Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift" (or "General Missions Gazette") was allowed, by a mistake on the part of the German Government, to print the following report:

They have marched them off in convoys into the desert on the pretext of settling them there. In the village of Tel-Armen (along the line of the Bagdad Railway, near Mosul) and in the neighbouring villages about 5,000 people were massacred, leaving only a few women and children. The people were thrown alive down wells or into the fire. As it is only the women and children who are sent into exile, since all the men, with the exception of the very old, are at the war, this means nothing less than the wholesale murder of the families.

On May 30th six hundred and seventy-four of them were



PITIFUL VICTIMS OF AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN SAVAGERY.

A Serbian refugee tramping the streets with his two little daughters. The civil population of Serbia suffered even worse than the civil population of Belgium and of Northern and Eastern France from the invaders.





**HONEST FOLK FALLEN AMONG THIEVES.**  
Serbians in the hands of enemy troops. Professor Reiss's investigation proved that the Teutons aimed at systematic extermination of the entire Serbian population.

believing that the torture would cease and that he would be left alone if he did it, he cried out in his desperation, "We are revolutionists." He expected his tortures to cease, but, on the contrary, the soldiers cried, "What further do we seek? We have it here from his own lips." And instead of picking their victims as they did before, the officials had all the Armenians tortured without sparing a soul. It is a story written in blood.

The later scenes in Syria, where Moslem populations were massacred in the cause of Pan-Ottomanism, seemed to have been conducted in the same way as the Armenian massacres. The fighting men were first drafted into the Turkish Army, and placed in the forefront of battle against the British and the Russians, for the double purpose of killing them off and disturbing the Allies. When the best fighters were gone and the resistance of the region was thereby weakened,

#### **Pan-Ottomanism in Syria**

the notable men were executed on trumped-up charges of treason. After these cunning steps had reduced the people into a leaderless and practically unarmed mob, they were harried by extortions and brutal ill-treatment into something that could be represented as a revolt. Thereupon, large military forces were employed against them, and carriers of pestilence were spread among them. By the triple weapons of disease, downright butchery, and starvation the territory was cleared, with a view to it being planted with Turkish peasants.

This was the main difference between the massacre policy of the unregenerate Turk and the enlightened methods of the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress, who acted always under Germanic influence. The Turks of the new school, who included many renegade Salonika Jews, made use of the latest discoveries in bacteriology and the latest doctrines of race dominion. Their Pan-Ottomanism was directly inspired by Pan-Germanism.



**SERBIAN COPPER FOR GERMAN SHELLS.**  
Young Serbians bringing in all their copper vessels and utensils, which were sent to Germany to be used in munition work. It was death for a Serbian to attempt to retain any of the precious metal, which the invader demanded with uncompromising insistence.

But, having regard to the way in which the Germans dispeopled Belgium, Poland, Serbia, Northern France, and Rumania, it seems highly probable that the later German methods of deportation were in turn modelled upon the methods of the Pan-Ottomanism. The scientific Teutons and the barbarous Turks amalgamated into a league of scientific savagery, which was utterly without precedent in history. The deeds of Attila and his Huns, the acts of Genghis Khan and his Mongols, were completely eclipsed. For these ancient barbarians only killed by their own hands; they lacked the enormous power derived from scientific researches and modern technical industries.

In the first month of 1917 the enemy abandoned every semblance of respect for the conventions of Christendom, civilisation, and humanity. Possessing at sea, by reason of his submarines, a larger range of power than he exercised on land, he deliberately announced his intention of sinking all hospital ships as well as passenger liners, cargo boats, and the trading steamers of every nation. There was nothing new in the German submarine campaign against the hospital ships of the Allies. On February 1st, 1915,



the British hospital ship *Asturias* was attacked by a German submarine off Havre, and escaped only through the torpedo missing its mark. Again on March 30th, 1916, the Franco-Russian hospital ship *Portugal* was sunk in broad daylight by two torpedoes discharged from a German submarine off the coast of Eastern Anatolia. On December 21st, 1916, the British hospital ship *Britannic* was sunk in the *Ægean* Sea. Within three days, in the same waters, the *Braemar Castle*, another hospital ship, was also sunk. In the last two cases the evidence was inconclusive, from an official point of view, as to whether mine or torpedo had been employed. But the general opinion was that the two ships had met the same fate as the *Portugal*.

The evidence, however, was absolutely clear in the cases of the *Asturias* and the *Portugal*. Thus, so far as the Allies were concerned, there was no new element of atrocity in the third Teutonic campaign of pitiless piracy which opened on February 1st, 1917. Already non-combatants and neutrals on passenger liners had been killed and wounded by prolonged shell fire, directed both against the steamer and against the small boats in which the passengers were trying to escape. British seamen, who took to their boats after their vessel had been sunk, had been shelled by the enemy submarines. Men had been forced to abandon their ships in midwinter gales and utterly without means of reaching land or succour.

#### Atrocities of the U Boats

Many perished by bitter exposure, having been as clearly murdered as were their comrades who were done to death in German internment camps.

The cold-blooded brutality of the Teutons never varied, in essentials, from August, 1914, to February, 1917. The only difference was that in the first period of the war the human fiends employed cunning as well as cruelty. They covered up their misdeeds as much as possible, in order to maintain good and profitable relations with the United States and other powerful neutral countries. When they were at last so placed that they had to give some evidence of feelings of humanity or lose the financial and

commercial support of the most important neutral States, during the difficult period after the war, their blood-fed and blood-blinded passions triumphed over their former prudent policy of money-making.

The *Lusitania* murders, for example, were paralleled, soon after the revival of general submarine piracy, by the torpedoing of another Cunard liner, the *Laconia*, off the Irish coast, on Sunday night, February 25th, 1917. This act of atrocity was of special historic importance, in that two American passengers, Mrs. and Miss Hoy, lost their lives through the murderous conduct of the enemy, causing such indignation throughout the United States as brought the country nearer to armed conflict with the Central Empires.

The large majority of Germans, Socialist and otherwise, were inflated with lust for dominion, convinced that they could win in a sharp, short, and profitable war. Therefore, when bearing in mind the incomparable record of Teutonic atrocities, we must remember also that the Germanic races of the Central Empires were responsible for the method of exterminating other races, in the design to outbreed and swamp, by fertility, industrial resources, and riches, the nations they massacred.

It was seen that no peace settlement would be safe or permanent that did not leave the Germans crippled in bodily vigour, in iron power, coal power, and trading opportunities. Had none of these restrictions been contemplated, the Teutons of the younger generation would, even in temporary defeat, have profited at last enormously by the gross crimes of their fathers.

The British blockade promised to level up things slightly by its effect upon the physique of the Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians. But it could not balance the large and mortal injuries done to the peoples of Belgium, Northern France, Poland, Serbia, and Rumania. Only a decisive post-bellum economic policy, loyally carried out for a period of years by the Allies, could make Germany a lasting example to any other nation or nations inclining to exterminating methods of warfare.

#### Supreme outlaws of mankind

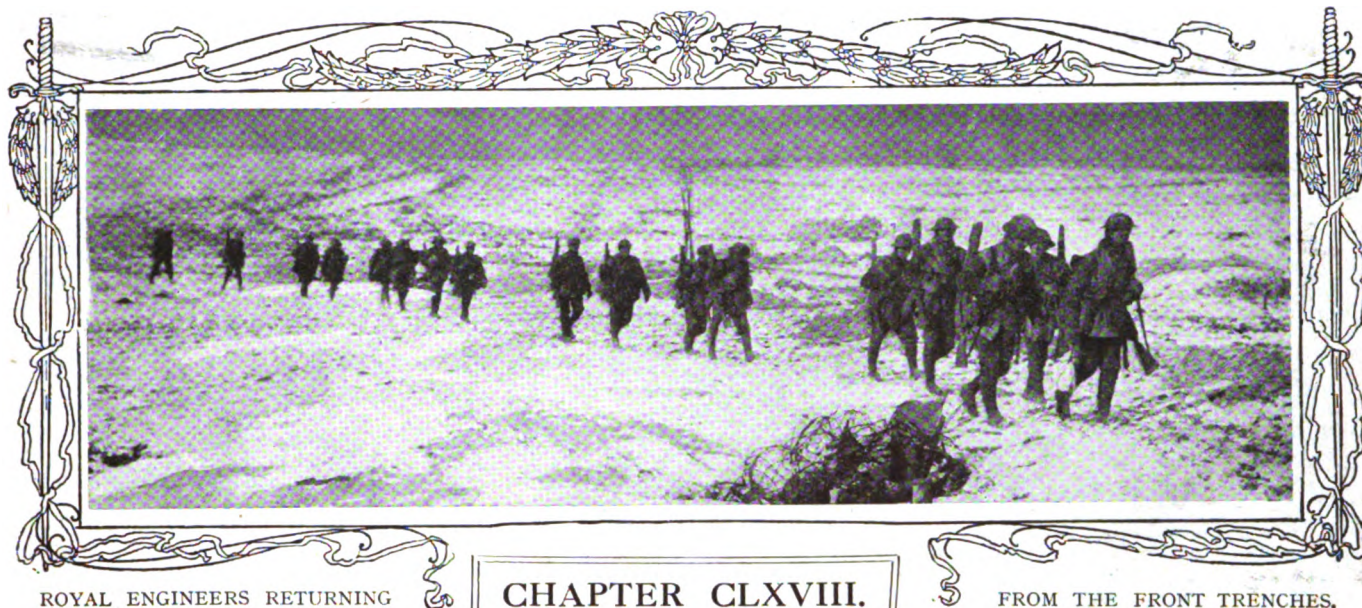


Germany held a million Russians prisoners of war, and treated them with a cruelty that was fiendish. The monstrous perverters of all that had been understood as pertaining to culture lashed their victims to posts

with their arms drawn tight behind them, bound them naked to trees for hours together, and even tied them to trees with their feet off the ground, so that the whole weight of the tortured body fell on the cutting cords.

INHUMAN HUNS' ILL-TREATMENT OF RUSSIAN PRISONERS OF WAR.





ROYAL ENGINEERS RETURNING

## CHAPTER CLXVIII.

FROM THE FRONT TRENCHES.

# EVERYDAY LIFE ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

By Basil Clarke.

Signs of British Influence Ubiquitous in France—Ships, Railways, Canals, and Roads—How the Language Problem was Solved—Growth of Mutual Understanding between the Two Peoples—Kinds of Environment in which Our Men Lived—Billets with French Families—Huts, Nissen and Others, Tents, and "Shelters"—Cellar Billets—Dug-outs—From Grottoes in Trench Sides to the Elaborate German Works—Chateaux—Migration a Part of the Soldier's Life—Train Journeys and Road Marches—The Sound of the Flute and the "Strombaus Horn"—Life in Rest Billets—Sleep, Kit-Cleaning, and Working-Parties—Daily Life of the Artillerymen—Horrors of Old Trenches Reoccupied—Food and Recreation in Rest Billets—Home Sickness—Food Supply of the British Army—Sugar and Sweets—Clothes and Kit Supply—Life in the Trenches—Old Trenches and New—Learning the Character of the Germans Opposite—Rations—Sentry Duty—Stunts and Raids—Looking Forward to Relief—"A Hot Bath, Clean Clothes, and a Long Sleep"—Leave—Dinner, Billiards, and an Occasional "Jamboree"—Leave for Home—The Real Tonic for War-Weariness—The Journey to the Boat—Casting Off the Hawseers—One Great Moment in the Life of a British Soldier.



PRECEDING chapters have shown the very definite change for the better that came over the British campaign in the west as a result of the events of July, 1916, and the succeeding months. The close of the year found the offensive still going hardily forward, notwithstanding weather conditions that would have dismayed most troops and reduced many generals to inertia. But, with British moral unimpaired, with British hopes and confidence never so high, British activity also remained unceasing, and till the year's end new gains, if comparatively small ones, accrued almost every day. The enemy, on the other hand, as shown in Chapter CLV., on German moral (which, after being written for this history by an independent witness, was amply confirmed later in a despatch by the British Commander-in-Chief), was losing not only ground and strength and resource, but even hope. The trend of the war by the end of 1916 had become unmistakable—victory for the Allies was dawning, defeat had become impossible.

Leaving the British Army's fortunes in this satisfactory state, we may step aside

for a moment from the main path of the historical survey of that Army's fighting achievements to look in detail into its more personal and domestic doings. What were the daily life and habit and environment of our troops in the west at this time? How did they live and fare as they so bravely wrought for their country this striking amelioration of her fortunes?



CONFIDENCE ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

Two British generals conversing on the field of battle. In view of their placid attitude, it is interesting to note that they were under shell fire at the moment this photograph was taken.

Thought for a moment of the immensity of Great Britain's enterprises in France and Flanders at the time will enable one the better to realise how varied and multiform were daily life and habit and environment. Had anyone with an eagle's wings and double an eagle's range of vision soared high above Northern France on, say, December 31st, 1916, he could have seen hardly a thing below him that was not either susceptible to British influence in some major or minor degree, or wholly dependent upon it. The ships that he would see—as mere little smoking ellipses on a grey sea—few of them there would be that were not on missions mainly or wholly British. Men, munitions, stores—under one or other head from this comprehensive trinity of war needs could be classified the errand of almost every





[British official photograph.]

#### OPEN-AIR CONFERENCE: A BRIGADIER-GENERAL GIVING ORDERS TO A COLONEL.

It was the ubiquity of British troops in France that most impressed civilian visitors to the war area. Many towns and villages were occupied only by British soldiers:—Generals and their Staffs in the chateaux, others

of all ranks in every kind of house and cellar. British soldiers were often the only human beings to be seen in the streets of towns that were anywhere near the British fighting front.

craft—even to that squat, dirty, yellow little ship lurching through the seas with a holdful of British stone, destined for the mending of French war roads.

Or take the railways that this aerial observer would see threading through the land, forking this way, branching that way, like the lines on a palm, and whitened at frequent intervals with moving pennons and swelling dots of steam. He

**British soldiers  
ubiquitous**

would have been unwise to risk definite statement that anyone of those trains was not carrying British troops or British stores or British munitions, or that it was

not being operated by British railwaymen and clerks in soldier garb—or, for that matter, that it was not even being driven by a British engine-driver uniformed for the time being in the blue dungarees and the cap and "R.E." badge of the Royal Engineers, Railway Section.

Many canals, straight and long, would be visible from above, like rods of polished steel. Had that aerial observer's hearing been as keen as the sight with which we have endowed him, he might have overheard exchanges of views between the uniformed crews of these barges shouted out, not in mellifluous French or guttural Flemish, but in the rich, primal vernacular of Wapping, whence not a few of these crews came.

As with the canals and railways, so with the roads; their population of vehicles and people alike might be mainly British. But wherever you looked down upon Northern France upon that day, it would have been difficult to point to any place or object and say definitely that it had no touch with British affairs. Any village you chose might be billeting British troops of one sort or another; any of the many factory chimneys pouring smoke towards you might prove on examination to be part of a British Army machine shop or repair depot, swarming with British soldier mechanics; even the little village school you

chanced upon might prove to be harbouring that afternoon—for December 31st was a Sunday—a quiet congregation of British soldiers—fighters or labourers, or miners, or others—singing hymns and listening to the advice of their regimental "padre"—with perhaps Holy Communion to follow.

British soldiers, combatant or non-combatant, were everywhere. They seemed to have permeated in greater or lesser degree the whole scheme of things civil and military throughout the North of France. To survey thoroughly, therefore, the everyday life of this diffused population one would need to peep into every nook and cranny of French affairs. Though the British soldier was in greater or lesser evidence wherever one stopped between coast and front, this chapter will deal with him mainly where he was "spread thickest"—at the front and close behind it.

The signs of British occupancy were unmistakable as soon as you entered a British Army town or village. The policeman, for instance, who stopped you at the cross-roads just outside it, walking out of his little road-shelter with a flag in one hand and the other palm uplifted in the true London police manner, would be a British policeman, though a soldier policeman, wearing the red-and-black badge of the military police on his khaki coat. His colleague in the shelter would be a Frenchman, clothed in pale blue, and together they saw to it that no undesirable or un-accredited person, British or French, passed out of or into that town or village. At night they had a lantern apiece, which they waved to your approaching car as a stopping signal, and with which they examined your papers and passes. It was part of everyday life at the front to have your "papers" handy.

**Khaki police at the  
cross roads**

Once past the police wicket, it would be noticed that



new name-boards had been put up for most of the roads and streets, and that the new names were English names. Pall Malls, Rotten Rows, and Piccadillys; High Streets and Church Streets; Station Roads and Cemetery Roads; Sandy Lanes, Love Lanes, and all the rest of the great family of British thoroughfare names were as frequently met with in villages of France as in those of this country. That no time had been wasted, however, in thinking out new English names for French streets and roads was amply testified by the occurrence of such names as Slush Avenue, Porridge Street, Bumpy Road, and Becareful Corner. In some cases, indeed, it would seem that the patience, if not the resource, of the name-finders who rechristened these thoroughfares had quite petered out; for in one busy neighbourhood was to be found a little street called

English names for  
French streets

Sausage Street, with a companion street parallel to it called Mash Street. Dammit Street also suggested a name-finder short either of time or of patience.

Traffic directions were also posted in English as well as in French along the roads. On the signposts "Drive Slowly" rubbed shoulders with "Ralentir," and "Arrêtez" with "Stop." The only British road travel traditions which our soldier drivers seemed quite to have sacrificed in France were those of reckoning distances in miles and

driving on the left-hand side of the road. After two years in France our drivers were quite as happy to keep to the right side of the road (as do most nations but the British), and hardly one of them would name distances in miles. "Kilomètres" had become the universal standard. One sometimes saw new-comers who had to do little lightning sums in their head or on their fingers before they could reckon a distance; but before long they, too, were thinking quite freely in kilomètres. Miles seemed quite to have dropped out of the English vocabulary, so far as wheeled traffic was concerned, though the infantry still clung to "miles," and always marched their "three miles," and not five kilomètres an hour. Pints, quarts, and gallons gave way to some slight extent in favour of "half-litres" and "litres." Pounds and hundredweights, too, grew scarcer, but tons always remained. Our men never left hold of the British ton.

The French people had quickly appreciated our national distaste to speaking any language but our own, and by December, 1916, most of the French shop people who had dealings with our troops had their word or two of English. Many of our men had picked up words of French, and very often a transaction would begin bravely in French, but as difficulties of expression and understanding



[British official photograph.]

A STROLL ROUND THE DEFENCE WORKS IN THE FAR FRONT LINE.  
A Staff captain making a tour of inspection of the defences in a partially ruined village. An eagle eye was kept upon every point of the defence works, Staff officers, from the brigadier downwards, frequently going

round with officers of the regiments holding the trenches to see whether parapets needed strengthening, barbed-wire repairing, trenches deepening, or other work doing to make a position more secure.





ONE "LITTLE GREY HOME IN THE WEST."  
*[British official photograph.]*

Dug-outs varied greatly in degree of elaboration. Many were developed by successive occupants from mere burrows to comparatively comfortable quarters provided with ingenious make-shift furniture.

came along, the language of one or the other of the two negotiants forced itself to the front and held the field

The more self-conscious of the two was generally the Briton, and the conversation ended in English. Here is an example of the kind of thing, taken from real life in a French village shop in Amiens, just before Christmas.

English Soldier (entering): "Bon jour, monsieur!"

French Shopkeeper: "Bon jour, monsieur."

E. S. (painfully and carefully): "Est ce que vous avez des plumes fontaines?"

F. S. (mystified but polite): "Comment, monsieur?"

E. S. (a little less confidently): "Des plumes fontaines."

F. S. (after a moment's hesitation): "Ah, monsieur, veut une porte plume?"

E. S. (waving hands about and looking round shop as though in search of something): "Non. Mais non. Je voudrai de plume fontaine—er—er—plume fontaine, er—fountain-pen, you know; fountain-pen for the pocket, you know."

F. S.: "Ah, yes, monsieur! Fountain-pen. I have him. What fabrique will you, monsieur? Fountain-pen automatique; ze self-fill or—"

E. S.: "Oh, any old sort will do. What are those in the case there?" etc. (then everything is in English).

A little good-humour on both sides was all that was necessary to make these negotiations pleasant as well as possible, and that grain of good-humour was generally forthcoming. For French civilian and British soldier had come to know one another and to understand one another, and each found the other much more reasonable and intelligible than had seemed the case two years earlier. Our men used the shops and cafés and restaurants without any diffidence, and by this time their presence had come to attract little attention. A peep into any café or restaurant in one of the towns near the British front would have shown you British soldiers and French civilians side by side in perhaps equal numbers and without criticism one for another. This marked an advance, for at the beginning of the war the French people undoubtedly thought our men "queer." Their lack of conventional manners,

the little bowings and noddings and elegances of deportment before strangers that mean so much to the French, made the French regard them as a little hard and unfeeling. And once an idea has got into people's heads it is always easy to find corroborative detail. The French would point to the British soldier's cold way of taking bad news, his easy recovery from it, and his ability to put even the cares of war on one side in a game or a song.

All these things, natural to the British soldier and his race, counted against him at first, and with his plain manners were counted as evidence enough of his utter callousness to the war and to France's troubles. But after two years of the British soldier's presence in their midst the French had learnt to assess these little differences of bearing at their proper worth. An understanding had been established at last, and our men had come to be living on the best of terms with the French civil population. Each recognised the other's good points, and differences of character and manners were seen to be not incompatible with friendship and good feeling. There were quarrels at times, of course. Where would there not be between different communities? But these were exceptional. British soldiers might get bad treatment from French people, but this was exceptional. For the most part the French, peasantry and townspeople alike, who had the billeting of British troops, undertook their duties in a spirit of friendship rather than of hard business; they sought how comfortable they could make them rather than how much money they could make out of them.

As almost every British private who had done duty in France between 1914 and 1917 had been in billets with French people at some time or other, it may be interesting to give a picture of one of these billets. Here is a description taken from a letter received from a clever young author, then serving as a private in the Royal Fusiliers: "We have been back (from the line) for ten days, and at present I am billeted with three of our fellows in a French cottage. It is the usual little affair, a brick foundation rising to a height of about three feet, then bent old timber beams and whitewashed plaster as far as the roof, which is of red weather-stained tiles. There is Père Juvenal, a farm worker, his wife and three children, ranging from four years to ten. There is also grandpère, the wife's father, who sits by the fire most of the day, but who feels himself thoroughly important when he is commissioned by Madame to blow the fire with an old and huge pair of bellows. His cheeks puff in and out with every stroke of the bellows, so that between the two of them the fire gets really a double draught. At first we all had the impression that the people did not want us and did not like us. The neighbours certainly used to scowl at us when

#### Billets in French cottages



PUTTING UP NISSEN HUTS ON THE WESTERN FRONT. *[British official photograph.]*  
The Nissen hut ranked among the greatest boons devised for the field army during the war. Made of standardised parts, easily portable, and requiring only four men to fit them together, they were used in large numbers and came to be widely appreciated. A full account of them is given on pages 485 and 486.



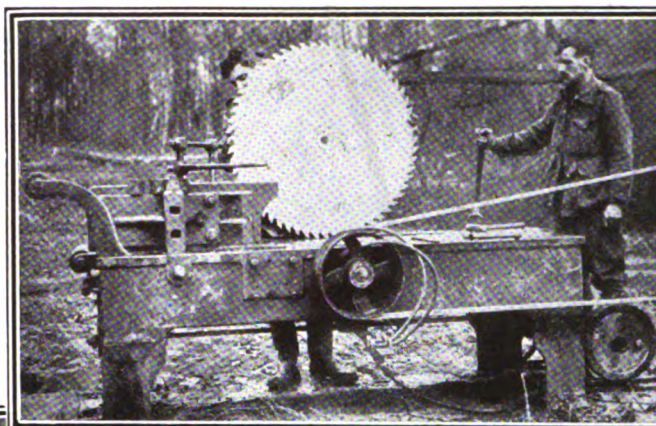
we went out and washed under the pump in the morning—there was nowhere else to wash—and Mère Juvenal used certainly to keep out of the way and would scurry into their kitchen when she saw us coming in. But the children broke the ice. The baby is a very jolly little soul. I had gone into the kitchen to ask Madame where the village cobbler lived (I wanted a bit of leather). She told me the way coldly enough, and I came out. But the kiddie came running after me and said: 'Eh, mon Dieu! Tu seras perdu.' (Oh, dear! Thou wilt get lost.) I laughed and joked with her a bit, and she said in her baby French:

**Safeguarded by  
the baby**

'It is necessary that I come with thee to show thee the way and then thou wilt not be lost.' I told her to come along, then, never thinking she would, but she toddled alongside to the gate and came. After a yard or two she looked up at me and said: 'But it is necessary for thee to take care of the carts and the motors. They will surely kill thee. Thou must indeed hold my hand to be quite safe.' And I had to take the little lady's hand to be safe-guarded by her from the village traffic! In this fashion we went to the cobbler, who was not more than a hundred mètres away, and so we came home. On the way back who should come along but Père Juvenal. He wanted to take the kiddie, but she said 'No.' No, she was 'guarding the English soldier.' She saw me home, and since then she has been many times to see us.

and my feet have left me with cold, I'll just try to think of—hot milk."

It was probably kindly treatment of this sort that made "billets" with French families one of the most popular forms of housing among our troops in France. The various alternatives to "billets" were huts, tents, shelters, cellars, and dug-outs. And this order may be taken as representing their order of popularity and, in inverse ratio, their order of greatest distance from the front. Towards the end of 1916 huts—which earlier in the war were hardly to be seen at all near the front nor in any of the British camps, save those well back—were becoming more common.



WOODCRAFT IN MODERN WAR.  
Fitting a circular saw in a new mill in  
course of erection on the western front



WITH A WORKING-PARTY IN A FRENCH FOREST.

Cross-cutting a tree in a wood near the front. The war simply "ate up" timber, and whole forests were laid low to provide barks and flooring for the trenches, posts for the wires, and fuel for the myriad fires.

That was a week ago, and now the old French people cannot do too much for us. They insist on our sitting in the kitchen because it is warmer, and on giving us hot milk at nights, and now and again eggs; and there is quite a scene if we want to pay for them. During the first week the neighbours hid the handle of the yard pump so that we could not wash there in the morning, but they take no notice now and sometimes stop to have a chat. One of them gave me three apples yesterday morning. Another has given me some home-made 'dubbin' for my boots. She said that only the farming people knew how to make proper dubbin for boots, and she told me the secret of it. But it is quite safe with me, for I could not understand more than a word or two of her recipe. Three days more and we go back into the line. I only wish we could take this old billet along with us. A dug-out, if we are lucky enough to get one this time, will not seem the more comfortable for our having just left this place. But when the wind whistles a note on the edge of my old 'tin hat'

Even in camps within range of the enemy's "whistling Percys" (the name given to one of their longest-range guns, which sent a shell with a most unusual and characteristic whistle of its own), a hut or two was generally to be seen. Perhaps the majority were used as offices, but a few were in occupation as living huts, and more were being brought up. "When are your huts coming up?" was a commonplace of conversation, just as was such a question as "When is your next leave due?" A hut was something to look forward to. The earlier huts were of the Army pattern usually to be seen in the camps in Britain—darkened timber sides and roof, a little

window, and stained wood interior, smelling strongly of creosote. No need to describe these at length.

But a totally new type of Army hut began to make its appearance about the end of 1916, and the authorities thought so well of it that they gave large orders for it, and before many months of 1917 had passed there were no fewer than twenty thousand of these huts in France. It was called the Nissen hut, after its inventor, a Canadian officer, who designed it specially to meet the needs of this campaign. Its chief characteristic was that it had no sides, but only a roof and ends and inner flooring. The roof was semicircular, and reached down to the ground on each side, so that there was no need of sides. It was just as though you took a railway arch and boarded up the ends. The arch or roof was of corrugated iron, made in forty-eight sections that fitted one into another, and were all the same size, so that no matter in what order they were fastened together they fitted exactly and made the complete

**Description of  
the Nissen hut**



roof. The flooring was also in sections that were interchangeable; also the ends and the wooden lining for the interior. One type of bolt was used throughout the construction, and the spanner for this bolt was enclosed with the parts. Printed instructions for erecting the hut were sent out with them just as though it might have been a boy's game. No single piece of the hut was heavier than two men could handle easily, and the whole thing could be packed on an Army waggon. Four men could put one together in four hours.

Twenty-four men slept in each hut, and in daytime the beds were rolled to the sides—where the standing room was, of course, least—leaving all the middle, where the roof was highest, available for use as a mess-room. Some fifty men could sit in the hut, even though this number could not walk about very freely. The roof was not shell-proof, but it was a fair protection from splinters. Each hut, by the way, had a stove of the ordinary round Canadian pattern, with a flue-pipe passing through the circular roof. Doors, of course, were at the ends. For warmth and comfort these huts proved to be superior to any other type of field dwelling.

Tents were next in popularity, though in really cold and windy weather many of our soldiers used to say that they

#### Tents for "moving" units



[French official photograph.]

#### BRITISH TROOPS ON THE MARCH IN FRANCE.

Migration was a great part of the soldier's life in France, and as much as possible the railways were relieved by moving the troops by road. "Loaded heavy," regiments were always on the march, officers on horseback, men on foot and on cycles, stretcher-bearers, baggage-waggons, field-kitchens, and other Army details.

would sooner be in a dug-out, for its warmth. Tents, though to be found in many camps, were most consistently used perhaps by "moving" units, such as telegraph linesmen, pipe-layers, and other working-parties whose work kept them on the move from place to place. Many little camps of merely three or four tents were to be found about the roads of France, and in them were usually small working-parties of this kind. Sometimes solitary tents figured by the roadside, especially at nights. You might look in to find that the occupant was perhaps an officer of motor-transport whose convoy of waggons had been parked for the night in some neighbouring spot, and who had come to spend the night under canvas, the men of the convoy sleeping in their waggons. His servant would be preparing the evening meal on a Primus stove, which served the double purpose of cooking the meal and adding something to the warmth, if not the healthiness, of the tent. For quite often you would find the tent filled with a thick fog, the heat of the stove having turned the moisture of the ground into mist. Little discomforts of this sort passed either unnoticed or merely as object for jest, though in the hospital reports bronchitis and rheumatism figured with unwelcome frequency. Tents, or rather marquees, were

much used at casualty clearing-stations as hospital wards. German prisoners' "cages," too, were usually fitted with tents. Forty or fifty bell-tents inside a high palisading of barbed-wire, with elevated sentry-boxes at each corner, formed the usual equipment of a "cage."

The "shelters" of France struck one as the queerest of all the very queer living places to which the war had given rise. They looked more like habitations fashioned by Rumanian and Hungarian gipsies than by British soldiers. The "shelter" was devoid of definite form, shape, or pattern; it was a fantasia in architecture. You built it in any shape and of any material. It might be above ground, or half above ground and half under, or all under ground except the roof. If it sank any lower than this it became, of course, a "dug-out." The most orthodox of "shelters" had sides built of sand-bags and a roof of arched iron sheeting, rather stout in structure, dull red or black in colour, and capable of resisting a shell splinter or of turning a bullet. Covered with a foot or two of earth this iron roof became what was euphemistically termed "shell-proof," which means that it would resist damage from any shell save one that hit it directly with all its force. This was the shelter-de-luxe. One saw them sometimes about artillery positions, about other posts that had not been disturbed for some time, and among luxurious people

who were able to get iron roofs and sand-bags from the ordnance men. A man who could get iron roofing for his shelter was continually being asked by jealous and facetious friends whether he had an uncle or "papa" in the Cabinet.

From this luxurious type of edifice, shelters tapered down in degrees of respectability nicely graded. A shelter, for instance, might be made of sand-bags after the de luxe model, but the roof might be of clay and logs. The next type might be without the logs. After that may be classified the shelter that had no sand-bags, but merely some substitute such as square oil-cans filled with sand. These made especially solid shelters and were vaunted by their occupants as being even better than the sand-bag variety. Next came the shelter made of odd-sized planks and timbers. Much ingenuity could be exercised in making a house out of planks, no two of which are of the same length or thickness. Then may be scheduled, perhaps, the shelter made of old packing-cases nailed on a framework of planks. This, though not a beautiful structure, might nevertheless be a warm and comfortable one, even though it advertised somebody's milk on its sides, or somebody else's tinned beef.

After that one reached the real stage of makeshift in shelters. A timber framework filled in with clay was a fairly common form of shelter. In dry weather, or in the event of the fire in the shelter drying the clay, it tended to fall out, but the wetness of French weather was generally sufficient to prevent any calamity of that kind.

#### All-patchwork shelters

The all-patchwork shelter was one of the most common types. For patchwork almost any material would serve. Old tins, cut and stamped out flat, sods of earth, pieces of cloth, particularly old felt and flannel and tarpaulin, and even sheets of thick brown paper. One of the most striking patchwork shelters to be seen in France at this time was probably the one a hundred yards off the Doullens road, south-east of that town. Among the component parts of its walls were two old coats—German—three oil-tins





*[French official photograph.]*

**"CHANGING GUARD" ON THE WESTERN FRONT.**

French troops marching away from the trenches that had been taken over by their British allies. The line held by Sir Douglas Haig's armies was considerably extended during the winter of 1916-17.



*[French official photograph.]*

**COMRADES-IN-ARMS: WHERE THE FRENCH AND BRITISH LINES JOINED ON THE SOMME.**

Men of the French and British forces watching a transport train on a roadway in the Somme district. Though the firing-line had been pushed forward, the snapped-off trees show that the road had been well under

fire earlier. Above: Another familiar scene where the two armies linked together. French soldiers, to the right, paused to see their British allies marching forward to the task which they loyally shared.





[British official photograph.]

## A LITTLE MUSIC AT A DUG-OUT DOOR.

If the enemy was quiet, trench duty was sometimes very uneventful. The men wrote letters, ate, and "slacked" till their turn for sentry duty came. Sometimes a banjo solo afforded pleasant amusement.

cut out and flattened, two box sides and two ends, one sack upon which were the tell-tale letters "P.O.," one old umbrella cover, plus part of the frame, two magazine covers, and one pan lid. How the genius who lived in this shelter managed to keep his house parts assembled was a mystery to all passers-by, and much facetious comment was shouted to him from the road by passing troops. Locally it was known to fame as the "Hen Run," but its owner, if asked its name, would roll his eyes dramatically, and with clasped hands would tell you without a smile that it was "My little grey home in the West." I think the truth was that this lonely shelterer—who kept an Army coal-dump by the roadside, or some other unromantic thing of the sort—got so much fun out of the oddity of his house materials that if he had been offered good Accrington bricks to build him a house he would have refused them. Certainly no one ever passed his little domain without a smile, and he was generally in sight to return it.

Cellar billets were much in use at this time, but only within the shell zone and in neighbourhoods close behind it, in which the upper parts of the houses had been destroyed by shell fire. Thus in many of the villages captured from the Germans in our advance during the latter half of 1916 troops were billeted chiefly in cellars. In villages that had come to be out of shell range the upper parts of the houses were made use of if it were possible, but the houses fit for occupation, except in their cellars, were few and far between. A divisional general might be glad to get hold of one. Certainly one of our Colonial generals was housed during

#### Security in cellar billets

December in a cottage which in peace time might have been occupied by the village postman. If a village were out of shell fire, such upper and ground-floor rooms as could be made weather-tight by patching up with sheeting and ground-sheets were occupied, and the writer spent a pleasant hour one wintry evening in a ground-floor room so patched up. The roof was gone, also the bulk of the ceiling of the ground-floor rooms, but the hole that remained served to let out smoke from the great open fire that had been built in the middle of the "parlour" floor. The men sat round it on planks, laid across two little heaps of brick. Greatcoats were hung on the walls of the room to dry, and also to keep out draughts that came through "leaky" walls. One party played cards on a box by the light of a candle stuck in a wine-bottle, but the bulk were content to sit and talk, or write letters. To sleep, men took off their boots and, rolling themselves in their blankets,

slept on the floor on their ground-sheets with feet towards the fire.

In many villages German shell fire was so frequent that it was not safe to sleep anywhere on or above ground level. To find cellar billets, therefore, saved the trouble of digging dug-outs, and the hunting for cellars was very keen. Officers and men specially told off for this duty would rummage about the ruins of houses, and underneath the most dilapidated and unpromising ruin might be found cellars quite intact. The stone steps leading to them might be blocked up with bricks and plaster and charred ash, but a fatigue-party under a corporal would soon put all this out of the way and lay bare a cellar which would be passed as fit for occupation. Only too often there were gruesome finds in these cellars—from which the Germans had been driven—and if people who die a violent death leave ghosts behind them our men may be said to have slept amid congregations of Teuton ghosts. Not that that seemed to weigh on their minds particularly. They were very much more bothered by the rats. These creatures were almost everywhere, and at first they were generally so hungry as to be ready to feed on anything, from a crust to a Sam Browne belt. But after the soldiers had been in occupation of a cellar for some time the rats picked up so much waste food that they became fat and lazy, and then they would fall an easy prey to the heel of a boot or a well-aimed bully-beef tin.

Fortunately, French village houses are well off for cellars. In some towns, in fact, such as Arras, there were found cellars extending under great areas, and supported by pillars of stone. They were called "boves," and were said to have been the quarries from which the stone for the houses above them was obtained. In garrisoned villages about Arras were to be found "boves" on a smaller scale, and not a few of them served as quarters for our troops. The ordinary cellar billet, however, was a single cellar, with walls and an arched roof of brick. It was quite dark, and if it happened to have a fireplace and a smoke-flue the occupants counted themselves lucky. Many a cellar billet had no flue or outlet of any sort save the steps, and in these cases our men used often to make a flue out of piping or old tins to carry away the smoke from their little fire. This pipe issued to the upper air by way of the cellar steps, and when these steps were dark you might first learn of the pipe's existence by burning your hand on it. "Ware stove-pipe" notices were occasionally to be seen at cellar entrances.

#### Varieties of the dug-out

The remaining type of dwelling-place used by our troops in France was the "dug-out." These might be deep or shallow, small or big, dry or damp; in short, of all the qualities, good and ill, that a habitation may possibly take to itself the dug-out lacked none; and of evil qualities it might have more than most dwellings. The term "dug-out" was used to cover a big variety of underground works, from the simple little grotto in the side of a trench, which a soldier could burrow out for himself in ten minutes with a trenching tool as some protection from wind and bullet and shell-chip, to the elaborate dug-outs made by the Germans—great underground warrens of passages and rooms and chambers, lighted by electricity, ventilated by electric fans, warmed by kitchen-ranges with tortuous and far-journeying flues.

The simplest kind of dug-out might evolve into quite an elaborate dug-out in the end. The first soldier came along the trench and found his bit of territory very exposed, so he took out his trenching tool and burrowed perhaps three feet laterally into the sand or gravel or white chalk wall of his trench. It was high enough only to admit of his crawling under it, and here, when not on sentry duty,





*Little luxuries behind the lines : French children selling chocolate and apples to British soldiers.*

KKK 489





*Bringing up ammunition under fire in a Somme advance.*





*In the slough of the Somme: Rescuing a comrade from a shell-hole.*





*Sunday on the western front: An impromptu service under fire*



he would lie and sleep, with his feet reaching out uncovered into the fairway of the trench. A day later he might think a larger dwelling would be more comfortable. With trenching tool, therefore, he would enlarge his burrow so that perhaps both he and a mate could crawl underneath it and keep one another warm. Every day and every fresh lot of troops that came into that trench for duty would bring improvements to the dug-out. One man might add a bit of blanket or old coat as a screen door. The next man might feel uneasy as the dug-out shook with the fall of every enemy shell, and add wooden supports to the roof and sides. Soon they might begin to dig downwards; then to add steps; then to scoop out a bigger chamber underground, to add a fireplace, and so on. There is not much doubt that many of the dug-outs used by our soldiers in the trenches were evolved, bit by bit, improvement on improvement, enlargement on enlargement, in the way described, and were not the product of any set and deliberate plan. Some very cosy dug-outs resulted from this evolution.

Other dug-outs, on the contrary, were planned and fashioned in their final form. A tunnelling party of miner soldiers would be called in for the excavations, and the timber beams and barks and planks for framework and lining would be brought up and solidly deposited on the building site. Most of the German dug-outs were made in this way, and our men were thankful for the enormous patience and care

#### Elaboration of German dug-outs

and skill that had been expended on them, for thousands of them fell into our hands and served as quarters for our men. To rush forward into a newly-taken position and find dug-outs ready made was a piece of luck that fell to British troops very many times. The position might have been battered by shell fire, but so deep were these German dug-outs, so well lined with timber, and so stoutly made, that after even the heaviest shell fire they were intact. The smaller ones were promptly "bagged" (that was the word) by billeting officers as quarters for their men. The larger ones might be taken for use as battalion headquarters, medical aid posts, advance dressing-stations, and the like. More than one British soldier was cured of a slight wound or sickness without ever seeing daylight once during his "hospital" treatment. Some German dug-outs, which subsequently became British, were fitted with four-poster beds and with panelled sitting-rooms. The writer visited one such dug-out, the walls of which were panelled with white wood. In another room of the same dug-out the wall panels were covered with china-silk drapery. It seemed evident from this and other signs that the wife of the German officer who had occupied the dug-out had been present in it for at least part of the time of his occupancy of the place. It stood near the River Ancre in a part of the line which the Germans had held for two years.

The only other type of dwelling occupied by British soldiers in any numbers—apart, of course, from the barge cabins occupied by the watermen's corps, the railway and station-rooms occupied by the railwaymen, and such special quarters—were the various châteaux occupied by the Staffs and by privileged people such as the war correspondents, among whom the writer had the fortune to be numbered. These châteaux were big French houses taken over furnished from their tenants, and converted to the use of the British occupants. A general and his Staff were usually to be found in one of these châteaux, some of which were of remarkable beauty. You might find a British general sitting in a room surrounded by trench maps, stretched out on drawing-boards placed on easels, and behind them on the walls pictures of age and greatest worth belonging to the family of the house. More than



[British official photograph.]

#### GUARDS AT "GASPIRATOR" DRILL.

Near the trenches indicators gave notice if the atmospheric conditions were favourable to the enemy sending over gas, and it was then punishable for men to go about without their "gaspirators." A "Strombus" horn blared an alarm if gas was coming.

one general had his room floor covered with ground sheeting, so that the perfect parquet flooring underneath should not be ruined by the service boots of all the officers who came to see him. Some of these châteaux, unhappily, had not escaped shell fire.

So much for the different kinds of environment on the western front. What daily life in these surroundings was depended, of course, entirely on the unit and on the duty that particular unit was doing at the time. A regiment in huts one week near the coast might be moved up to a village nearer the line the next, and put into tents or cellars. A week or two later might see them in trenches. Migration was a great part, therefore, of a soldier's life. First would come a train journey, and it was one of the frequent sights of the war to see one of those low-built, sombre-coloured trains of the French railways passing painfully and slowly through a village station of Northern France with its barely upholstered carriages packed with British soldiers. In cold weather the train rattled like a ship-riveting yard with the noise of heavy boots stamped on wooden floors to take the chill off innumerable feet. As these trains stood in sidings, with pink, boyish faces, bareheaded, bunched like grapes at every carriage window, French cottars and farm folk would sometimes bring out water or apples and hand them to the travellers with cheery smiles and good wishes. Rations were carried in knapsacks for these train journeys, and at the end of one of them the carriages would present an amazing litter of crumbs and empty tins, chocolate wrappings, and cigarette-ends.

After the train journey would come a march by road of perhaps many miles—or, if the case was one of especial urgency, a ride by motor char-à-banc. Nothing more moving or picturesque could be imagined than the long columns of British troops one saw marching from "rail-head" to war zone, through the yellow sandy roads of France. Here, from a diary, comes a little description written in December, 1916, of troops on the road: "At noon to-day our car pulled up at a pretty spot on the road, and we got out for lunch by the roadside. The chauffeur had pulled the cork out of a bottle of white wine, and M. had handed round the sandwich basket, when the curious, crawling music of a flute band floated up to us from somewhere over the hill-crest behind us. I walked up to the crest to see who was coming, and saw below, in patches, through the trees of the roadside, the rolling wave of a

#### Troops on the march





[British official photograph.]

#### ALLIED TROOPS FORGATHERED AT A PUMP.

In every land the village pump becomes as it were the natural focal point for the exchange of news and gossip. So in the war did French and British soldiers forgather at the army pumps.

were talking quietly and naturally as they passed. The sound of their voices made a faint, many-toned hum in the quiet country road.

"Then a sudden booming roar from the west brings an equally sudden stillness in the ranks. Just here and there is a weak and forced laugh, but the majority maintain that quieter, less demonstrative, and truer bravery that neither laughs nor talks, but just 'carries on.' The booming continues and increases; a sudden tilt or lapse in the wind seems to have brought it closer. These are fine, serious, thoughtful faces that pass one, man after man; good, clear, steady eyes that look ahead or on the ground, leaning forward to the weight of the pack.

It is a grand sight this line of young British faces going into battle. They, too, will be in it to-morrow or soon after.

#### Warning of the guns

They know this as they march along the road. It will be the first battle to many of them. They are thinking their first thoughts about it all to the near sounding of the guns. The marching line ends. The stretcher-bearers with their little wheeled ambulances come along; the baggage column with its long-eared mules; then the field-kitchens, black, oily-looking boilers on wheels, with tiny chimneys emitting yellow smoke, the boilers sending forth steam and the fragrance of a stew. The column halts farther along the road. Packs are unloosed at once (one man taking off another's) and dumped on the roadside. You see men stretching their pained shoulders with sighs of relief. Dinner is served. The men lie on the grass bank by the roadside. Then an order, and they form up once more. But now the khaki caps have been exchanged for iron shrapnel helmets of a dull, pale green. That change is significant. The flutes begin their crawling whimper once more and the men are off—to the front."

One did not need to travel much farther along a road such as this to come upon the quarters of troops who were just "out" or who were just going into trenches. Their place might be some big camp on open ground, once green but now churned to a bright brown mud by the



[British official photograph.]

#### DAILY SCENE AT A WATER-TANK.

Arrangements for a full regular water supply for the troops were wonderful. At every reservoir and tap notices plainly indicated what water was drinkable and what might only be used for other purposes.

line of infantry on the march. Their cap tops caught dully the glint of the light, and made them look like facets of some dull stone, or like the faintly glinting scales of some mammoth snake crawling caterpillar fashion along the road below us. Soon the heads, then the bodies, then the horses of the leading officers rose over the crest of the hill—I had gone back to the car—and hard behind came the troops. The flute band was playing some lugubrious low-pitched melody, and the feet of the marchers were beating on the wet road a rhythmical 'trudge, trudge' in accompaniment.

#### Melancholy music of the flutes


Why are the lower notes of a flute so doleful in the open air? Fifes are bright and merry, but flutes on the lower notes! A flute band playing in a sleet shower might serve to represent the acme of miserableness. Every man was loaded 'heavy': full pack, greatcoats, trenching tool and the rest, with iron shrapnel helmets in little cotton coverings strapped on flat behind. Rifles were being carried anyhow, for it was easy marching. Pipes and cigarettes sent up a thin blue film of smoke, that hung and wreathed like a pale spirit for a moment over the undulating head of the marching column, and then wafted away to the east in long curves. The boys



impression of innumerable footmarks and wheel-tracks. The utter disappearance of all grass from around the country-side about field camps was one of their most noticeable features. Field-kitchens would be smoking and steaming away, and here and there about the camp ground might be seen an open-air camp-fire, made perhaps of broken boxes, with a cluster of soldiers standing about it.

In a prominent position in the camp would be a notice-board with a finger indicator upon it, and underneath it would be a queer apparatus with cylinders and a trumpet mouth. This indicator when pointing a certain way gave to the camp at large the knowledge that the atmospheric conditions were such as to admit of the enemy sending over "gas." With the indicator pointing this way, giving the "gas alert" as it was termed, it became a punishable offence for any man to go about without his gas-mask or helmet—often nicknamed "gaspirator"—ready at hand and in good working order. Press correspondents, too, had to have their gas-masks. When a gas attack began or was seen in advance, the trumpet arrangement, called a "Strombaus horn," blared out with brazen breath—drawn from its twin steel cylinders—a long wail of alarm, not unlike that of a factory buzzer. This was, of course, the signal for the putting on of gas-helmets and for other precautions laid down by the "gas officer," an indispensable official in all encampments within range of the enemy's gas or gas shells. Some of the smaller camps were not

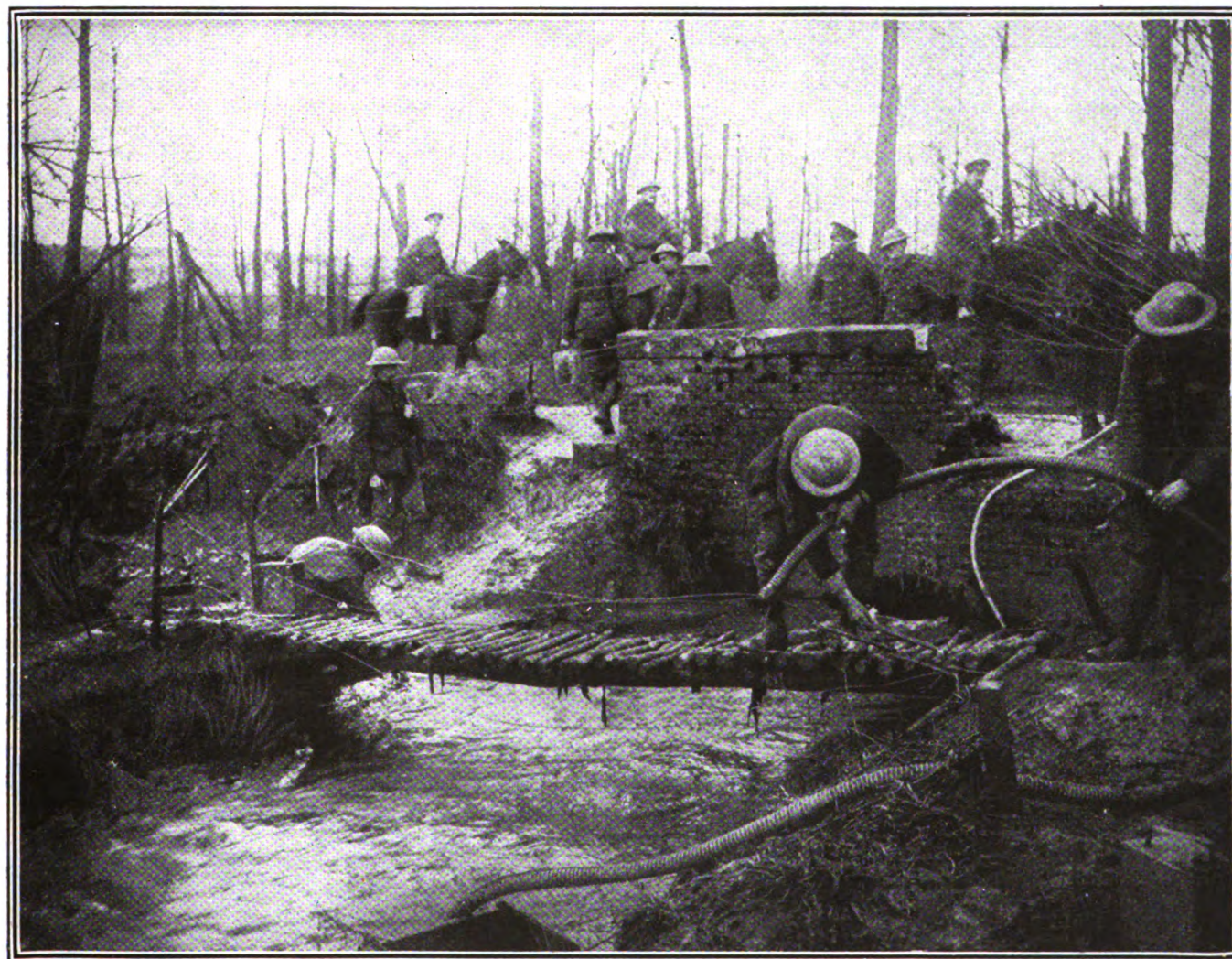
possessed of a "Strombaus horn," but in its place had probably an 18-pounder brass shell-case hung vertically by its base rim for use as a gong. Hit with a drum-stick or piece of wood, it gave out in good, resonant tone

the note . Every man of the camp knew that

note—if not through real gas alarms, at least through frequent practice alarms. The French used their "75" brass shell-cases as gongs in the same way. They gave a note about half a tone higher than the British 18-pounder shell-case. A village might have several of these alarms, and it was an eerie thing to hear them going dong—dong—dong-a-long, like a Chinese festival.

Instead of having a camp in the open the troops might be quartered in a village. It might be a more or less intact village or one which had been shelled. From a shelled village most of the civilian occupants would have departed, leaving the place to the British. Often it happened that French civilians were in some houses and British soldiers in others, and one or two little public buildings such as schools might be used by French children and British soldiers under a sort of Box-and-Cox arrangement. Schools of this kind were especially used for church service on Sunday afternoons, and it was pretty to see the French children standing at the doors of their school passing

"Back to school  
once more"



[British official photograph.]

#### GETTING SUPPLIES OF WATER FROM A REFILLING-PLACE ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

Conserving and regulating the supply of water to the army in the field was of great importance. Special places were marked off on streams and elsewhere, where the troops could get continuous supplies of this prime

necessity. Here, where a quick-running stream was crossed by a road, such a point was established, and the petrol-cans, conveniently adapted as water-carrying vessels, could be readily and rapidly replenished.





SYMPATHETIC REPRESENTATIVES OF A NEUTRAL ARMY. *[British official photograph.]*  
General Aranaz and Brigadier-General Martinez Anido, of the Spanish Army, visited the western front during the third year of the war. From a British trench they watched an active bombardment with interest.



BRITISH NAVAL OFFICER'S VISIT TO THE FRONT. *[British official photograph.]*  
Captain Guy Gaunt, C.M.G., R.N., British naval attaché at Washington, U.S.A., about to start for a day in the front-line trenches in France.



SOUVENIR OF A VERY FRIENDLY MEETING. *[British official photograph.]*  
The Spanish Generals Aranaz and Anido visited General Sir E. H. H. Allenby (centre), commanding the Third British Army in France. Spain had a number of volunteers serving with the French Army.

jokes with the soldiers who were borrowing it for the time being. "Ah, yes, monsieur soldier," one might say in French, "you come back to school once more? Yes? Be good pupil to-day, monsieur soldier." And they loved to pull the forms and desks into position for the service, and to stand out in the road and listen to the English hymn-tunes.

"Rest" billets were to be found behind the line in villages such as this. Any day you might see a regiment or a battalion marching in by the road leading from the front. And they would be very different-looking troops now

from those you saw coming up the other way—especially troops that had been through the ordeal of "trenches" during the wet mud days of the Somme battles. With clothes and helmets covered with mud, wet or dry, with feet sore and limping, and eyes hollow with weariness and hardship, they came slowly and painfully along the road without smile or song, and with naught left but their pluck to help them make the last few miles into billets. Just one little fact to enable anyone who did not go through it to appreciate what that march home might mean. A soldier's greatcoat weighed normally about seven pounds. Greatcoats that had been in Somme mud were weighed at some of the R.A.M.C. dressing-stations and they were found then to weigh up to forty-eight pounds. Add to this load the soldier's kit, weighing five or six stones, and you have a big load for even a fresh and strong man to carry. For a man tired and war-worn it was a weary load. The last mile or two of the march into rest billets was often cruel work.

Coming in to  
rest billets

Sleep and kit-cleaning was their first day's work in "rest," but after that began a round of duties that would seem very far from "rest" to most people. War roads might be so much out of repair that road-parties had to turn out on the second or third day's "rest," under direction of the engineers. If there was one task that came less welcome than another to tired troops it was "plank-carrying for the sappers," as men sometimes called these working tasks. In addition there might be need for working-

parties up in the line, and more than one soldier came out of trenches one day only to be sent back again by the night of the next day—not as a fighter in the trenches, but as a member of a working-party working in the No Man's Land between the trenches. Here there was always much work to be done. The enemy's shell fire played some trick or other almost every day on the trench defences, especially the barbed-wiring in front of the trenches, and this damage had to be made good. It was work that could not be done in the day, of course, for to be seen outside a trench was to be shot. Night, therefore, was the time always chosen, and working-parties came up "from behind" to do it.

In the quieter villages and neighbourhoods at the back of the front, therefore, you would often see about twilight soldiers



quietly assembling in some lane or by the wall of some old barn to make up a working-party to go to the front and work the night in the open. Some would have planks or barbed-wire bobbins or barbed-wire corkscrews (the vertical looped rods of iron through which the barbed-wire is threaded); some would have spades, and others picks or other tools. But in many cases a good number of these men would have naught but rifle and bayonet as usual. These were the escort, whose duty it was to defend the working-party in case of attack. Many pretty fights there were at night between these working-parties and those of the enemy, who, of course, was under the same necessity to send out night parties. It was often said, in fact, that the Germans sent out more night parties than the British did because they depended more on wiring and such things to keep them at bay.

**Night fighting by working-parties** They did not like British soldiers to get near enough to begin bayonet and bomb fighting, if they could

help it. On some nights our working-parties, finding themselves stalked and hunted, would set out in turn to stalk the hunters, and there were even fights in which men with shovels and picks took their part and made deadly war use of these peace-like weapons. In December, when mist was frequent, working-parties on one or two occasions, owing to a sudden rising of the wind which rolled away the mists, found themselves working within a hundred yards or less of German



MEN OF THE ARMY BEHIND THE ARMY.

Men of a navy battalion at work on a road in the Valley of the Ancre. These battalions were perhaps the sturdiest branch of the vast army behind the army which in itself was an amazing contribution that Great Britain made to the cause of the Allies, and through them of civilisation.

working-parties. British soldiers used to say—but whether jokingly or seriously one could not tell—that in these cases no one fired till one party or the other had finished its task, and that this was an understood thing on both sides. If this was the case, one can imagine that work was pretty fast and furious on both sides with a view to getting that triple advantage of which the parodist speaks—“his blow in fust.”

The daily life of the artilleryman was perhaps more tolerable than that of the infantryman, if only in that he was seldom in conditions of hardship such as infantrymen in advanced and exposed trenches might have to put up with. But his work was perhaps heavier, and he would probably get a much longer spell of it at one time than the infantryman; for when the infantry of a division were “taken out” the gunners were often left behind. The gunners were generally well behind



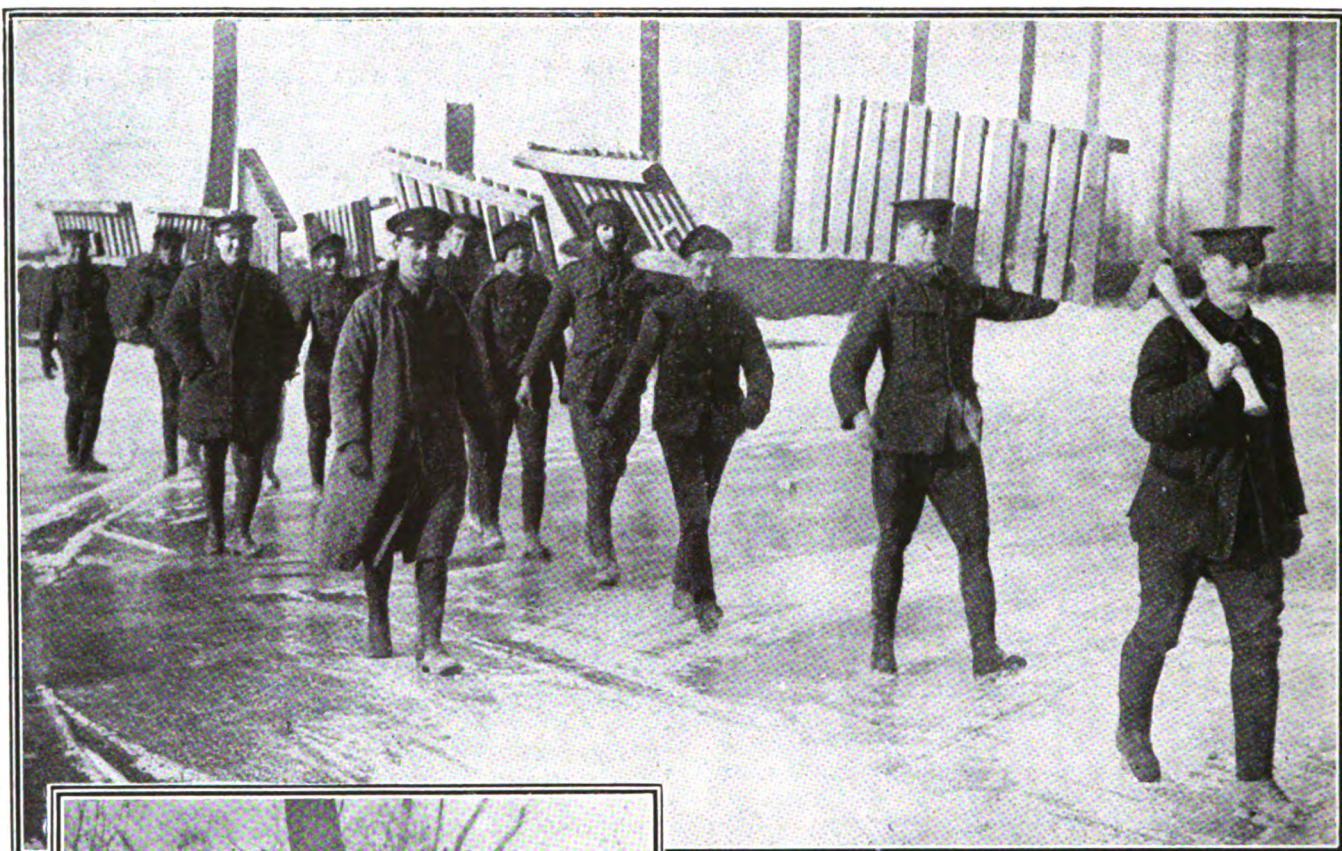
the front trenches. First came the field-guns, then the bigger guns, going back and back till the furthest might be six or seven miles away. They were shelled, of course, whenever their positions could be located by the enemy, and shell fire in a gun position was often more dangerous than shell fire in trenches. There was not the same cover, and one unlucky shell might blow gun and gun-crew to eternity. If the enemy's shell fire, however, showed signs of being well on the mark, the firing of that particular battery might be suspended for the time being, and the men could take cover in their dug-outs and shelters. More often, however, it meant shifting the guns, a tremendous task in “soft” positions. Artillery positions were generally provided with dug-outs or shelters for their crews, but a change of position at a busy time might leave them in new places quite



RUIN LEFT BY THE RECEDING GERMAN TIDE.

View of the Somme battlefield where the French and British lines joined in 1916, showing the fearful cost to the country-side at which the tide of invasion had been pushed back. Above: A British working-party repairing an important road on the lines of communication in the Somme region.





[British official photograph.]

#### FLOORING FOR THE SODDEN TRENCHES.

Working-party crossing a frozen canal, bringing up sections of "corduroy" flooring for the trenches—eloquent evidence of the splendid physical condition and high spirit of the troops during the third winter campaign.



[British official photograph.]

#### FEEDING THE GUNS IN WINTER.

Another working-party had a more strenuous job carrying charges over the slippery ice. Their difficult progress afforded some amusement to themselves and some rather anxious interest to the man watching them.

exposed to any shells that came over. Where the gunners really scored over the infantrymen was in the fact that they were always in better touch with supplies and could run cooking arrangements and fires whereat to get warm and dry for at least some time in a day. It was exceptional for gunners to have to go for days together wet through, cold and unable to get warm rations.

As the forces moved forward in the Somme battlefield, gunners might be moved forward in some positions to old infantry dug-outs, German or British, from which the occupants had moved on. Some of these older dug-outs that fell to the artillery were an acquisition of doubtful desirability, for by this time they were in less good repair, and in addition the rats had had time thoroughly to establish themselves in them. The size and number and fearlessness of these vermin were extraordinary. Even in broad daylight they crawled "fatly" and slowly about the precincts of these underground dwellings, and nothing was safe from

them. In the night they came among the sleepers on the dug-out floors, and even ran over their bodies.

Another dreadful thing about these old trenches and positions, across which battle had raged, was the number of gruesome relics with which the ground was covered. Salvage-parties, burial-parties, and others were at work doing what they could, but after fighting like that of July and August, 1916, there were for a long time arrears of work of this kind to be done, and there were very few old positions at the back of the front—such as those in which artillery might chance to be posted—that had not their grim trophies of some sort. Every heavy rain uncovered new bodies in the innumerable shell-holes. The rats might help the rain, and here and there amid a muddle of wet and mud-stained German uniforms might be seen bones picked white and clean.

#### Gruesome finds in old trenches

To walk back to your gun-pits on a cold, grey, bleak afternoon or on a stormy night with the moon dodging in and out of the flying scud overhead, over desolated country-side, past all these grim things, with the rats scooting almost among your very boots, was an experience to make any normal man shudder. Yet the soldiers hardened themselves to such things and worse. Some day, no doubt, a Hogarth or a Dante will arise to show the horrors of this war as they were.

Even though in "rest billets" a soldier might be what he called "legged for a spell of work," and even though "rouser" parades in the early morning and drill and Swedish exercises and inspections were far from being unknown, the "rest" was nevertheless mightily welcome. Here, at least, he did get hot meals and full meals and warmth and comparative dryness, and also a great lessening, if not an elimination, of war risks. It was possible, too, to enjoy in rest billets some of the ordinary amenities of soldier life. There was football, for instance, and any good level field about the rest villages of the war zone of France was pretty sure to have goal-posts. These had been improvised in resourceful fashion of tree branches and rope. But the games were not less keen because the



ground and the goal-posts were primitive. Regiments would play one another, and different companies and sections of the same regiment might make up matches. Many commanding officers followed, very keenly their men's football and attended the matches. A British general was at tea one afternoon, when his aide-de-camp opened the office door and, saluting, said: "The Gunners are playing the Sappers this afternoon, sir, and they are wondering whether you'll be present." The young man added, with a smile: "It's to be a great game, sir—fur and feathers!" The general looked at his watch. "I'll get over to the field by about half-time," he said, "and see the last half of the game." Soon the shouts of the game and its many spectators were heard from the adjoining field. "Great boys to play are mine," he said appreciatively; adding, after a moment, "and to fight, too." That brigade had not long been out of the front lines, where they had taken a most prominent part in a big advance.

In rest camps and villages music and concerts were often to be had, to which came many leading professional people from home to play and sing and entertain the men. The Y.M.C.A. huts, wherein to write letters,

Pleasure from the  
post-office

were also a great boon that was not to be enjoyed at the front itself. There would be letters to receive, too—an accumulation of "posts" for all the days that one had spent in trenches. Possibly a parcel as well, with which to make merry with one's friends who had received no parcels. Perhaps the most popular of all the little fatigues that fell to a man to do for the comrades of his billet was to go to the post for letters. There was never any difficulty in finding a man for this job. The local post-office might be no more than a half-ruined barn with a few upturned packing-cases in it to serve as sorting-tables. Or it might be a simple bell-tent in the corner of a field, flying a little red-and-white flag to proclaim its function. But these simple little places and the soldier postmen who presided therein were perhaps the chief purveyors of pleasure in all France. Could their countrymen at home and overseas only have seen the knots of soldiers waiting at these barns and tents "for the mail to come up," and could they have observed the keenness with which each orderly hunted through his bundle, and then the shouting and pleasure with which he was received

back at his billet, they would never have forgotten to write to their relatives and friends at the front.

For among the many hardships of soldiering, home-sickness occupied no mean place. It was a great part of the everyday life of a soldier. To anyone leading the prosy, workaday life of peace, this may sound like an exaggeration; but to go week after week risking life every day, in fact every hour, to know that friends are thinking of you with anxious hearts and prayers and not to be able to see them for a moment, knowing as you did that you possibly might never see them again, was well calculated to bring on a kind of mental sickness worthy of place among the category of serious soldier ailments. A week-end at home set to rights men whom no medicines could cure. Towards the end of 1916 this medicinal value of "leave" was becoming recognised by the authorities, and every effort was being given to make leave more frequent and more general—for there were some men who had gone over a twelvemonth without leave.

Home-sickness and  
its antidote

"Hot meals and full meals" have been spoken of, and in these things lay undoubtedly the secret of much of our



[British official photographs.]

WORK AND PLAY AMID THE SNOWS OF WINTER ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

Men of the mobile motor anti-aircraft guns at a boyish pastime. When winter partially held up operations, British soldiers were ready to maintain their zest for healthy exercise even in the mimic warfare of snowballing.

Above: Artillerymen stacking shells in a snowy "dump" against the time of accelerated activity. Some of the men were wearing the leather jerkins which kept their bodies warm while leaving their arms free.





[British official photograph.]

WHERE FRENCH AND BRITISH LINES JOINED: A FRIENDLY TUG-OF-WAR. Gunners of neighbouring batteries, British and French, who took part in a friendly tug-of-war where their lines joined on the western front. The sergeant in the foreground was evidently engaged in explaining for the benefit of his French comrade the niceties of the game.

men's fighting efficiency. The food served out to the soldiers in France was undoubtedly excellent in quality and generous in quantity. In the Army, as elsewhere, could be found cooks, of course, who would spoil any food no matter how good, but in the main the food supply and meals—in all places save in very advanced and exposed positions where cooking was impossible and transport difficult—were good, and there was very little grumbling on the score of bad or insufficient food. In the early morning in these garrisoned villages behind the line it was interesting to stand near the cook-house and watch the mess and billet orderlies coming along with their mess-tins, to be carried

Excellent and  
plentiful food

away later to their quarters filled with slices of excellent bacon. In the billets or messes, if there were many men, they would file with their plates past a corporal

who stood behind the bacon-dish putting so many slices on to each plate. Each man usually carried a piece of bread, which he was allowed to dip in the fat in the dish. Marmalade and jam of excellent quality were also available for anyone who wanted them. A very good butter was served to the troops, though on some occasions margarine was served as substitute. When asked on what system margarine was issued, the men said they could not tell; as a rule they were given nothing but butter, though now and again an odd tin of margarine was issued to them. They did not know why, and as the margarine was very like the butter, they did not trouble to ask. For dinner the best joints were cooked—all fresh meat from England—and there might be puddings. Stews and soups and dumplings were served at intervals. The milk issued to the forces was everywhere well spoken of. It was tinned milk, but neither so thick nor so sticky as the ordinary tinned milk, and from a small hole stabbed through the top of the tin with a jack-knife it would flow quite easily—a white fluid of about the density

of the cream usually sold at home in little brown pots.

Though plenty of jam was to be had, our soldiers often used to say that they missed the sweet dishes they used to get at home. One R.A.M.C. specialist stated that soldiers who did not take alcohol to any great extent were more fond, he had noticed, of sugar than soldiers who took alcohol, and he had an interesting theory that the two things had some common property of which the body of people who worked hard stood in some need. Whether this view is chemically sound need not be gone into; but, in some corroboration of his view, the British Army is a temperate Army, and it is a most "sweet-toothed" Army. The soldiers spent a good deal of their money on chocolate and sweets, and on such things as tinned fruit. The Army canteens sold them, and it was no uncommon sight to see a soldier after

a spell in trenches buy a tinful of, say, peaches, or apricots, or pears, prise open the cover with his knife, and eat the tinful without anything with it. The juice of the fruit he would drink from the tin as a beverage.

Nor was it rare to see a soldier eat a whole tin of jam by himself, without bread or anything else. This very noticeable craving for sugar and sweet things on the part of our soldiers may have been partly due to a normal taste for luxuries, but the body has a curious way of its own of asserting its needs by giving the palate a taste for the things needed, and possibly the sugar of the men's diet was not always sufficient to enable them to withstand the cold and the work they were called upon to endure. Certainly the doctors and food specialists of the Army were giving this view some attention at the time.

Craving for  
sugar and sweets

If the supply of food was good, so also was that of clothes, and though one or two cases had happened during 1916 of quartermasters being unable to get renewals of



[British official photograph.]

SERVING OUT A RUM RATION TO MEN OF THE BLACK WATCH. Soldiers of the famous Black Watch filing up for a warming "go" of rum on the western front. After a hard spell of trench work, or any other labour severely testing either their physical or nerve strength, the men warmly welcomed the serving out of the rum ration.



certain stores from the ordnance people, these were quite exceptional cases, and, as a rule, new tunics, shirts, and other kit could be obtained by any soldier who could prove to the satisfaction of his quartermaster that he needed them. Some people in authority thought, in fact, that clothes and such stores were given out too freely, and towards the end of the year a slight tightening up was noticeable. Some of the soldiers' baths, for instance, had been drawing as many as a thousand new shirts a week for issue,

**Troubles of  
keeping kit**

in addition to all those they had received from bathers and washed for reissue to the troops. In the matter of small kit, such as tooth-brushes, pocket-knives, and razors, a new spirit of economy was becoming apparent, and soldiers who could not show that these things had been guarded with due care were invited to pay for any new stores of the kind that they wanted. Keeping trace of one's kit was no small part of the life of the soldier at the front. In makeshift quarters, such as so many of them occupied, and under other such trying conditions of war, it was difficult to account for all the little things missing from one's pack. Especially in trenches was this losing of

regiments should go into the line at any particular place and any particular moment, and these were known, as a rule, only to the people who decided the matter, and the men were left guessing as to what they might be. But when orders for "trenches" came along—"proceed to so-and-so, and take over the such-and-such trenches from the such-and-such regiment"—a new note of earnestness came over the men. Speculations began as to whether "the old man," the general, was "sending them in" for a quiet time or for a "strafe"; in other words, did he mean them just to hold the position or had he some "stunt" (a great Army word for special military enterprises) for them to attempt against the enemy? No one knew, of course, and the matter was left, as it began, a subject for speculation.

The such-and-such trenches would be taken over most probably at night. For some short time the old holders of the trenches and their "relief" would be in the trenches together, and in these moments quick summaries of the position and its character and of the character of the Germans opposed to it would be passed from man to man. Any "old scores" against the enemy opposite were sure to be handed on, too. If those Germans were good,



[Canadian official photograph]

**CANADIANS ON THE WESTERN FRONT: PRACTISING AN ATTACK UNDER COVER OF GAS.**

Gas-attack practice under realistic conditions by Canadians. Volumes of smoke having been discharged, as these rolled forth the men plunged forward as though to approach an enemy under its cover. Had they been

actual gas-clouds the men would, of course, have been wearing their gas-masks. By such rehearsal troops become "acclimatised" to the conditions of that new weapon which Teutonic savagery had introduced.

things easy. A jack-knife might be laid down for a moment on the ground, and the next minute the mud had engulfed it, leaving no trace even of the spot in which it had been buried. The authorities were fairly tolerant, however, about kit lost in trenches.

As life in the trenches was an all-important part of the life of all infantry soldiers in France it may be gone into more fully.

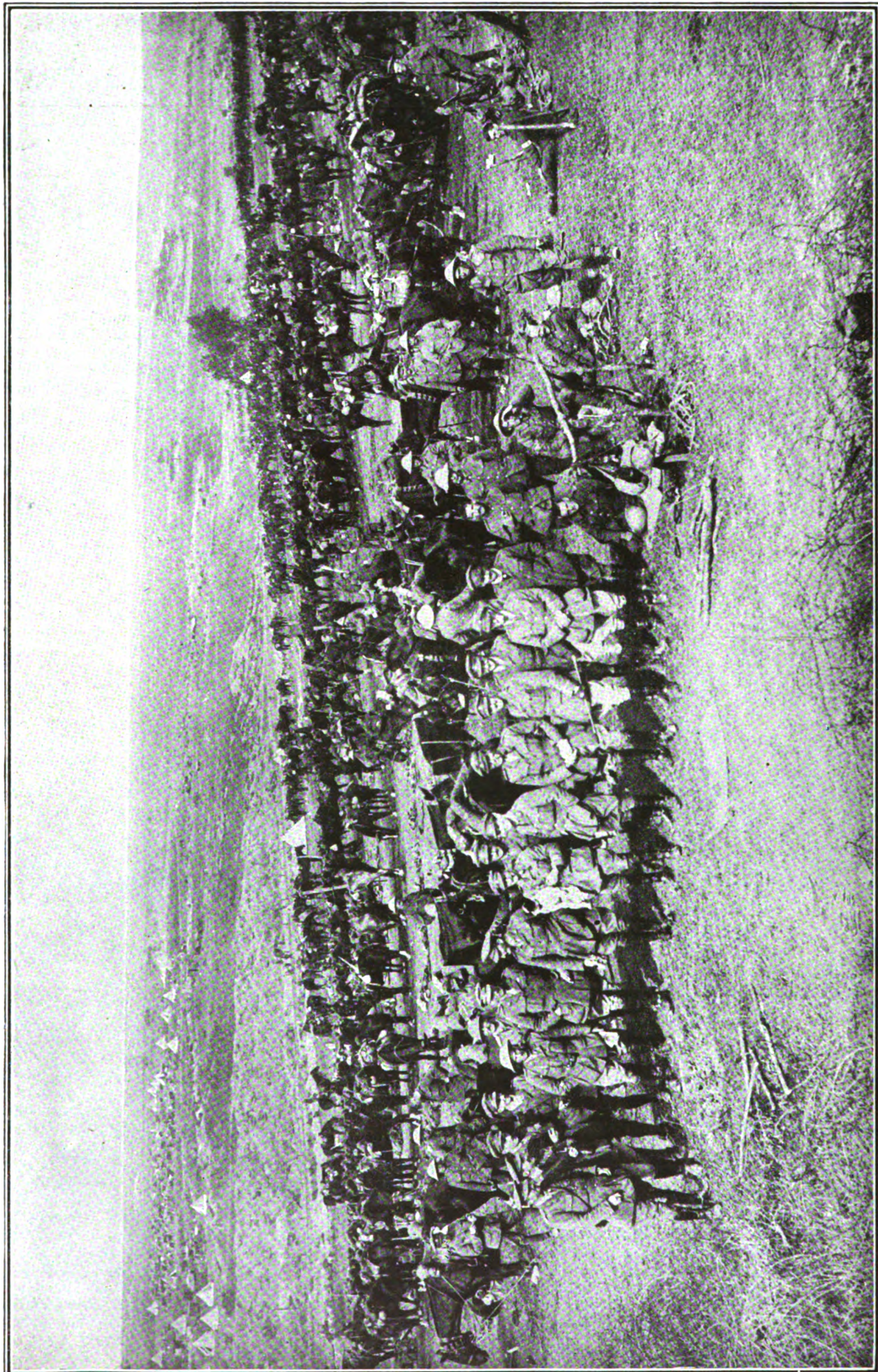
"Trenches" was an unwelcome but necessary duty that might come to a unit occasionally, or in a long and unpleasing succession. There seemed no rule about it, and for the workaday soldier it was difficult sometimes to see why his regiment or battalion should be "put in" again for a second spell of duty while a friend's unit perhaps was left to enjoy still further rest. They blamed the War Office, or "the Red Hats," as the Staffs were always called, or their colonel, or their member of Parliament—blamed anybody, in fact, but in a genial kind of way, and especially, they blamed "their luck." But they went and did the duty well and bravely enough, and to soldiers who did this no one could deny the privilege of a grumble. Many reasons, of course, determined what

"clean" fighters, the fact was made known. If they had done anything "dirty," this fact also was made known, with injunctions to "strafe the blighters good and hard." Then, with wishes of good luck and with happy faces, the older force would move out, leaving the new in possession. The trench might be an old one, with dug-outs, machine-gun posts, saps and the rest, all complete, or it might be a new one with all these things still to be provided, and in the latter case the men just groaned quietly—and set out to provide them.

**Life in the  
trenches**

That night might find them sleeping in a little groove no more than a foot or two high which they had scooped out for themselves in the wall of the trench. And with daylight, or even in the dark hours if the case was urgent, might begin a steady round of work in making that trench more effective for war and more habitable as a dwelling. Uncomfortable days these, and often days of greatest hardship. Some so-called trenches might be no more than a line of shell-holes stretching across a black and barren hillside—shell-holes filled with mud linked up by hillocks of slippery mud. The task of getting rations might be most difficult,





*British official photograph.*

# WHERE BRITISH CAVALRY EAGERLY AWAITED THE SIGNAL WHICH SHOULD GIVE THEM THEIR OPPORTUNITY.

View of British cavalry lines behind the western front. As rumours of each forward move arose it was thought that perhaps at last the long-looked-for chance for the cavalry had come. They had been gradually massed, ready to bear their part in the great task which the Allies had been called upon to perform. In the early months of the war, in the great retreat towards Paris, which Marshal Joffre so dramatically transformed into the forward move from the Marne, the cavalry played a conspicuously notable part. During the long period of trench warfare they could only wait and prepare for the time when they, too, should strike again.



and ration-parties might take seven or eight hours to cross the stretch between the trench and its supplies. Cases were known of these food-parties failing to get back at all. Officers in several cases had to order the opening of "iron rations"—that sacred little tin-case stored in a linen bag and containing beef, biscuits, and tea, which is supplied to every soldier with his kit for use in such emergencies as this. No hot drink might be available—no matter how cold the weather; but most regiments were served out a rum ration when in trenches, and very welcome it was, especially in the early morning.

On the other hand, the trench might be an old one, a dry one, and replete with every trench "luxury"—stout walls of sand or white chalk, a good parapet and parados, dug-outs deep and dry, duck-boards at the trench bottom to walk upon, thereby keeping its holders' feet out of the mud, finger-posts to show one the way, telephones to save long journeys, ammunition stores—and, in fact, all the fittings that had been devised by this time for making trenches more effective and more tolerable as dwelling-places. To this trench it might be possible to bring rations still retaining some of the heat they had when they left the field-kitchens away behind.

If the enemy was quiet, and if your own commander had no particular "stunt" to carry out at the time, trench duty in such a trench as this might be very dull and uneventful. You cleaned your rifle, wrote letters, whittled at little bits of wood with your knife, and ate and "slacked," except when your turn for sentry duty came along. Sentry duty, however, came along very regularly, and at night it could not be done in the cover of the trench with periscopes. Whatever the risk, your head must be kept above the trench and your eyes steadfast on the enemy's lines and the intervening No Man's Land. On clear nights you might feel certain the enemy saw you, but you had to take the risk. Oddly enough, the number of sentries shot on night duty was not considerable in proportion to their numbers. Still, it was solitary work. A two hours' spell was quite long enough.

If the trench happened to be in a place where things were active, as was the case in nearly all the Somme positions, for instance, during the latter half of 1916, trench duty would be anything but peaceful. Saps had to be run out of the trenches in the direction of the enemy, bombing-posts, machine-gun posts, listening-posts, and the like established, and with these tasks and looking out to dodge any shells and bombs and minenwerfen that came over, the infantryman's ordinary day might be a very stirring one indeed. Nor did the waning of daylight necessarily

#### Sentry duty at night

see these tasks finished. A raiding expedition might fall to a soldier's lot on any night. This meant careful preparations, much planning and understanding of detail, and at the time appointed men either crept out of their trench in secret or dashed out of it in the wake of a hurricane of shell fire or trench-mortar fire—it all depended whether the raid were to be a silent and secret one or one prepared by gun fire.

The word "raid," though accurate technically, is a poor one for this type of trench enterprise so much practised by British troops towards the end of 1916. For it has rather a belittling effect, and tends to obscure the extent and the elaborateness of these expeditions as well as to hide their daring and their riskiness. A raid, in fact, was

almost identical with any ordinary attack, with this exception: that whereas in an attack the idea was to take an "objective" and to hold it, the idea of a raid was merely to take a position, hold it for a time, and then to give it up again after killing as many of the enemy, taking as many prisoners, and doing as much permanent damage as possible. Raids were often prepared and prefaced by shell fire just as was an ordinary attack, though the area of it was less. The enemy's machine-guns might have to be faced in just the same way, and there was always the same dangerous movement in the open over exposed ground. For the soldier doing trench duty a raid might be as dangerous as a general attack; but while attacks provided matter for ample despatches, raids were either ignored or made the matter for paragraphs. In the general perspective of things this was right, of course; but from the point of view of the soldiers taking part in a raid there naturally seemed a great disparity in treatment.

As the time for relief from trench duty drew nearer soldiers began to count the hours, and to tell one another of the things they meant to do as soon as they were "out" and were able to get a few hours' leave. If they had had a hard, "gruelling" time in trenches, as was only too

#### Nocturnal raids and attacks



OPEN-AIR "STABLES" ON THE BRITISH FRONT.

Horses employed on active service near the firing-front, in such primitive "stables" as the ruined country side could provide. The soldiers did their best to keep the animals groomed between their spells of work.

often the case, almost the only "treat" you would hear them promising themselves was a "jolly hot bath, clean 'duds' (clothes), and a long sleep." And when men came out of the Somme trenches in those wet, winter days you might have imagined from their talk—if they were capable of talk—that all the pleasures mankind is heir to lay comprised in that simple recipe—"a hot bath, clean clothes, and a long sleep." They certainly needed all three badly. But the recuperative powers of the British soldiers in those days, as always, were amazing. After that long sleep—it might extend to twenty hours in some cases—little knots of friends would be seen putting their heads together and planning some more elaborate form of enjoyment. Most of their stations, even those near the front, were within travelling distance of some fair-sized town, or at least of some town where there was a good restaurant if nothing more. To get to this town several things were necessary. First, leave. Leave for twelve hours or so was not very hard for "resting" troops to obtain. Next there had to be some means of getting to the town, which might be six miles or more away. Some hardy souls would even set out to walk it, and to these young stalwarts twelve miles or so without a pack would be voted as easy. Often on moonlight nights these walking-parties might be seen returning, all jollity and laughter, to camp along the quiet, tree-lined roads of France.



But more generally it would be possible to get some friendly motor-waggon driver to give a free passage, and the three or four friends would travel to their destination in comfort. Once arrived there the most general thing seemed to be to go to the best restaurant and to order the best possible dinner. It was not so much that any of them had really gone short of food—except in some occasional cases—as that they wanted food of a different kind, served in a fashion that differed from the rough-and-ready soldier way to which they had been subject for so long. They would drink wine with their dinner, very often champagne, which they would pay for jointly, and the sight of three or four privates sitting at dinner, sharing their bottle of Epernay, was quite one of the usual restaurant sights in the towns at “the back of the front.” After dinner they could extract all the pleasure in the world from merely walking up and down the dimly-lighted streets of the town watching the passers-by—who very often were only fellow-soldiers from different camps—looking at the shops, buying stationery and picture post-cards, or possibly visiting the local photographer’s in a body. After that the café might be visited, and experiments made at the game of French billiards with its giant balls and pygmy tables. Great fun the French experts had watching the Britons’ breezy and vigorous play. Quite a new industry sprang up in many of these French towns—namely, that of the afternoon teashop. They often charged scandalous prices—tenpence for a small pot of tea for one person—but to have tea served daintily as at home, out of a china cup instead of a tin mug, our soldiers seemed quite willing to pay this. These visits to town were very orderly. Occasionally they ended in the visitors setting out on a “jamboree,” but this was very much the exception. Military police paraded the town, and for the most part they had nothing to do. The townspeople liked these visits, and often disinterested natives were to be seen showing our men the sights of the town—the cathedral, if it had one, or the mairie, or any of its archaeological curiosities. The Colonial troops seemed especially interested in these things.

Though these periodical visits to town did a great deal of good by coming as a pleasurable break to a life of great anxiety, hardship and monotony, they were, after all, only a palliative—a sort of temporary stimulant rather than a tonic. The real tonic to which each and every British soldier looked forward was “leave”—leave, that is, to go home. Leave was looked forward to by the troops in France as keenly as is water by the thirsty. The wish to get home, even for an hour or two, just to see one’s people, became at length a need—a need as pressing as hunger, as uncomfortable as an ache. Men who had gone through every hardship and suffering, every danger and horror, without a murmur might actually shed tears if their leave were unexpectedly cancelled, as

sometimes happened. They had “talked leave” for months, dreamt leave. The only time that the men feared battle and death was when they had been “posted for leave.” To be killed on the eve of leave was the only death that was spoken of in terms of real horror and fear. To “go west,” as death was sometimes called, was misfortune, a thing that might happen to any man, but to lose your leave was tragedy.

Still all roads have a turning, and, after months of waiting perhaps, a lucky soldier’s name would figure on the leave notice-board. “Men posted for leave,” an old sergeant of the Grenadiers used to say, “are worse than brides and bridesmaids waiting for a wedding. They are not fit to live with. They are all on pins and needles, all questions, and all fidgets and anxiety. I’m always glad to see the back of them.” Your British soldier, with pack on back and a leave pass in his pocket, would leave his camp.

For the next four hours or so he might be waiting

on a bleak station platform “up country” for the leave train to put in an appearance. Then, in a cold, dimly-lighted train, he would pass along to the coast. That train stopped and stopped. It seemed to trickle along its way, by fits and starts, like a rain-drop falling down a window-pane but without the shoot at the end. In the early morning, perhaps, would come the coast. Great trouble! Report to this man; show papers and passes to that man; be in such a place at such a time. There, more examination, more reporting; papers reported upon as being not “strictly in order”; dreadful thoughts and lecture from a corporal one had never seen before on the rules and regulations for a soldier bound on leave, with general comments unasked for on that soldier’s paltry brain capacity and general lack of common-

sense. All this borne patiently. Fall in, march to the boat, and, after it all, with a weary sigh, your soldier bound for leave feels himself at last safe on board ship—all regulations and orders complied with. But not even yet is his anxiety over.

For that naval officer fellow in the blue and gold, on the pier, may even yet come along and stop the sailing of the ship that day on some naval ground or other. Not till the steel hawsers have been cast off the bollards, and the ship’s screw is churning the yellow-green waters, not till the muddy, tarry piles of the old French harbour are gliding past is the leave-bound soldier sure that his dream has come true. He is going home at last, going home to mother or wife and children or sweetheart, going home again, alive and well! The wonder of it, after

Being where he has been,  
Seeing what he has seen!

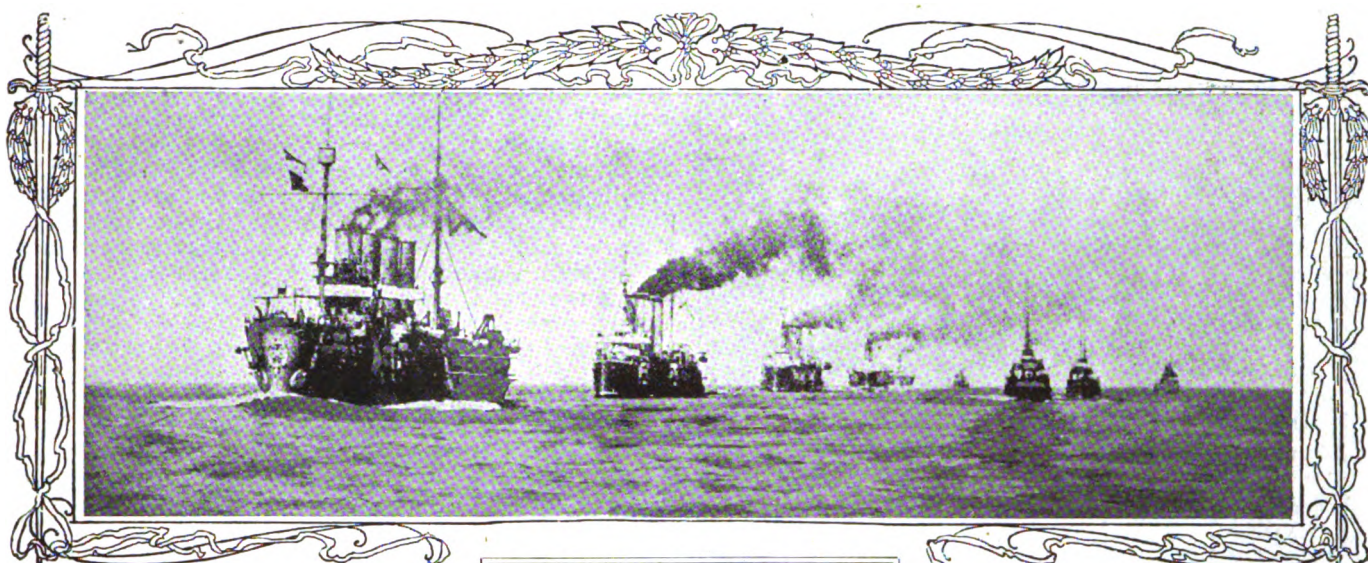
That is one of the great moments in the life of a British soldier.



[British official photograph]  
BILLETED AMID THE DEBRIS OF A WRECKED HOME.  
British soldiers in an improvised billet on the western front. Though the scene suggests the after effects of some great earthquake upheaval, the adaptable men appear to have readily made themselves at home.

#### Tasting “life” on leave





THE RUSSIAN FLEET

## CHAPTER CLXIX.

IN THE BALTIC SEA.

# THE WORK OF THE ALLIED FLEETS: FRENCH, RUSSIAN, AND ITALIAN CO-OPERATION.

By Archibald Hurd, Author of "Naval Efficiency," "German Sea Power," "The Command of the Sea," etc.

**EDITORIAL NOTE.**—At this stage in the progress of our historical survey of the world-wide events of the war it seems well to introduce a special chapter devoted to the consideration of the naval co-operation given by the Western Allies to the British Fleet during the first thirty months of hostilities. The movements and achievements of the British naval forces in that period have been described with more or less detail in previous chapters, but it has not been possible to say all that the circumstances warranted as to the successful work of Russia in the Baltic, the coastwise service of France, or the able and effective use of the French and Italian Navies in Mediterranean waters. Mr. Archibald Hurd, well known as naval critic of the "Daily Telegraph," has been invited to write this special chapter, and although to some extent familiar ground has had to be covered in the introductory passages, the Editors feel that the circumstances in which the German Navy came into being cannot be too clearly impressed upon British readers, and that a due appreciation of the naval movements which have taken place since the declaration of war is only possible provided the original aims of the Kaiser's naval policy are thoroughly understood.



JUST appreciation of the work of the allied fleets in the war during the first thirty months of hostilities—August 4th, 1914, to February 4th, 1917—cannot be formed unless an endeavour is made to envisage the conditions which would have existed at sea if the Navies of Russia and France had not been associated with the British sea forces at the very opening of hostilities, and if, later on, two other maritime Powers, Japan and Italy, had not declared themselves on the side of the Allies.

Under the leadership of the Kaiser, who, after Bismarck's dismissal, became virtually the dictator of the policy of Germany in foreign, military, and naval affairs, almost every error was committed against which the great Chancellor warned the young and ambitious ruler during the last years of his life, and from those errors Britain profited when war came. History will record that Bismarck created an Empire which William II. brought to ruin, in the main, because he misread the works of Admiral Mahan, the great American naval historian, and under-

estimated the political wisdom of the rulers of neighbouring States.

The wars of 1864 and 1866, against Denmark and Austria successively, gave Prussia Schleswig-Holstein, and thus opened the way to the North Sea. The campaign of 1870 led to the creation of the German Empire. The nerve-centre of Europe was transferred from Paris to Berlin. Bismarck had to determine what course the new Empire

should steer, and he came to three definite conclusions. In the first place, a period of peace was essential to enable him to expand the German Army and develop the industries of the new Empire. In the second place, the temptation to found colonies had to be resisted, as they were calculated to lead to a dissipation of strength. In the third place, the German people should not be encouraged to create a great fleet because Germany had obtained ports in the North Sea. In order to mark the relative importance which he attached to the naval and military forces, Bismarck appointed a soldier, Lieutenant-General von Stosch, as Minister of Marine, and kept him there for many years.



RUSSIAN MASTERS OF THE BALTIC.

Admiral Kanin, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Navy in the Baltic since 1916. Right: The last portrait of Admiral Essen, reorganiser of the Russian Navy and Commander-in-Chief till his death in 1916.





THE TSAR AT KRONSTADT. Nicholas II. inspecting the crew of a battleship at Kronstadt, the station of the Baltic Fleet.

The Iron Chancellor made no secret of the foundations of the policy which he had marked out for Germany. Germany, he declared, should not plant colonies overseas because they would involve the creation of a great fleet. Germany could provide a dominating navy only at the expense of British friendship. The support of Britain, which Bismarck in the year before his dismissal, 1889, described as Germany's "old and traditional ally," was essential to the Triple Alliance, drawing its strength from military rather than naval power, since Italy, with her exposed coasts, would never place herself in a position of antagonism to the greatest sea Power. Moreover, Bismarck foresaw that the growth of the German Fleet might defeat his aim of keeping Britain and France estranged. Those statements of the basic principles of Bismarckian policy rest on irrefutable evidence.

Lord Odo Russell, who was for a long period British Ambassador in Berlin, in a letter to Lord Granville, in 1873, declared that Bismarck had reached the conclusion

**Bismarck against  
fleet expansion**

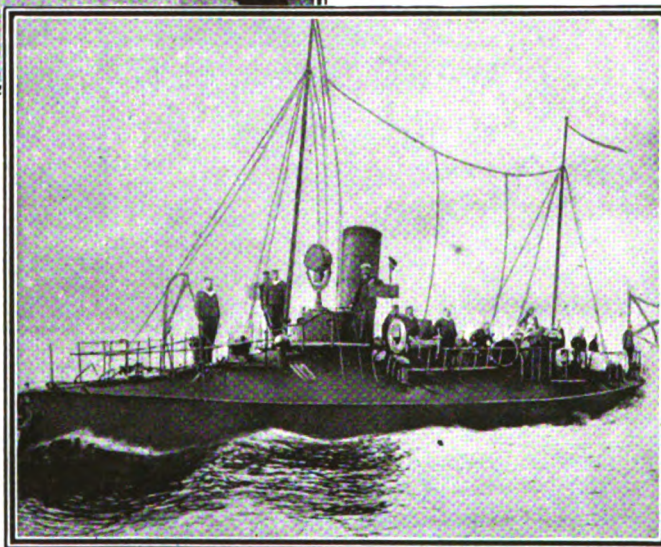
that "colonies would only be a cause of weakness, because they could only be defended by powerful fleets, and Germany's geographical position did not necessitate her expansion into a first-class maritime Power." Even when, under popular pressure, he abated somewhat his opposition to a Colonial policy, he was careful to consider British susceptibilities and maintained his opposition to fleet expansion. In 1885 he explained that he had determined to acquire Schleswig-Holstein because that province was necessary to Germany if she was ever to have a fleet. "It was a question of national dignity that in case of need Germany should be able to hold her own against a second-rate navy. Formerly we had no fleet. I should consider it an exaggeration for Germany to compete with the French or British Navy."

On another occasion Bismarck uttered a warning against "fantastical plans in connection with naval matters, which might cause us to quarrel with people who are important for our position in Europe." What that cryptic phrase signified in Bismarck's mind may be judged from other statements. He had pointed out years before that "even if we should succeed in building up a navy as strong as that of Britain, we should still have to fear an alliance of Britain and France." That was a development which Bismarck always strove to impede, holding that "these **Menace of Anglo-Powers are stronger than any single French alliance** Power in Europe is or ever can be."

The Chancellor had, moreover, reached the conclusion that "Italy must be able to rely on the assistance of the British Fleet, for the Triple Alliance cannot protect the Italian coast." His conclusion was that "as long as Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy are united in the Triple Alliance, and as long as these three States can reckon on the assistance of British sea power, the peace of Europe will not be broken." Apart from those considerations, Bismarck realised that a German policy of

fleet expansion would probably arouse nervous apprehensions in Russia, interested in the balance of power in the Baltic, and might lead that Power to conclude an alliance with France.

When William II. took control of German affairs, in 1890, he abandoned Bismarck's policy. The man of blood and iron has left it on record that the Kaiser was hostile to Britain not only when Crown Prince, but during the first years of his rule, when he professed close attachment to the British Royal Family and the British nation. As a youth the Kaiser had spent many years in the Isle of Wight, watching British ships passing in and out of Spithead, and had had the



MENTIONED IN RUSSIAN DESPATCHES.

A useful unit of the Russian Navy, this little vessel of eighty-five tons, No. 113, was mentioned in the Russian despatches as having done particularly good work in the Baltic.

free run of Portsmouth Dockyard. He came to the throne determined at all costs to create a German fleet rivalling that of his grandmother, Queen Victoria. Britain was still pursuing a policy of "splendid isolation," and the young Emperor believed that the animosities which divided the British people on the one hand from France, irritated over Egypt and the Newfoundland fisheries, and on the other from Russia, with her Asiatic ambitions, would persist whatever course Germany might take with reference to naval affairs. That impression was deepened in 1899, when the war in South Africa created a widespread anti-British movement throughout the European continent.

In the light of events, can it be doubted that the Kaiser's telegram to President Kruger, on the occasion of the Jameson Raid, was sent with the intention of fanning the anti-British flame not only in Germany but in other countries? When this dangerous movement was at its height and British resources were suffering from the strain of the long campaign, conducted at a distance of six thousand miles from the home country and therefore resting on sea-power, the Kaiser showed his hand.

Since his accession to the throne he had devoted himself to the education of the German people in favour of a great fleet. He had read Admiral Mahan's works and arranged for their translation into German. He had

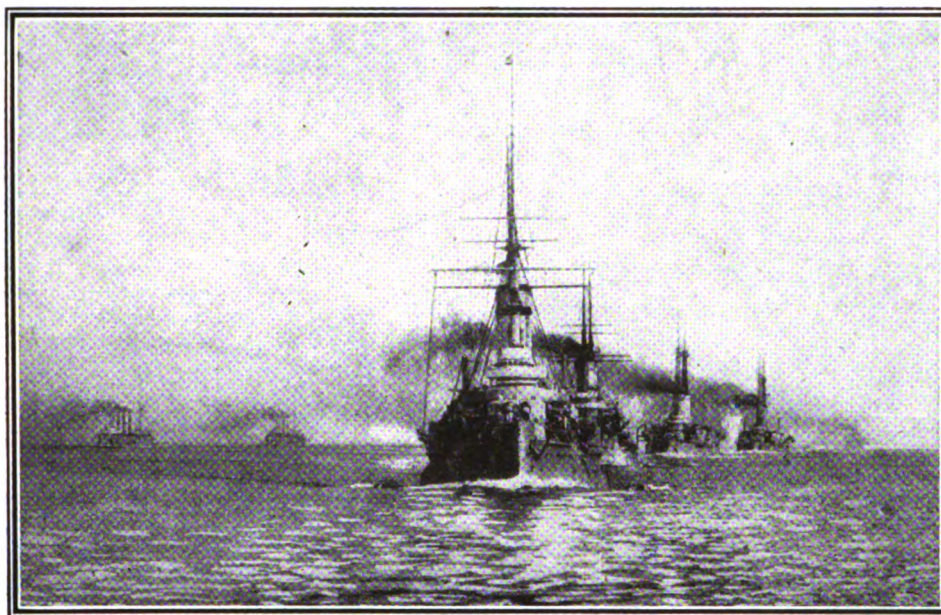


founded the Navy League, and initiated a great Press movement in favour of shipbuilding. In order to undermine the opposition of the Reichstag to his naval ambitions, he had picked out from the Navy an officer with big conceptions of policy, a facile tongue, a pleasant, jovial manner, a *flair* for politics, and an eye for effect. That man was Alfred Tirpitz, then unknown to fame.

The anti-British movement on the Continent at the time of the Boer War supplied the two conspirators with the impulse which was necessary if Germany was to become a first-class naval power. An extremely modest Navy Act had been passed in 1898, on the understanding that it contained a complete exposure of German naval policy for the succeeding six years. Two years later it was determined that the moment had come for a new measure, repealing the one of 1898, and on June 14th, 1900, the

Mediterranean. The German Emperor and Grand-Admiral von Tirpitz assumed that political considerations which led to those dispositions of force would persist, and that thus Germany would become the dominating maritime Power in Northern Europe, strong enough to deal Britain a lightning blow. If those anticipations had been realised what would have happened to the British Empire in 1914? Had it been isolated then, with naval responsibilities on the same scale in the Mediterranean, the Far East, and elsewhere, Germany's policy might have been crowned with triumph either as a result of the Great War which convulsed Europe, or, if in that struggle Britain had remained neutral, in a later conflict in which the two countries would have fought to the death on the sea.

For some years it seemed as though the British people would not realise the menace which threatened their every interest. In the five years succeeding the passing of the German Navy Act only fourteen battleships were laid down in British shipyards; during the same period Germany began ten battleships. The British Government also built a large number of armoured cruisers—twenty-one to Germany's four; but the war illustrated the small value attaching to such ships, with their light-armoured belts and medium-calibre guns. During the same period only



RUSSIA'S BALTIC FLEET UNDER FULL STEAM.

The re-creation of the Russian Navy after the Japanese War was due to Admiral Essen. When war was declared in 1914 the Russian Navy was prepared for it.

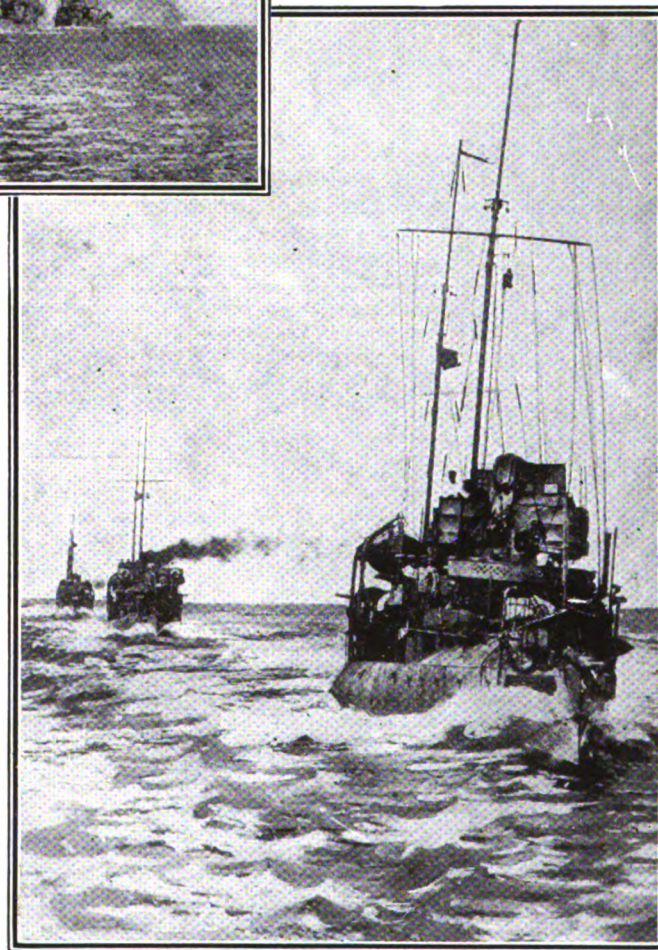
Kaiser and Prince Hohenlohe, the Chancellor, put their signatures to an Act which specifically declared that Germany in the future intended to rank as a first-class naval Power. It was declared that "Germany must have a battle fleet so strong that, even for the adversary with the greatest sea-power, a war against it would involve such dangers as to imperil his position in the world." This German Navy Act provided for the construction of a fleet exceeding in strength that of Great Britain.

The Kaiser assumed that the stars in their courses would stand still while he realised his dreams of world domination.

His attitude somewhat resembled that of Canute, who is supposed to have commanded the waves to obey his bidding.

William II. concluded that, because Britain had hitherto maintained a position of "splendid isolation," she would continue to pursue that policy, and that in accordance with that policy her Fleet would be distributed. That assumption is based upon an admission in the Memorandum of the Navy Act: "It is not absolutely necessary that the German battle fleet should be as strong as that of the greatest naval Power, for a great naval Power will not, as a rule, be in a position to concentrate all its striking forces against us."

At that time the spear-head of the British Navy was in the Mediterranean: squadrons of battleships, cruisers and gunboats were on duty in the outer seas; there was no British naval force in the North Sea, for the old Channel Squadron was mainly a reinforcement for the



RUSSIAN MOSQUITO CRAFT OF THE 4TH DIVISION.

In 1915, particularly, the Baltic Fleet was very busy, and in August of that year, in the Gulf of Riga, the Russian mosquito fleet stung Germany severely, the Novik notably distinguishing herself.



five British scout cruisers were built, apart from eight weak vessels of less than 3,000 tons, and mounting no bigger weapon than the 12-pounder gun; while Germany laid down in the same period thirteen useful cruisers of high speed—twenty-four and twenty-five knots—and armed them with the 4.1 in. gun, throwing a steel shell of 34 lb. In these years the British Fleet was strengthened by thirty-nine destroyers besides eleven torpedo-boats of limited utility, and Germany laid down thirty destroyers. The course of naval policy in Britain during those five years may well have encouraged the Kaiser and his Ministers to believe that their ambitions would be realised, particularly as British foreign policy, which regulated the disposition of ships, showed for several years no indication of undergoing a radical change.

At last the awakening came. The Russian Fleet had been worsted by Japan, and the balance of power in European waters had thus been upset to Germany's advantage. The crisis was grave, and the British Government made approaches to France with a view to more cordial relations with that sea Power. Simultaneously, Admiral Sir John (afterwards Lord) Fisher, who had been recalled to Britain from the command of the Mediterranean Fleet at the end of 1902, was appointed First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, with freedom to carry out a vast, correlated scheme of naval reforms. A definite alliance with Japan

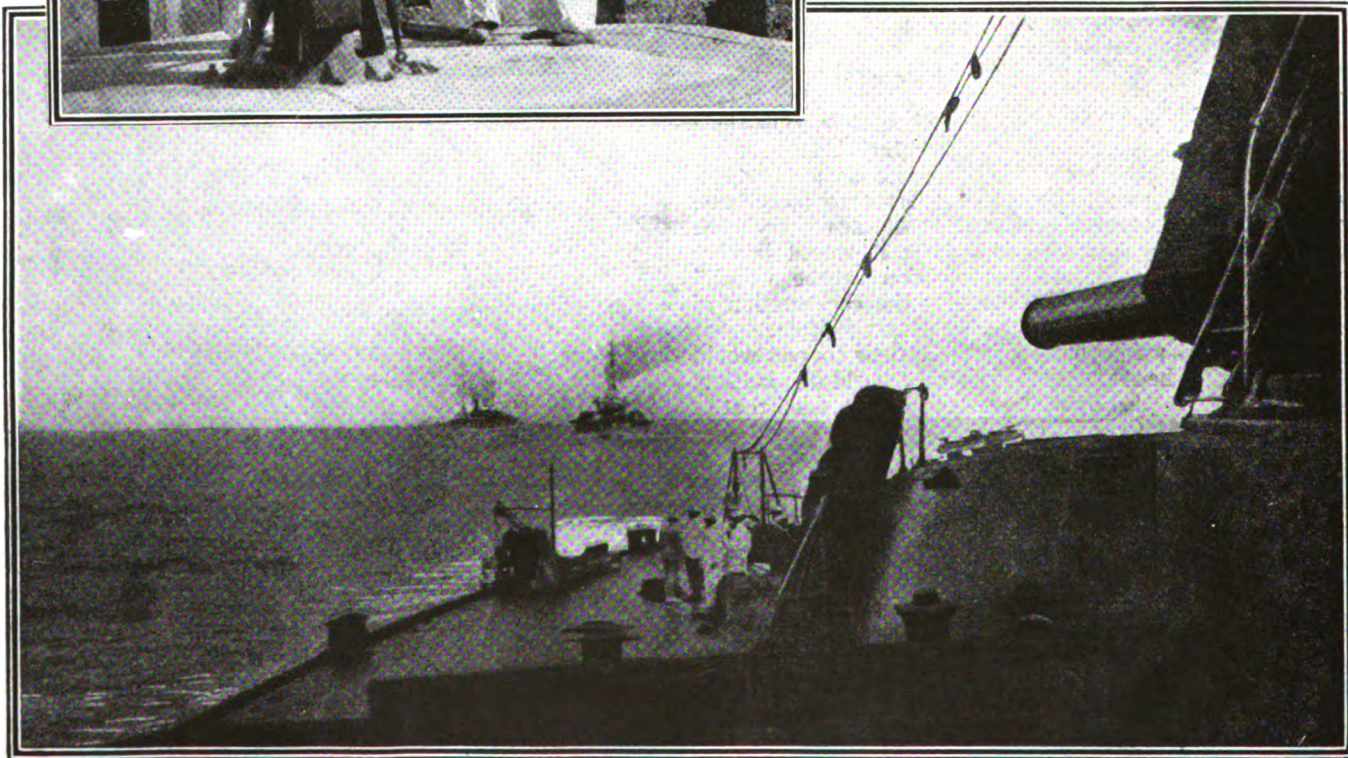
proved the complement to the Entente with France, that country having already become the ally of Russia.

In these circumstances steps were taken to meet the German challenge. Without fuss or anything calculated to cause irritation in Germany, the main power of the British Navy was shifted from southern to northern waters; the alliance with Japan enabled vessels to be released from duty in the Far East; the Entente with France justified a weakening of British strength in the Mediterranean; closer relations with the United States facilitated a reduction of the forces in the Atlantic. At the same time, projects were under way for strengthening the reserves of the Fleet in home waters. With patience and foresight the basis of German naval policy was slowly undermined, and the Grand Fleet was created, which went to its station in the North Sea when hostilities broke out in the summer of 1914.

In justice to our Allies let it not be forgotten that the vast concentration in the northern mists could never have been carried out had it not been for the splendid co-operation of the Navies of France and Japan, in particular, and for the threat which Russia aimed at Germany in the Baltic. When once the three great sea Powers of Europe were ranged against Germany, the attitude of Italy towards the belligerents was in little doubt. Bismarck's prophecy was fulfilled to the letter. Whatever views the Italian Government may have had—and it is well known on which side their sympathies bent from the first—the fact that Britain, which had been so largely instrumental in effecting Italian unity and still remained the predominant sea Power, was fighting Germany and Italy's traditional enemy, Austria, determined the course of her policy.

The German Emperor and his Ministers reaped as they had sown. In the period of nearly a quarter of a century before the outbreak of the Great War they had deliberately reversed the policy of the great man who

#### Creation of the Grand Fleet



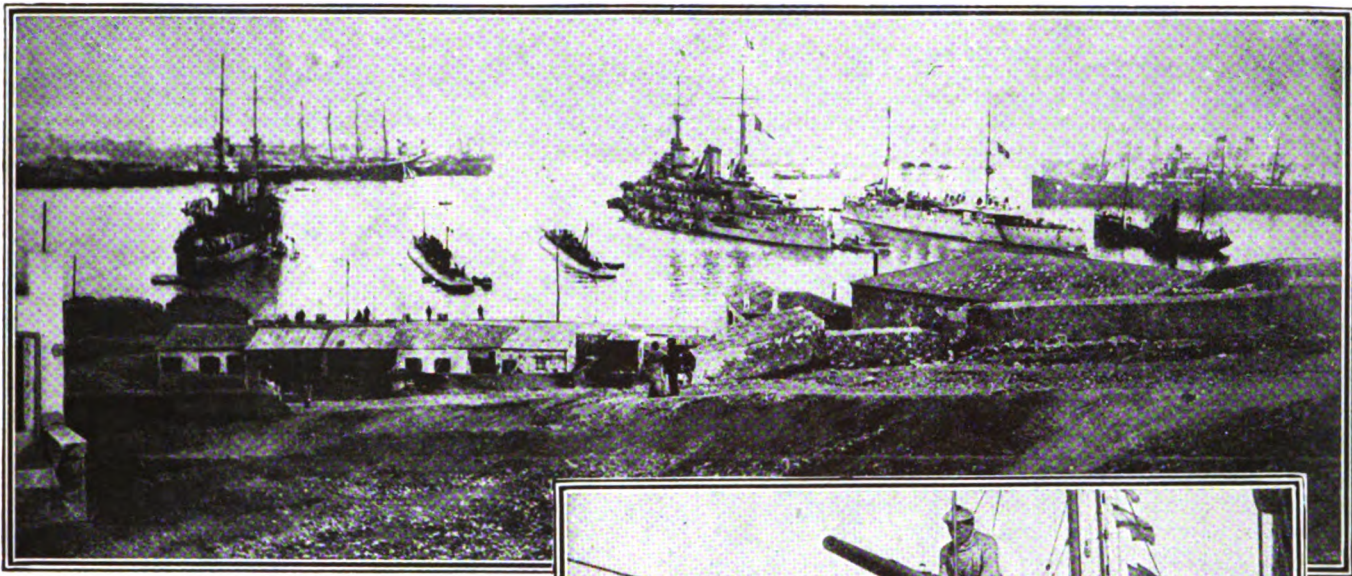
BRITISH, FRENCH, AND ITALIAN WARSHIPS IN THE GULF OF SALAMIS.

[French official photograph.]

In Southern European waters the allied fleets did an immense amount of work in co-operation, practically clearing the Mediterranean of every enemy flag. The vacillation of the King of the Hellenes necessitated the presence

in the Gulf of Salamis of a considerable fleet, which enforced the requirements of the Allies by a blockade of the Greek coast. Above: A gun on one of the Mediterranean islands taken by the Allies.





[French official photograph.]

**THE ALLIES' IRON HAND.**  
General view of the Piræus, showing the composite allied fleet of British, French, and Italian warships in possession to prevent the threatened treachery of King Constantine.

created the German Empire. They had stretched forth grasping hands for colonies; they had disregarded Britain's claim to maritime supremacy; they had humiliated France; they had domineered over Russia; they had alienated Japan; they had insulted the United States—all of them sea Powers.

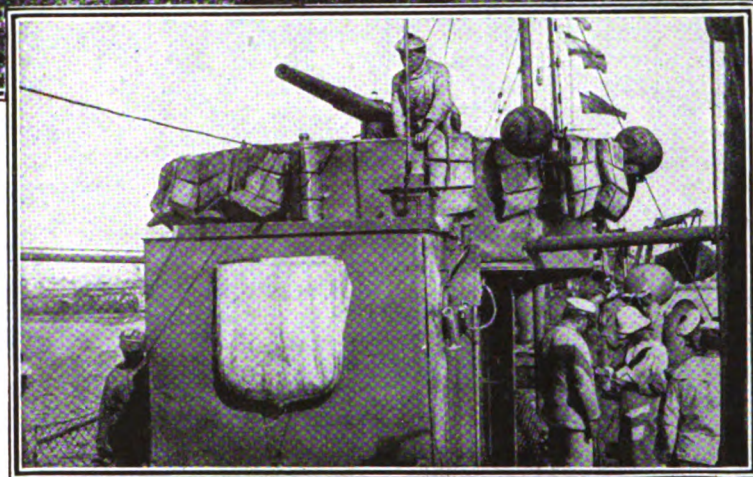
The Kaiser had proclaimed that "Germany's future lies on the water," and his naval ambitions led him from one folly to another. When the awakening came he realised the fruits of a policy which had united all the great naval Powers of Europe against Germany and Austria-Hungary. For a time he professed to believe that the influence of sea-power upon

history had been grossly exaggerated. He denied the faith according to Mahan, which he had formerly confessed. But, even when these denials were being

made, the pressure of sea-power was being exerted. In northern waters as in southern waters, in the Atlantic as in the Pacific, naval influence was being rigorously applied to teach the superman that the sailor had still a share in determining the fate of continents. In this work by sea the Navies of Russia, France, Italy, and Japan shared the honours with the British Fleet.

Ten years before the opening of the Great War, Vice-Admiral Baron Curt von Maltzahn, of the German Navy, wrote a little book on naval warfare. He devoted one chapter to the effect of blockade by sea. He controverted the argument, which was advanced during the agitation in Germany for the increase of the Navy, that shipowners and merchants should bear the cost it would entail, because they alone would benefit by it. Such reasoning, he declared, could appeal only to the ignorant. "For not simply the coasts, but the whole country would suffer if an enemy should blockade our ports." He pointed out the effects which the pressure of sea-power would produce. "It is true that the hostile ships could not proceed farther than the shore-line, but the iron hand of their naval dominion would stretch beyond the limits of the sea. It would knock at the inland office of the merchant, it would hammer at the gates of the factories in the great industrial centres in the heart of the country, and it would rap on the doors of the houses of our working men."

That prophecy was fulfilled in the experience of the German people, and not only their experience, but that of the peoples of Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. With the support of the allied fleets, which was an essential element to success, the British Navy placed its controlling



[French official photograph.]

**WATCHING THE ASIATIC EMPIRE OF THE TURK.**  
On board a French warship off the coast of Asia Minor. The French Navy was strong in ships of the line when war broke out, and these, reinforced by British ships of the cruiser classes, made the allied Mediterranean Fleet a well-balanced force.

hand on the heart of Central Europe and once more illustrated the historic truth that the sea controls the land.

### I.—The Fight for the Baltic.

When the war broke out Germany was confronted with an embarrassing position in northern waters. Since the close of the war in the Far East the Russian Navy had been re-created, and Germany found herself opposed by the British Fleet in the North Sea and by considerable naval forces under the Russian flag in the Baltic.

So long as it was the fixed policy of the German Empire to remain on friendly terms with Britain the Navy under the ensign of the double eagle could be concentrated at Kiel, which in Bismarck's day was the Fleet headquarters, and the North Sea could be ignored. But in time the Germans began to chafe under the misfortune that they possessed no short route between the Baltic and their North Sea ports, and in June, 1887, when the British people were celebrating the Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign, work was commenced on a canal to run from Brunsbüttel, at the mouth of the Elbe, to Kiel and Holtenau.

Hitherto vessels proceeding from the Elbe to the Baltic had had to make a **The Kaiser Wilhelm Canal** voyage of nearly six hundred miles through somewhat dangerous waters. By constructing the new canal, that distance was to be reduced to sixty-one miles. The new canal—known as the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal—was opened for traffic in 1895. The Germans prided themselves on the fact that the largest ships could pass from one sea to the other in a matter of a few hours. The new waterway was built with a depth of water of 29½ feet, the width on the bottom being 72 feet.

When this connecting-link between the North Sea and the Baltic was opened in 1895, the nations were invited to send men-of-war, and the Emperor delivered a



grandiloquent speech, in which he remarked that: "What technique on the basis of its great development has been able to accomplish, what was possible through pride and joy in the work, what finally could be done in promoting the welfare of the numberless workers engaged in the task, in accordance with the principle of the humane social policy of the Empire, has been accomplished in this undertaking."

The Emperor referred to "the significance of the canal for increasing the national welfare and strengthening our defence." In this year, which was marked by celebrations in honour of the twenty-fifth anniversaries of the victories of the Franco-Prussian War, German Imperialism came to the birth. The war between Japan and China was drawing to a close; Germany decided to have a finger in the pie, and took the lead in preventing Japan from retaining Port Arthur.

In the following year, when the Jameson Raid occurred, the Emperor intervened in South African affairs, sending to President Kruger his notorious telegram. Then, in 1898, Prince Henry of Prussia was despatched to the Far East in

#### Naval expansion and discomfiture

command of a naval squadron, to exact reparation from China for the murder of two German missionaries. "Imperial power," he declared, "means sea-power; and sea-power and Imperial power are dependent on each other." The Emperor had come to the conclusion that the opening of the Kiel Canal had conferred upon his Fleet strategic freedom, since men-of-war of the largest size could pass swiftly from the Baltic to the North Sea, and he was determined to make the most of the new strength which the canal had given to his naval forces—doubling, as he claimed, the value of his Fleet.

In these circumstances Germany began the work of fleet expansion. The new navy was to be built to fit the canal. A battleship design on a displacement of about 13,000 tons was adopted. The Kaiser Wilhelm Canal was just big enough for these ships, and, under the Navy Acts of 1898 and 1900, Germany proceeded to build a navy which she was confident would be in a position to operate either in the Baltic or in the North Sea. For some years nothing occurred to disillusion the Germans. But in November, 1905, a mysterious battleship was laid down at Portsmouth Dockyard, and orders were given for three other ships, which were officially described as "armoured



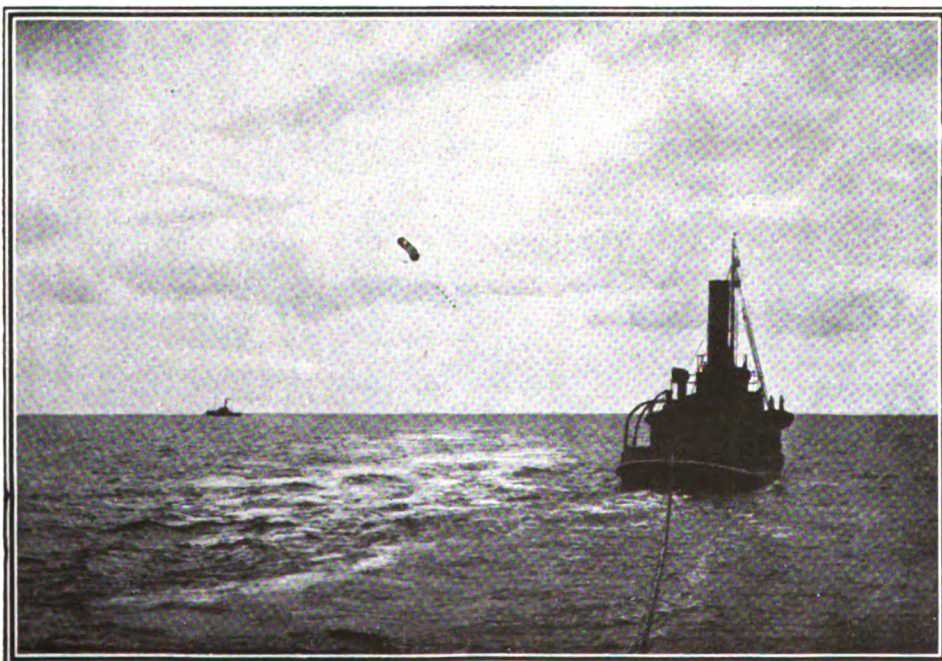
WARSHIP ARRIVING AT SALAMIS.

One of the allied warships arriving at Salamis to put an end to the German intrigues in Greece. At the close of 1916 the attitude of King Constantine made it necessary for the Allies to establish a strict blockade.

cruisers." They were, in fact, the battle-cruisers *Invincible*, *Inflexible*, and *Indomitable*. Several months later, but not before Germany had made considerable progress in the construction of her two 13,000-ton battleships of the 1905 programme, as well as an armoured cruiser, the *Blücher*, it leaked out first that the British battleship represented a new type, and that the three armoured cruisers were, in fact, swift sisters of the ship of mystery.

The appearance of the Dreadnought, with a displacement of 18,000 tons (nominal), and mounting ten 12 in. guns in contrast with four 11 in. of the German battleships, completely upset all Germany's calculations. It was some time before the German naval authorities, even by bribery, could obtain the plans of the new British battleship. A story is told that, in order to deceive the not very intelligent spies, false plans were prepared and measures taken to see that they reached Germany.

At any rate, what happened was this. First of all the Germans realised that they also had to build Dreadnoughts, and that, if they were to pass from the North Sea to the Baltic, the depth and width



OBSERVATION-BALLOON RETURNING TO PORT.

Kite observation-balloon being towed back to port. These "sausage" balloons proved invaluable for observation purposes over both sea and land. At sea they were "tethered" to their attendant tugs, which took them out, stood by, and when their spell was over towed them back to their shore harbourage.



of the Kiel Canal would have to be increased. Secondly, they were so savage at being outmanœuvred that they accepted the false plan, and laid down four vessels under the impression that they were constructing ships in every way as powerful as the British Dreadnought. The change in the British ship design arrested German battleship building for thirty months, and then those clever people began four vessels, known as the Nassau class, which embodied most of the errors which the British constructors had rejected.

The Germans themselves admit that the British naval authorities proved too smart for them. Writing after the Great War had been in progress for a year, Count Reventlow made a series of confessions pointing to the complete discomfiture which Germany suffered at a moment when she thought her Fleet had acquired complete strategic freedom. He remarked that when the Navy Act of 1900 was passed it was calculated that the rebuilding of the Fleet would be completed in 1920. "In 1906,

however, came the great Dreadnought revolution in shipbuilding, which quickly rendered worthless all ships built before that time (pre-Dreadnoughts),\* and compelled tremendous enlargements of wharves, harbours, and canals, gigantic extension of organisation, etc."

In other words, the adoption of the Dreadnought design

\* In pre-Dreadnoughts of the most recent construction Germany was approaching Great Britain.

by the British naval authorities threw the German movement for fleet expansion back for a period of ten years. She was compelled, after an interval during which British yards had been busy, to begin again, and at the same time to undertake what amounted practically to a reconstruction of the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal. Simultaneously, harbours had to be deepened, new slipways constructed, and new docks excavated. Everything had been created on the basis of a maximum ship displacement of about 13,000 tons, and Germany found herself suddenly confronted with a new standard ship of 18,000 tons (nominal).

The Kiel Canal  
'enlarged'

Outside the Marineamt in Berlin, probably no one knows the immense sum which Germany had to expend in order to meet the new naval situation. But one detail is known. The Kiel Canal originally cost £8,000,000. In 1908 the work of doubling it was undertaken. The original estimate amounted to £11,000,000, and there is reason to believe that this was exceeded. By this manœuvre, for which Lord Fisher was responsible, German naval progress was arrested, and time was obtained for carrying out the reforms in the British Navy which were essential before it engaged at sea.

The great task of enlarging the Kiel Canal was completed early in the summer of 1914. In preceding years the Kaiser had repeatedly brought the German Empire to the brink of war and had then withdrawn. The explanation was to be found in the vast canal works which were still in progress.



[French official photograph.]

FUTILE RUTHLESSNESS: GERMANY'S VAIN ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH AN EFFECTUAL BLOCKADE.

Despite the real gravity of the German submarine campaign in the third year of the war, the men of the Allies' mercantile marine remained quite unperturbed, signing on as freely as usual. What diminution of shipping

took place was due to owners' reluctance to incur risk of loss. These wharves at Toulon were constantly crowded with incoming and outgoing Mediterranean shipping, and every French port furnished a similar sight.



They were not completed until June, 1914, when the ceremonies coincided with the Kiel Regatta, and were marked by the presence of the men-of-war of all the Great Powers.

British naval officers were given a particularly cordial reception by the Kaiser and his Ministers, and the Emperor's flag for a time flew from the masthead of the battleship King George V., flagship of Admiral Sir George Warrender. While the festivities were in progress news was received of the murder at Sarajevo of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his consort. The assembly immediately broke up. The British ships withdrew, and were joined by other squadrons which had been paying visits of ceremony and friendship in Russian, Danish, and Swedish waters.

Germany by the completion of the Kiel Canal had again obtained strategic freedom. How would she use it? As though to lull all suspicion, the German High Sea Fleet proceeded on a cruise in Norwegian waters, one division remaining in the Baltic to keep an eye on Russia. When the crisis came, in the last days of July, the principal squadrons of the German Fleet were away north in Norwegian waters. Two conclusions are supported by ample evidence. In the first place, Germany believed that the British Government would remain neutral.

In that event, the High Sea Fleet would have been already well on its way round the British Isles, intending to attack France, and thus getting behind the French armies. It was assumed that, at the worst, the British Government would weigh for several days the pros and cons of the situation which had so suddenly developed, and that by the time an unfavourable decision for Germany could be reached the crisis of the war would be over, Paris probably having been occupied, and the French Fleet defeated.

Events did not turn out as Germany anticipated. The British declaration of war synchronised with the invasion of Belgium. Thirty hours before the expiration of the ultimatum, Mr. Winston Churchill at the Admiralty, supported by Admiral Prince Louis of Battenberg, had mobilised the Fleet, and orders were given mobilising the British Army, embodying the Territorials, and putting in motion the machinery for home defence created by the Committee of Imperial Defence.

In the second place these events changed the character of the war, not only in the North Sea and the outer seas, but in the Baltic. Germany had lost the first moves, and she had to recast all her plans in the light of the fact that she was opposed on the one hand by the supreme British Fleet, and on the other by the considerable forces of Russia.

Events had not developed as the Emperor and his Ministers had anticipated, and the Russian Fleet, which they had apparently regarded as a negligible factor provided the British Navy remained neutral, suddenly assumed unforeseen importance as the associate of the supreme naval Power.

Russia was known to possess in those waters four pre-Dreadnought battleships, with a main armament of four 12 in. guns each, besides a quartette of large modern armoured cruisers, two somewhat older armoured cruisers, five light cruisers, thirty-six destroyers, and a number of submarines. Moreover, it was common knowledge that the Russians had nearly completed four powerful ships of the Dreadnought type, displacing 23,000 tons and mounting twelve 12 in. and sixteen 4.7 in. guns each.

The menace of the Russian Fleet, however, resided less in the ships than in the officers and men. The whole spirit of the Russian Navy, as the Germans were soon to realise, had undergone a change since the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War. The Navy in the Baltic had been re-created under the impulse of Admiral Essen, its distinguished Commander-in-Chief. What this officer had accomplished was revealed by an officer on the Staff of Admiral Kanin, his successor, in an interview published in the "Novoe Vremya" shortly after his death in 1916.

The late Admiral Essen, he declared, worked wonders with the Navy. His fundamental idea was simple—the Fleet must know the entire Baltic, not excluding the most remote rocks; and for this purpose it must cruise for not less than ten months in the year. Formerly this seemed almost impossible! I remember my own younger days. We set out upon a tremendous round-the-world voyage, studied, gained experience, and worked. The decisive moment was the naval inspection after our return from the cruise. Gold, velvet! The inspection over, and suddenly all fell to pieces. And really it could not be otherwise; the wood had rotted, the sails had been devoured by rats. It was necessary to remove this into dry, well-aired store-rooms; otherwise everything would have perished—and it was removed. What was the result? There was, so to speak, a locomotive in all its glory; it was taken to pieces and conveyed in parts somewhere into a shop. This locomotive would be assembled anew, but it would then be another locomotive.

The crew had dispersed and the officers separated. The experience gathered was not passed on to the new people. But now! This is my third year in the same boat. A. M. P. (he pointed to a senior officer) has been here already five years. In such

circumstances a man does really begin to know what he has in his hands. Thanks to this, there cannot be any mobilisation for us. We have a term for mobilisation—such and such an hour and such and such a minute. When war was declared we received absolutely nothing from any depot. Perhaps a few things were taken ashore—valuable prizes, relics; but neither stores nor men were required by us; we had everything on hand. In four hours we put to sea. We attained this result solely owing to the fact that the late Admiral Essen refused to have barracks for the crews.



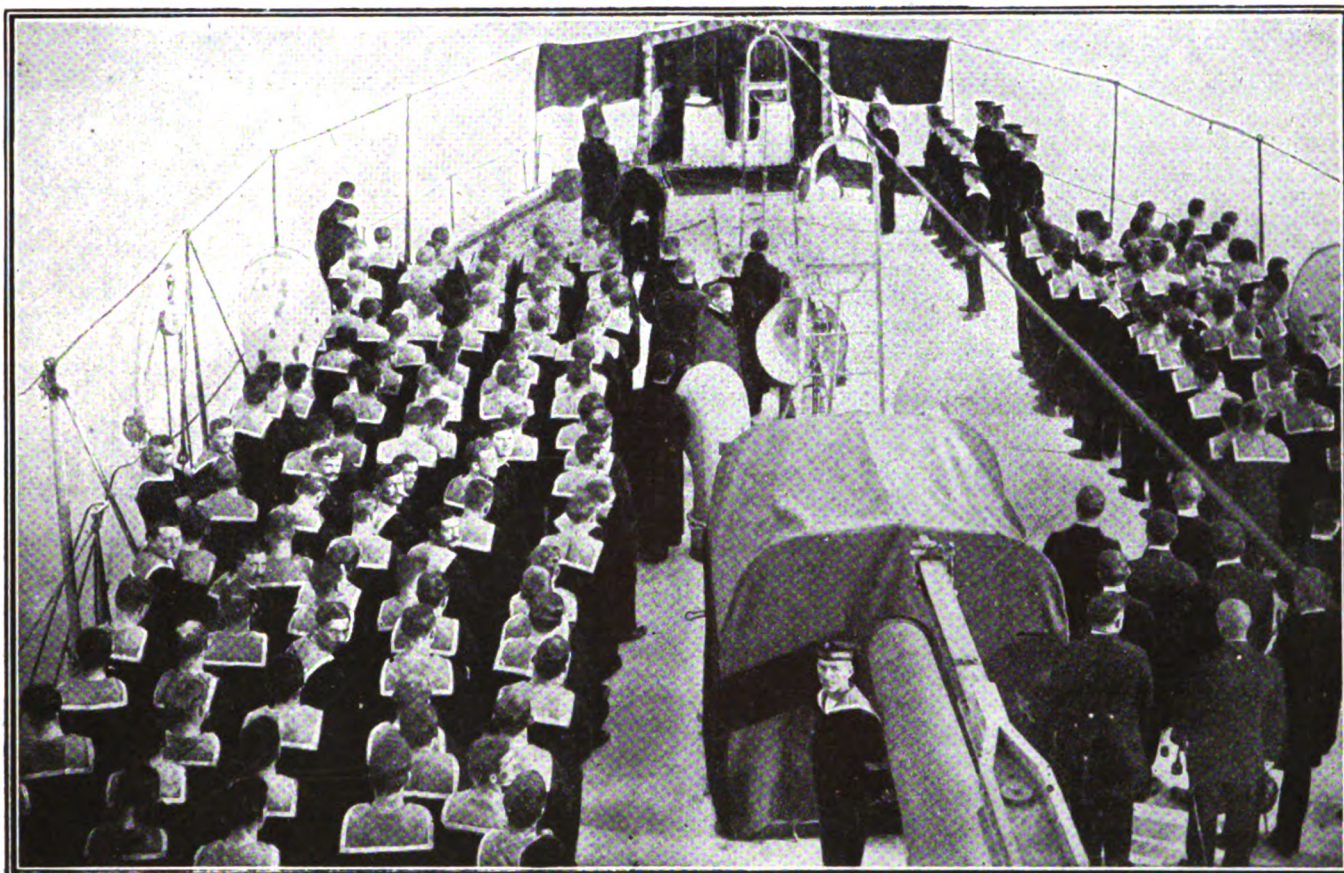
Obverse of the medal which was cynically struck in Germany to commemorate the unjustifiable sinking of the Lusitania, May 5th, 1915, with the legend "No Contraband."



On the reverse Death is figured issuing tickets to the passengers, whom a German is supposed to be warning of the risk they will run from submarines.

MEMORIAL OF A CROWNING INFAMY.





MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR FALLEN GERMANS HELD ON ONE OF THE KAISER'S WARSHIPS.

Officers and sailors on board a German warship who were engaged in taking part in a Memorial Service for their fallen countrymen. A goodly proportion of the men appear to have been more conscious of the contingency

of the camera than of the solemnity of the service at the time that the photograph was taken, judging by the number of heads that were turned round with an evident desire of being included in the picture.

This enthusiastic admirer of Admiral Essen, who rendered conspicuous service in the Russo-Japanese War, proceeded to give some indication of the methods of Admiral Essen in training the Fleet for war.

If a fleet cruises among rocks ten months in the year, the risk, of course, is considerable. I should rather think so! At times one sails alongside absolutely vertical walls. Or, suddenly, as happened recently, a twelve-foot rock is revealed in a spot where not a single pilot is aware that it exists. A reform of that kind cannot be effected without risks; and it was not deemed a crime to run risks. He knew that in the business of risk the exercise of superfluous severity might undermine the moral of any officer. You remember, one admiral was punished for having fired too soon, and another for having done so too late. Essen personally cruised among the rocks. Sometimes we simply dodged through a chink; and the presence of an experienced, universally-loved admiral, of course, did away with all hesitation on the part of the junior officers. The word "impossible" disappeared entirely; everything seemed possible. Essen loved to say that a wreck was reparable; the only thing irreparable was the decline of spirit in the Navy. As a result, of course, the Navy attained a very advantageous position. Here just now we are lying in the ice. If an urgent order should come, we can put out. We are allowed four hours to get up steam and another two or so for the muster. And right away—no matter how severe the cold, we go ahead—we begin to cut the surrounding ice like butter. Only a week ago in a temperature of twenty degrees a battleship came in and moored alongside us. Formerly no one would have believed that such a thing was possible. To me it would have seemed just as preposterous as to manoeuvre an army a million strong in a forty-seven-degree frost. But it proves to be possible.

The Russian Navy entered upon the war in the knowledge that it was associated with a force to which it was united by many ancient bonds. When Peter the Great determined to build a fleet for Russia he came to England to learn how ships should be constructed, and on returning to his dominions he took with him naval officers, seamen, and mechanics to assist him in his task. During subsequent years many other officers of the British Fleet joined the Russian Navy. Lord Duffus, Admiral Elphinstone, Admiral Francis Keith, Admiral Greig, Admiral Paddon, Captains William Baker, William Batting, John Deane, John Delap, Edward Lane, Robert Little, John Perry, Andrew

Simpson, Sir F. Thesiger, and John Waldron were a few of the many British officers who took service under the Russian naval ensign.

Many other Britons have served from time to time in the civil departments of the Russian Admiralty. Russia's conspicuous naval victory of the eighteenth century was gained by a force trained by British officers. The Russians had obtained command of the Baltic in the early half of the eighteenth century, and Catherine despatched a Russian squadron from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. It was nominally under the orders of Admiral Alexis Orloff; but it was joined in the Mediterranean by reinforcements under Admiral Elphinstone.

In July, 1770, an indecisive battle with the Turkish Fleet was fought in the Levant. At nightfall the Turks cut their cables and, in opposition to the wishes of the more experienced officers, ran into the Bay of Tchesmé, where, "huddled together like birds in a nest," they were blockaded by the Russians. At midnight on the following day four fire-ships, prepared by Admiral Elphinstone, were taken into the bay by Lieutenants Dugdale and Mackenzie, both trained in the British Fleet, the operation being covered by Commodore Greig with four ships of the line and two frigates. In a period of five hours the whole Turkish Fleet, with the exception of one 62-gun vessel and two galleys, had been destroyed.

In later years many other British officers were tempted to join the Russian Fleet, and Sir Samuel Greig, who became a rear-admiral after the Battle of Tchesmé, was eventually appointed Governor of Kronstadt. It is

not inappropriate to recall these incidents in the long association of the Russian and British Fleets, since the memory of the past was not without its influence on the course of events when the war-cloud burst in Europe in 1914, and Germany found herself confronted with an enemy in the Baltic and another yet more powerful enemy in the North Sea.

The Germans at once realised that these naval forces offered a threat to Berlin, the capital of the German Empire,



situated only just over one hundred miles from the Baltic shores. They remembered that the French had occupied their capital for over two years—1806-8—and that it had been held by Austrians and Russians successively during the Seven Years War. The Kiel Canal, so recently reopened, had alleviated Germany's difficulty, but had not removed it. The Fleet might try conclusions with the Russians, but any action, it was recognised, must result

**Germany in a dilemma**

in losses being incurred, and thus the Fleet would be weakened for the struggle in the North Sea. On the other hand, if battle were accepted in the North Sea, casualties might be sustained which would render the situation in the Baltic even more perilous than it was.

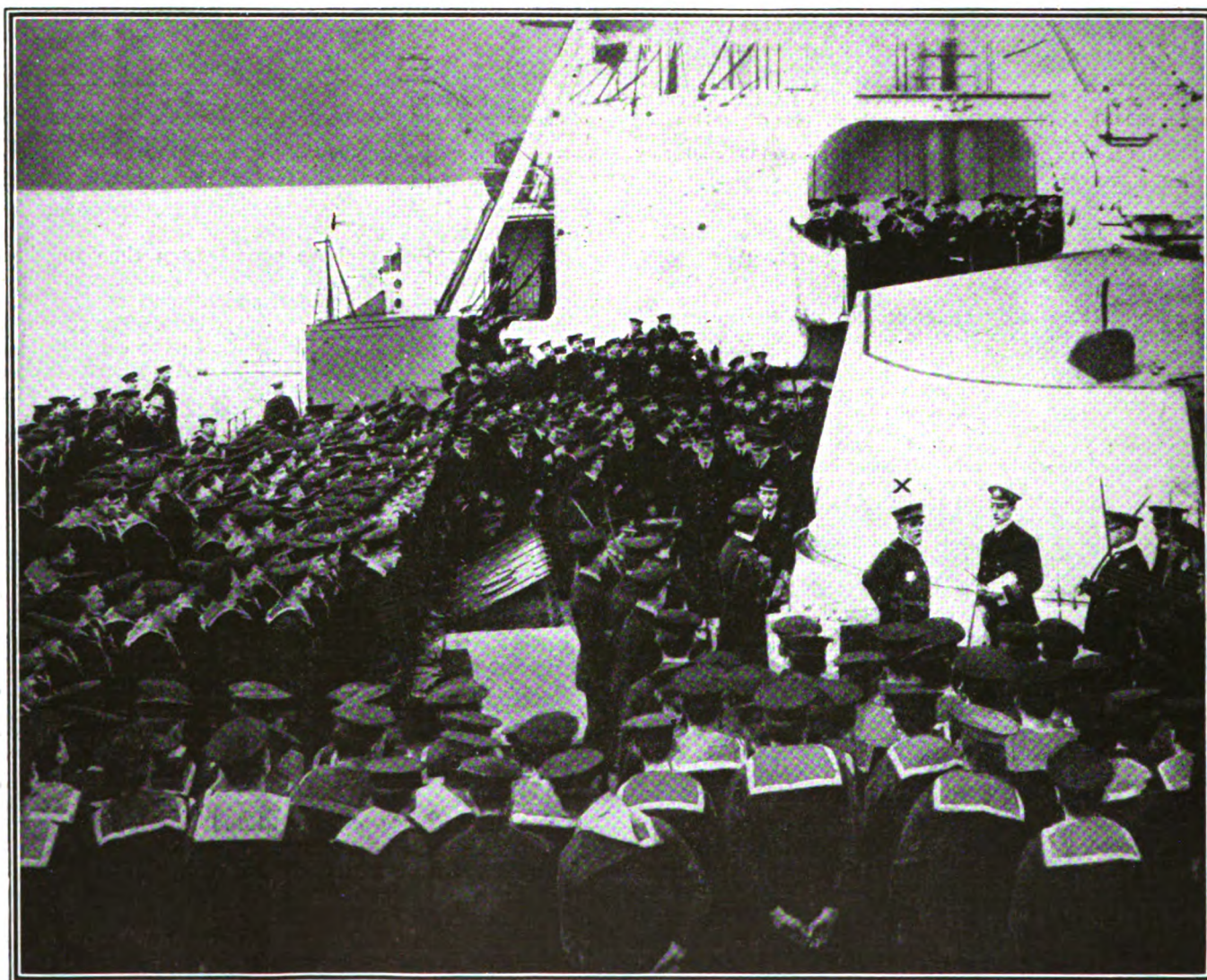
The Higher Command in Germany no doubt recalled the experiences of the Seven Years War, when Russian sea-power, supported by the Russian Army, forced Frederick the Great to make a peace which certainly did not accord with his early hopes. The course of events is not without interest in shedding light on the position which existed in 1914. At the period of the Seven Years War, Prussia possessed practically no fleet. The Tsaritzza Elizabeth had therefore no hesitation in sending a squadron of fifteen sail to blockade the Prussian ports and to bombard Memel, which surrendered to a land force under Fermor; but, after defeating Lewald at Gross Jägerdorf, the Russians recrossed

the Niemen. In 1758 Fermor again invaded Prussia, occupied Königsberg and laid siege to Kustrin, on the Oder, which was relieved by Frederick the Great in August. Defeated at Zorndorf, Fermor marched into Pomerania, where he failed to take Kolberg, which was needed as a port of supply.

In 1758 the Russians won the Battle of Zulichau and Kunersdorf, subsequently retiring to Poland for want of provisions. In 1760 a Russian fleet of twenty-seven vessels, under Admiral Mishukoff, with a land force of fifteen thousand men, failed in an attempt on Kolberg; but in October Berlin was bombarded and occupied for four days by a Russo-Austrian army, which retired on the approach of Frederick. In the following year a Russian fleet of forty sail, subsequently joined by a Swedish squadron, blockaded and bombarded Kolberg, which was at the same time besieged by land. On December 16th Kolberg fell, and a new line of sea supply was opened to the Russian armies. The death of Elizabeth occurred on January 5th, 1762, and saved Frederick the Great from the effects of the dual pressure by land and sea. Peter III. at once ceased hostilities.

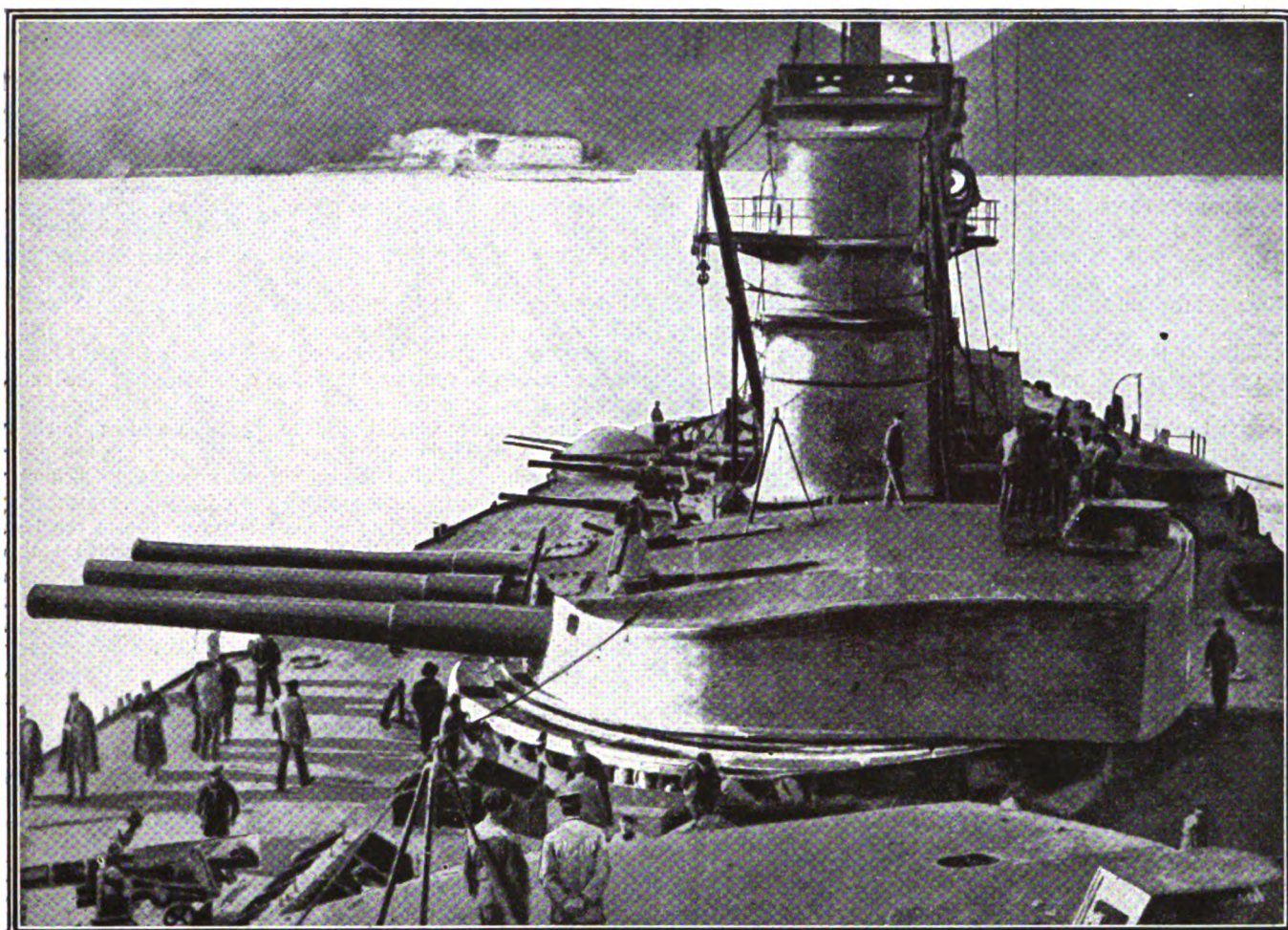
**The Seven Years War**

When the Great War began in 1914 the Germans were not unconscious of the danger threatening them in the Baltic. In preceding years defensive measures had been



FRENCH ADMIRAL DISTRIBUTING MEDALS TO MEN OF THE FIRST BRITISH BATTLE CRUISER SQUADRON. Vice-Admiral Guépratte, of the French Navy (marked x), on board a British battle-cruiser distributing honours awarded by the French Government. These honours were given to officers and men of the First Battle-Cruiser Squadron for the distinguished part which they had played in the defeat of the German Battle Fleet off the Jutland Bank on May 31st, 1916. It was this squadron which began the action at a range of 18,500 yards.





"CLEARED FOR ACTION": THE ITALIAN BATTLESHIP SAN MARCO IN THE ADRIATIC.

View of the guns on the Italian battleship San Marco, ready for any appearance of the enemy. Even as the German Navy remained "bottled up" in its home waters rather than face the British Grand Fleet in the

North Sea, so the Austrian Fleet kept in the shelter of its Adriatic ports rather than risk any meeting with the allied fleet—consisting of British, French, and Italian units—which patrolled the neighbouring waters.

taken along the coast; in particular, Kiel had been converted into one of the strongest fortified places in the world, and at other points heavy guns had been placed in order to guard the sea approach to Berlin. Shore artillery can always be employed with advantage against ships at sea, as the Dardanelles operations illustrated in 1915. Germany was also able to utilise to advantage her carefully developed mine-laying service.

In spite, however, of all precautionary measures, uneasiness was felt as to the position in the Baltic, and before the British Fleet had been mobilised the Germans had assumed the offensive. The first act of war in either of the theatres was the bombardment by the German cruiser Augsburg of the Russian port of Libau, which the Russians captured from Sweden in 1701 and definitely annexed towards the close of the eighteenth century. When the Tsar's Government devoted attention to the task of asserting Russian influence in the Baltic, this town, which had already acquired considerable importance, was converted into a naval base for two reasons. In the first place

#### Bombardment of Libau

it was ice-free and could be used in winter as well as in summer; and in the second place, situated in the Government of Courland, one hundred and forty-five miles by rail south-west of Riga, it offered a threat to Germany.

Before the war in the Far East led to the withdrawal of the major portion of the Baltic forces, it had been intended to make Libau the advanced base of Russia. The misfortunes which overtook the Russians during this campaign rendered it necessary to reconsider the situation in the Baltic, and the Russian Naval Staff came to the conclusion that since the retention of Libau would lead to a dispersion of the limited naval strength at their disposal the port,

menaced by the Germans by sea and by land, could not be defended. The bombardment of Libau was no doubt undertaken by the Germans in full knowledge of the decision to which the Russian naval authorities had come.

The action of the Augsburg was apparently merely a reconnaissance, and many weeks passed without any further development. No doubt in the meantime the Germans were busy making preparations for a determined attack. In November the town was again bombarded. A further interval then occurred, and on March 31st, 1915, German ships again appeared and opened fire. It subsequently became apparent that the naval forces of the enemy were awaiting the development of the campaign on land. It was only a matter of time when the port would have to be surrendered, and when it fell the position of Windau was menaced, and that port also eventually passed into the hands of the Germans.

#### From Windau to Riga

If the enemy was encouraged by these successes, he was soon to learn that when he threw himself against strategic points which the Russians were determined to defend, the experience would be far from pleasant. Libau having been seized and Windau occupied, the next objective of the German naval and military forces was the Gulf of Riga.

But the Russians, though their main fleet was concentrated in the Gulf of Finland, had determined to defend this portion of the coast at all costs. Riga, with its direct railway communication with Petrograd, was regarded as the side-door to the Russian capital, and events were to prove that, though our ally had determined not to risk the main fleet in its defence, adequate measures had been taken to prevent the Germans obtaining control of the port, even



after the army had advanced to the very outskirts of Riga and dominated a large part of the coastline.

In the early summer of 1915, the German scheme for mastering the Gulf, which had evidently been the subject of considerable thought, was put into operation. Throughout the first days of June the Germans nibbled at the Russian defences, hydroplanes and torpedo craft being employed. This reconnaissance in force was a failure, three of the enemy ships being damaged, if not sunk, by running into mine-fields which the Russians had laid.

#### Battles for the Gulf of Riga

Undeterred by this experience, the enemy returned to the assault early in July. The Russian cruisers Rurik, Makaroff, Bayan, Bogatyr, and Oleg were cruising between the Island of Oland and the Courland coast, when they sighted a light cruiser of the Augsburg class, a mine-layer, and three destroyers.

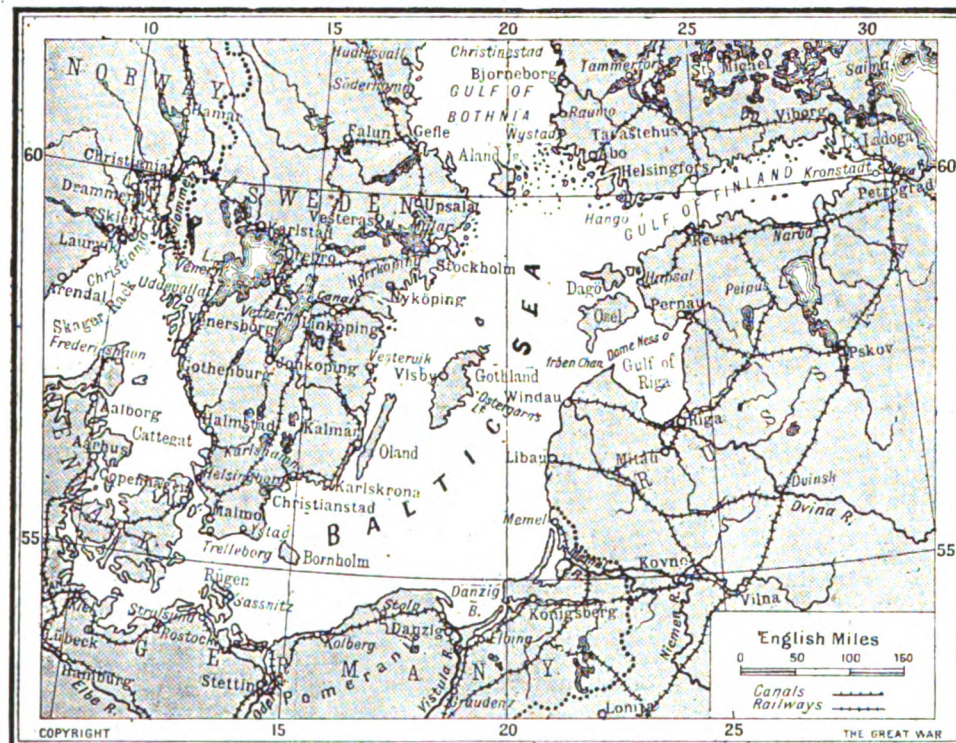
An action developed in circumstances unfavourable to the Russians, who were in superior strength. The sea, according to the Russian official account, was shrouded in a fog so dense that the ships frequently were swallowed up in darkness, and therefore the gun fire was inaccurate. The Russians, attempt-

hour later the enemy began to retreat, while several submarines attacked the Russians unsuccessfully. The Rurik was sent at full speed after the retreating vessels, which were joined by another cruiser of the Bremen class. The Rurik soon had the satisfaction of seeing the effect of her salvos, for the enemy's fire weakened. The Roon's four 8 in. guns were silenced, and fire broke out aboard. Obviously disliking further conflict, the enemy disappeared rapidly in the fog. The Russians sustained trifling damage. No one was killed; fourteen men were wounded. Shortly afterwards the Russians were attacked by torpedoes from submarines, but were protected by Russian torpedo-boats which arrived to reinforce them. One of the torpedo-boats was damaged in driving off the submarine attack.

In the meantime, mysterious submarines had made their appearance in Baltic waters, seriously threatening not only the German Fleet but communication between Germany and Sweden, from which country the enemy was obtaining large quantities of iron ore. Day by day reports reached Berlin of vessels being sunk at sea, indicating that the dangers threatening the German naval forces had been appreciably increased.

It soon, however, became apparent that the Higher Naval Command was dominated by the military authorities, who insisted that the control of the Gulf of Riga must be seized at all costs.

The correctness of these assumptions was demonstrated in August when, in spite of the losses already incurred, another and even more determined attack was opened. On August 10th a German force, consisting of nine older battleships, twelve cruisers, and a large number of torpedo-boat destroyers, attempted to break through the mine barrier protecting the Gulf of Riga. On the two previous days the enemy had made tentative attacks evidently intended to cover mine-sweeping operations off Rirben Channel, the only practicable means of approach to Riga. At last, on the 10th, it was determined to make a desperate movement, supported by all the available naval forces. The Russian Fleet operated behind the mine-field, and with the aid of seaplanes drove back the Germans, one cruiser and two torpedo-boat destroyers being damaged. The Germans denied that they had



GENERAL MAP OF THE BALTIC SEA. Early in the war Germany seized Libau and occupied Windau, and then made a determined but vain attack upon Riga, which has direct communication with Petrograd. Severe fighting took place in the Gulf of Riga and later in the Gulf of Finland.

ing to intercept the enemy's retreat, were attacked by the torpedo-boats, but were unharmed. In half an hour the Augsburg cruiser, finding the Russian fire too hot, abandoned her slower consort and fled full speed southward.

The Albatross, the German mine-layer, had begun to show signs of distress, and the torpedo-boats endeavoured to assist her escape, throwing volumes of thick black smoke out of their funnels, thus rendering the fog more dense, but at nine o'clock the foremast of the Albatross was shot away, clouds of steam arose, and the doomed ship began to list to the starboard. Hauling down her flag, she made for the coast. As she was badly damaged, and was entering neutral waters, the Russians ceased firing, and soon she was seen to go ashore behind Ostergarn's Lighthouse. The Russians then cruised northward. At ten o'clock they sighted a squadron of the enemy, including an armoured cruiser of the Roon class, a light cruiser of the Augsburg class, and four destroyers. The Russians immediately joined battle, and half an

suffered any loss, and claimed that the coastal batteries had been silenced and a cruiser of the Makaroff class damaged by gun fire. The German communiqué suggested that the operation had been crowned with success. That claim, however, was soon to be tested, for on August 16th the attack was resumed. Taking advantage of a thick fog, considerable enemy forces managed to penetrate into the Gulf. The Russian ships fell back, firing with effect.

#### Gallantry of the Sivoutch

The action was continued on subsequent days. During the fighting the gunboat Sivoutch added a glorious page to Russian naval annals. She was an obsolescent vessel of eight hundred and seventy-five tons, with a speed of twelve knots, and carried nothing more formidable than two 4.7 in. guns, supported by a quartette of 12-pounders and three machine-guns. This little vessel became engaged with an enemy cruiser. She was soon wrapped in flames, owing to fires which broke out fore and aft, but she continued to answer shot for shot, until at last she went

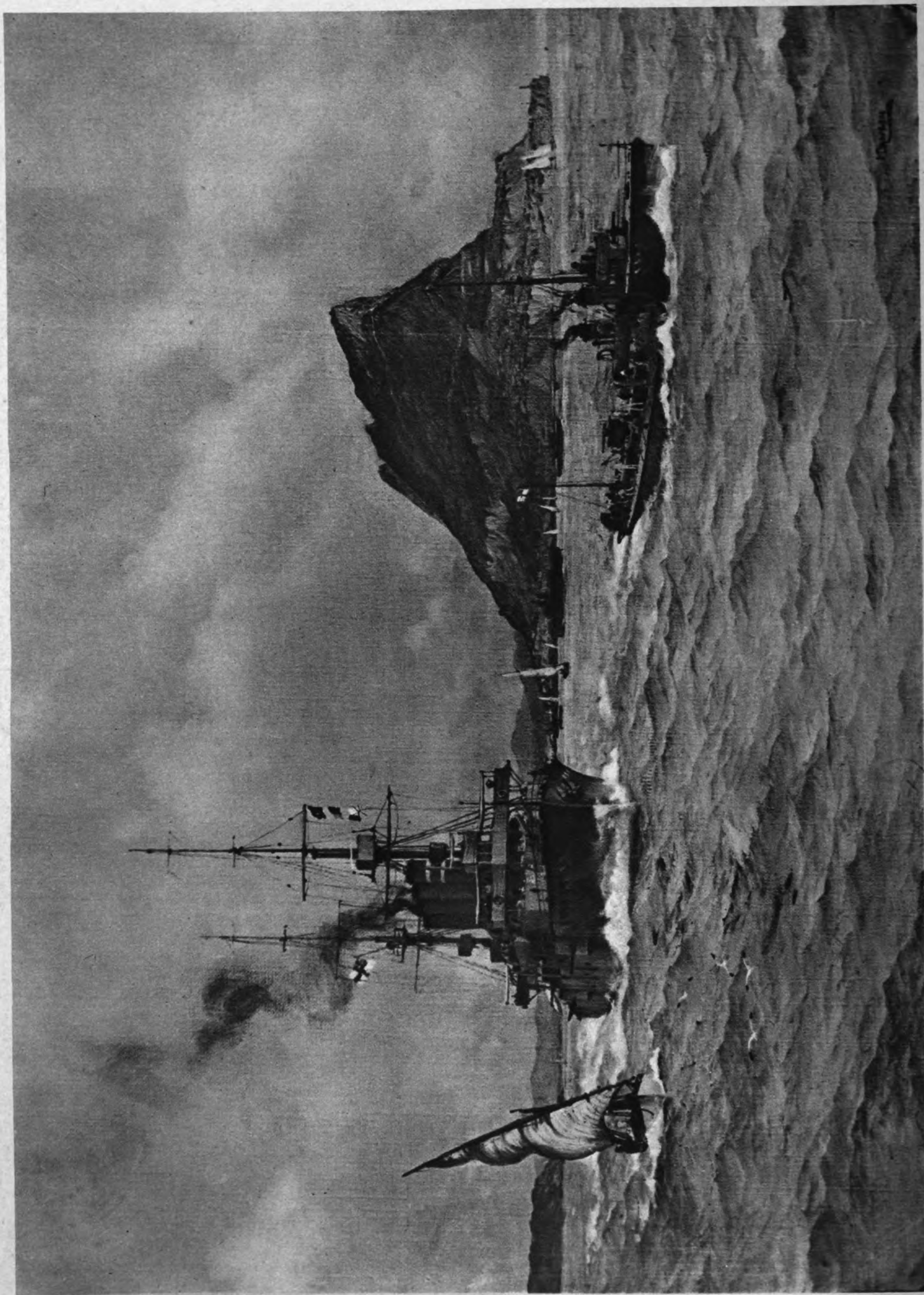




*Wind-jammers coming up Channel on a flowing sea and before a fast following wind.*

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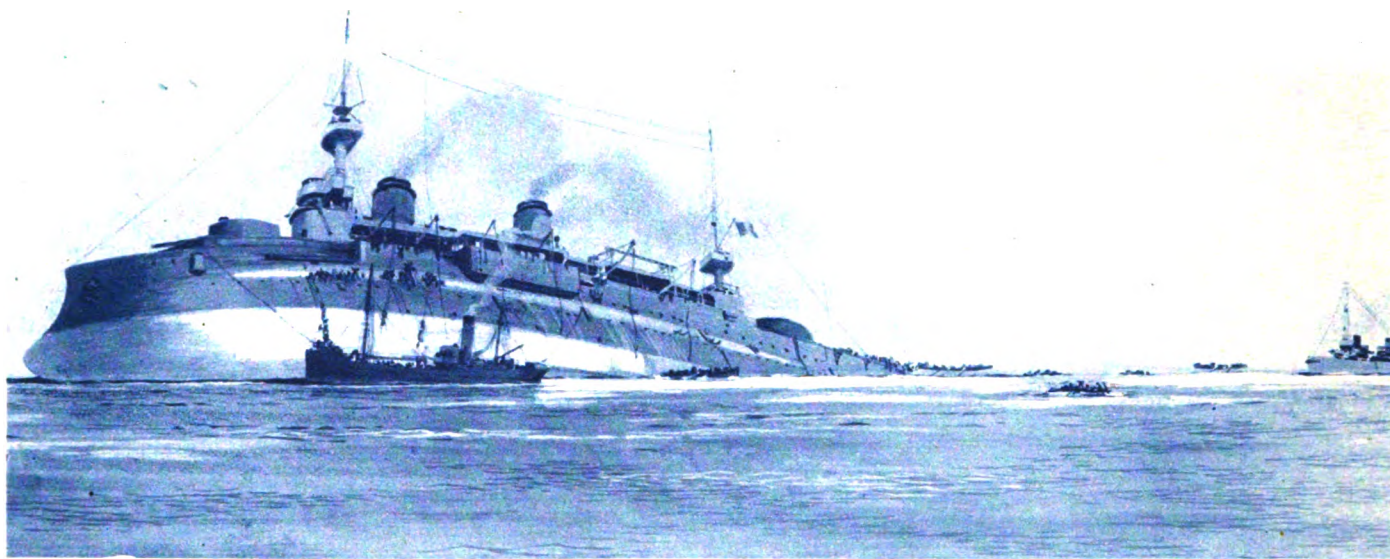
*Under the White Ensign: Battleships racing past the Rock of Gibraltar on waters dancing under a spanking breeze.*





*Under the Red Ensign: Merchantmen pursuing their lawful occasions under sail and steam along their broad highway.*





*Rescuing crew of French battleship Gaulois, torpedoed in Mediterranean, Dec. 26th, 1916.*



*As the Gaulois made her final plunge the rescued crew raised a cry of "Vive la France!"*



down, having previously sunk an enemy torpedo-boat which had intervened in the duel. On the 19th and 20th the engagement was continued with fine spirit by the Russians, and then on the succeeding day the Germans, having suffered heavy casualties, withdrew.

In the Duma the President was able to make the gratifying announcement that the enemy had lost three cruisers and seven torpedo-boats. Under cover of his men-of-war, he had made an attempt to land troops near Pernau, four shallow-draft barges of large size, crowded with troops, being employed. The Russian troops dealt successfully with this attempt to evade the action of the Russian Fleet, "the Germans being exterminated and the barges captured." Thus the whole operation proved a complete and costly fiasco. During the withdrawal of

**Commander Horton and the Moltke** the Germans the battle-cruiser Moltke, a new vessel of 22,640 tons, armed with ten 11 in. guns, besides twelve 5.9 in., and a

similar number of 3.4 in. quick-firers, was intercepted by a British submarine, under the orders of Commander Max Horton, who at that time was conducting a reign of terror in Baltic waters. His torpedo went home, but did not strike the Moltke in a vital spot, and she was able to return to port. This was Commander Horton's second considerable success in these waters. This officer, officially described as "a most enterprising submarine officer," had in July torpedoed the German pre-Dreadnought battleship Pommern.

Apart from the splendid fight of the Sivoutch, this action in the Gulf of Riga provided another dramatic incident. Among the Russian ships which it had been determined to risk in defending the Gulf was the battleship Slava, a pre-Dreadnought vessel of 13,566 tons, armed with four 12 in. and twelve 6 in. guns. Launched thirteen years before, her career as an effective unit of the Russian Fleet may well have been regarded as closed owing to the appearance of the Dreadnought type; but, nevertheless, on this occasion she was to give a good account of herself. The Germans made a dead set against this battleship, which was causing them great inconvenience. On the night of August 17th they sent two of their best destroyers to attack the Slava. Throughout the night these menacing craft endeavoured in vain to get within range of the battleship.

At last the effort was abandoned, and at dawn the destroyers were on their way to rejoin the main force when they encountered the Novik, one of the largest, swiftest, and best armed of the Russian mosquito fleet. The odds were in favour of the enemy, but nevertheless the Novik gave battle. For twenty minutes she maintained the desperate encounter. The leading destroyer had one of her funnels carried away and she suffered other serious damage. The second destroyer came to her assistance, but was driven off, and both ships were soon in ignominious retreat. One of them, it was reported, afterwards sank.

The Germans had again been foiled in their attempt to penetrate the Gulf of Riga and give support to the armies ashore. They had not hesitated to employ

**Russia dominates the Riga Gulf** large forces and to risk heavy casualties. They had been opposed by an inconsiderable and weak section of the Russian

Fleet. The main attack had been preceded, on the German admission, by "several days' difficult mine-sweeping and clearing away net obstructions." When this task had been completed the enemy had evidently concluded that the way had been opened to the domination of the Gulf. Events were soon to undeceive him. Though efforts were made from Berlin to minimise the losses incurred, it was admitted that "three of our torpedo-boats were damaged by mines. One of them sank, one was able to run ashore, and one was escorted to port." The enemy refused to admit the torpedoing of the Moltke at the time, but later on Commander Horton's claim was placed beyond doubt. For the time being the Germans had to admit that the Gulf was impregnable.

Three months later, however, they evidently contemplated another attack. A Russian naval force discovered that the Germans were showing activity at Dome Ness, the promontory forming the western extremity of the Gulf. They were taken completely by surprise by a Russian party which was quickly landed. These daring men, after killing many of the Germans and capturing many others, destroyed the lighthouse, signal stations, and other navigation marks, and removed the beacon and buoys on which the enemy had evidently determined to place reliance when undertaking a further operation in the Gulf. The coastline on either side of Dome Ness was also heavily shelled with good results. The German naval forces, if any were in the vicinity, made no effort to interrupt the operation.

It seemed probable that the enemy had withdrawn his fleet in view of the domination of the Baltic by British submarines and learnt too late of the Russian movement. At any rate, at the time that the Russians were busy on the Courland coast a British submarine intercepted a German Squadron, evidently on its way towards Dome Ness. The armoured cruiser Prinz Adalbert, a ship of 8,858



FRENCH SAILORS' HEROISM IN ATHENS.  
*[French official photograph.]*

French sailors being decorated for the bravery shown by them on December 1st and 2nd, 1916, when the Allies' forces in the Greek capital were treacherously attacked by King Constantine's troops, and many killed.

tons, launched at Kiel in 1901, was struck and almost immediately sank.

This incident illustrates the success with which British submarines in the Baltic co-operated with the Russians in defeating the enemy's plans. But these active British vessels rendered other assistance hardly less important. For some time they conducted an active and successful campaign against German merchant shipping carrying contraband of war from Sweden, and for weeks were able completely to interrupt navigation. One incident may be recalled as illustrative of the influence exerted by these small vessels. Thirteen German merchantmen, under convoy of the auxiliary cruiser Hirman, three torpedo-boats, and a number of armed trawlers, were proceeding towards Germany when at midnight they were thrown into confusion by the appearance of a Russian destroyer flotilla supported by a number of submarines. The Germans were taken completely by surprise, confusion prevailed, the convoy dispersed, and the merchantmen fled towards the Swedish coast. The encounter was short and sharp. The Hirman was torpedoed, only the



commander and thirty of the crew being saved; several of the trawlers were disabled; and four or five of the convoy were sunk, the rest taking shelter in Swedish territorial waters.

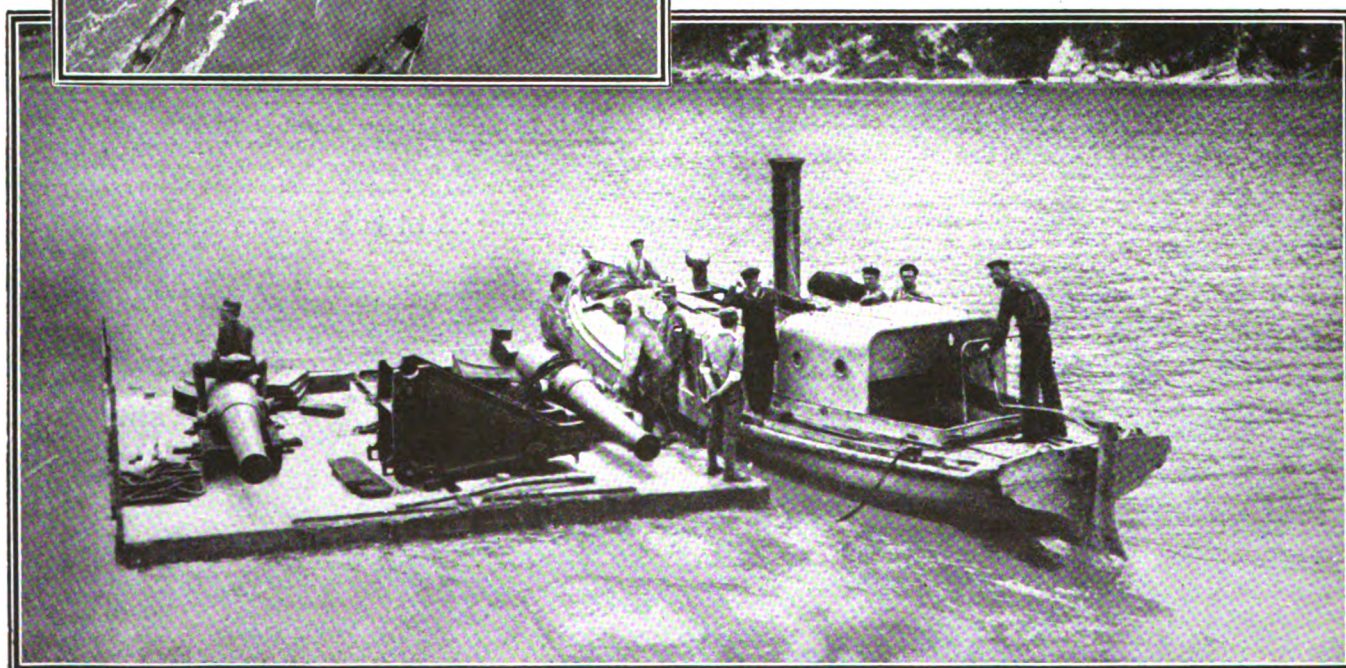
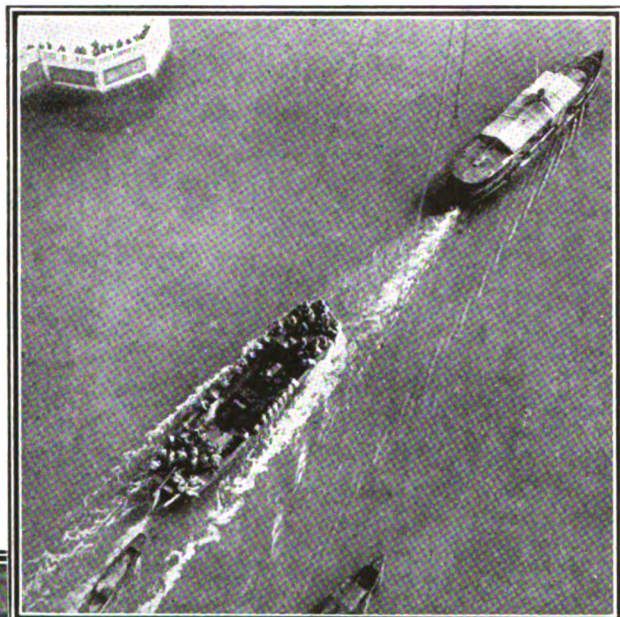
The Germans were driven to the conclusion, by the sequence of unfortunate experiences in and about the Gulf of Riga, that the operation of seizing this strategic point was one which they could not compass. If, as there is reason to believe, the German naval authorities had throughout acted under the peremptory orders of the Higher Army Command, they had at last to confess to the soldiers that the proposition was not practicable. At any rate, the Gulf of Riga continued to be dominated by the Russian naval forces; Russian ships operated freely, bombarding the western shores to which the German Army held in grim desperation, hoping that in time the German Fleet would come to its rescue. Russian aircraft also assisted materially in increasing the discomfort of the enemy.

The success of the Russians in these operations was a bitter disappointment to the Germans. A correspondent in Petrograd, reflecting the views held by the highest naval authorities, pointed out, after the failure of the enemy, that the success achieved in the defence of the Gulf was ascribed

in the main to the experience which had been gained in recent years. The Russians before the opening of the war had come to the conclusion that the holding of the Riga Gulf was essential to the defence of the Gulf of Finland, the headquarters of the main Russian forces. "The Gulf of Finland is regarded as safe so long as the Gulf of Riga remains in Russian possession. The Gulf of Finland on its northern side is fringed with reefs, a well-defined passage exists between these reefs, and Russian naval defence of the Finland Gulf counts largely on using this inside passageway where the depth of water is sufficient for large vessels. Aside from the Finnish reef passage, the waters of the Gulf of Finland are open and there is no block before Petrograd short of Kronstadt."

The Germans at length came to the conclusion that if the Gulf of Riga could not be seized, an effort might be made to pierce the Gulf of Finland. It was apparently conjectured that this operation, if successful, would have a double effect. In the first place, the attack would be upon the main Russian forces and might result in heavy casualties being inflicted, thus reducing the menace offered to German operations in the Baltic. In the second place, it was assumed that any operation in the Gulf of Finland—the gateway to Petrograd—would produce a moral effect on the Russian forces holding the other waterway. In these circumstances an attack by comparatively small forces was made upon the Gulf of Finland, but it was repulsed by the Russians with ease.

During these months of war no first-class event occurred, it is true, in the Baltic. But in the encounters between the Russian and German naval forces the enemy suffered not only material, but moral loss. Reference has been made already to the sinking of the battleship Pommern and the armoured cruiser Prinz Adalbert, and the torpedoing of the battle-cruiser Moltke. But those casualties did not exhaust the list. The armoured cruiser Friedrich Karl was lost in the Baltic towards the close of 1914; the protected cruiser Augsburg was sunk by gun fire, together with the somewhat larger ship Magdeburg, and the smaller cruisers Undine and Bremen fell prey to British submarines. It is thus apparent that during the first thirty months of the war the Russian naval forces rendered no mean aid to the Allies.

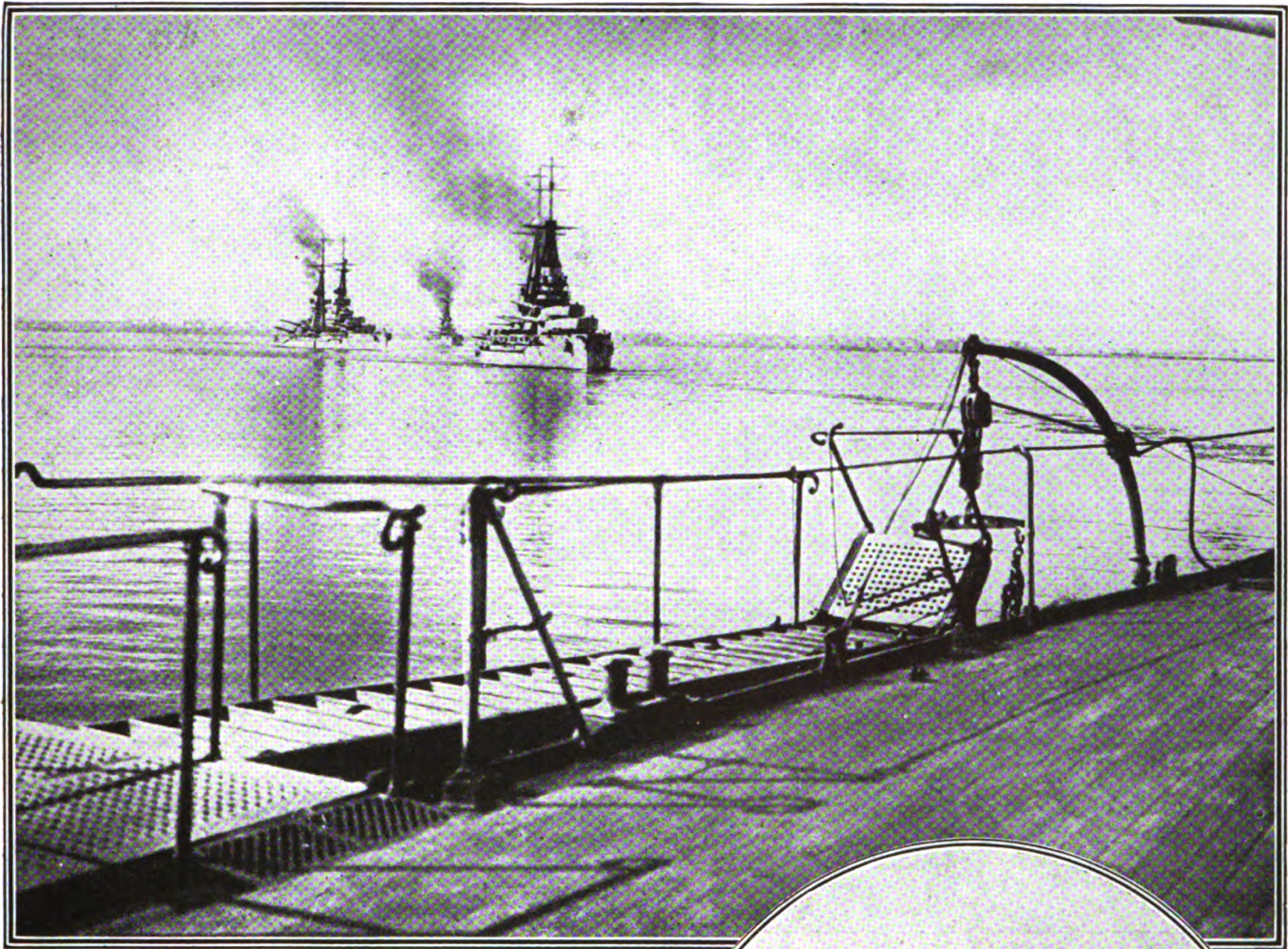


WHERE THE ITALIAN NAVY KEPT WATCH ON THE ADRIATIC.

Towing Italian naval guns ashore aboard a substantial raft to a Mediterranean island. Lashed alongside a steam-cutter the raft, with its weighty burden, was taken safely to its position. Above: View from an

Italian observation-balloon of the boats to which it was roped. The rapidity with which these balloons could be moved is well suggested by the cut-water waves and the foaming wake formed by the towing boats.





ITALIAN SQUADRON IN THE GULF OF TARANTO.

Three warships of the Italian Navy as seen from the deck of a sister ship. The Italian Fleet had a considerable share in holding the Austrian Navy inactive in its harbours during a great part of the war.

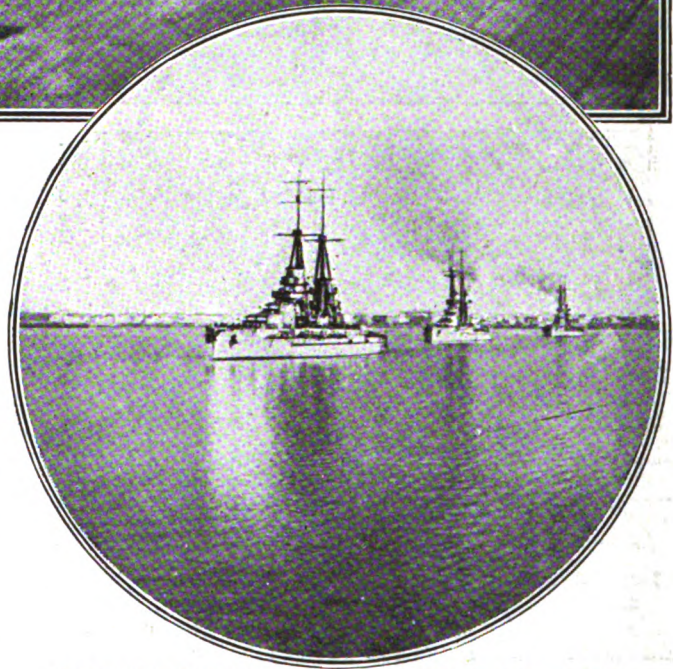
When hostilities opened the Germans assumed that they could adopt the defensive in the North Sea while taking the offensive in the Baltic. They reached the conclusion that the Navy and Army in co-operation could seize the Gulf of Riga, and that then the German military forces, resting on the sea for supplies, would be able to push on to Petrograd, separated from the Baltic coast by only three hundred and sixty-six miles. The Russian naval and military authorities were well aware of the plans entertained by the enemy, and were well prepared. As Admiral Kanin remarked, "The fundamental strategic picture is amply clear. The Baltic Fleet is a continuation of the extreme flank of the Army; the task of the Fleet is, as far as possible, to support the movements of the Army,

German Navy  
definitely weakened

supporting it against envelopment by the German Fleet." He endorsed the suggestion that the two turning points in the war had been the Battle of the Marne and

the successful defence of the Gulf of Riga. "Paris was saved on the Marne, while in the Riga Gulf the struggle for the approach to Petrograd terminated in our favour. It is impossible to deny this. What would be the situation of the Army if the Germans now occupied Riga and the entire Gulf of Riga? Look at the map" (he added to his interviewer) "and you will understand for yourself."

In short, the Russians in their operations in the Baltic not only reaffirmed the safety of Petrograd, but they administered to the Germans a series of repulses which had a significant influence on the course of events in the other theatres of naval war. The enemy was definitely weakened for operations elsewhere by the determined, resourceful, and courageous work of the Russian Fleet in this inland waterway, where its operations were splendidly supported by daring British officers in command of a number of submarines.



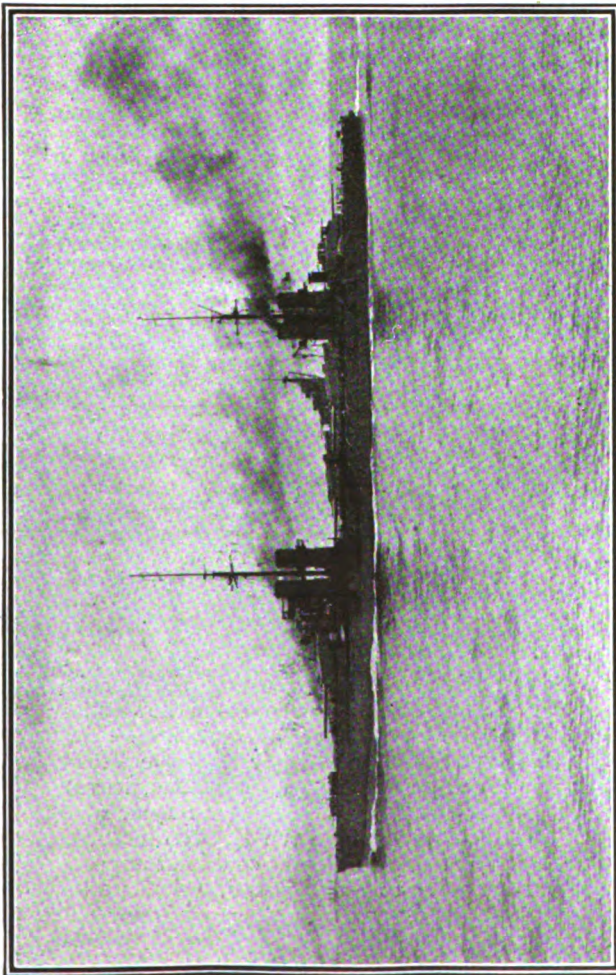
BATTLESHIPS OF ITALY'S NAVY READY FOR ACTION.

Part of an Italian squadron off Taranto. The Gulf of Taranto has been one of the world's famous naval harbours since the ancient days when the town of Taranto was the Tarentum of the Romans.

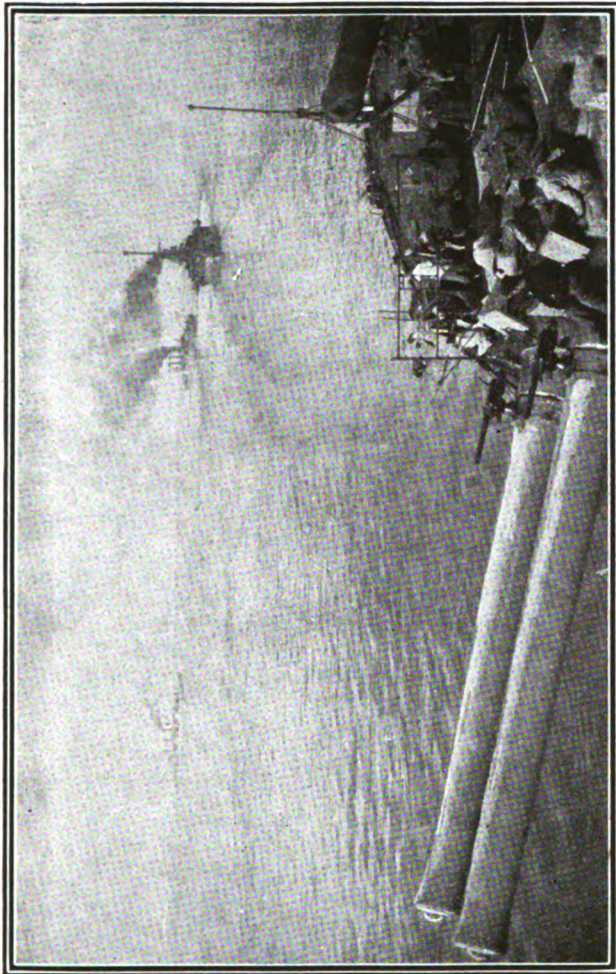
## II.—In Southern Waters.

During the years immediately preceding the opening of the Great War the fate of British interests in the Mediterranean was often the subject of discussion. Britons remembered that during the Napoleonic War the British Fleet had been obliged to evacuate these waters, leaving the enemy at least in nominal command. In 1796, when Nelson received his orders to leave the Mediterranean, he declared that it was a measure which he could not approve. "Much as I shall rejoice to see England, I lament our present order in sackcloth and ashes, so dishonourable to the dignity of England, whose fleets are equal to meet the world in arms." Would the British Fleet have to

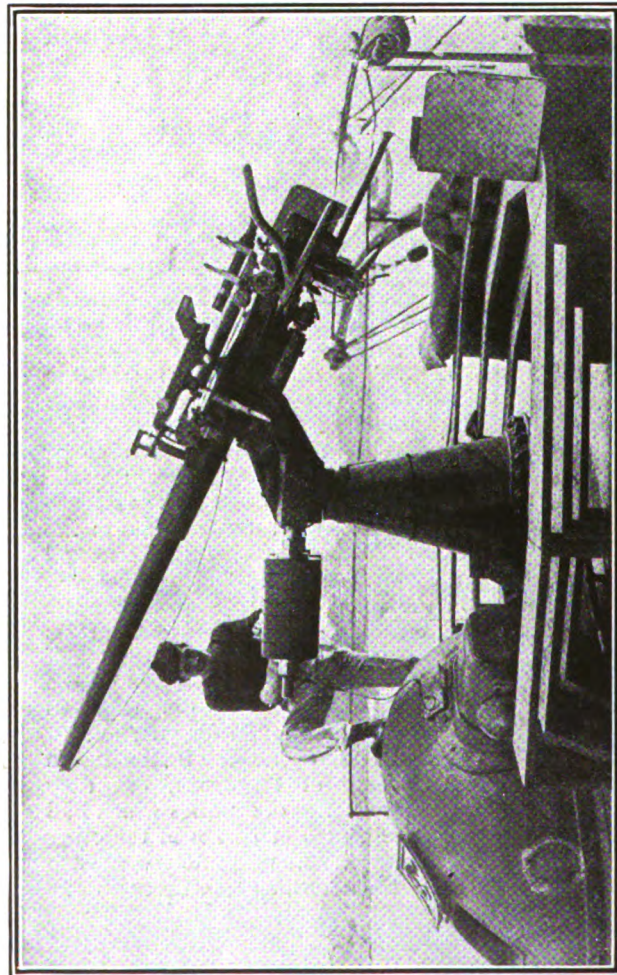




Italian Dreadnought, the Dante Alighieri. This was the first ship of the Dreadnought type to be built for the Italian Navy, having been laid down in June, 1909, and completed during 1912. She carried a complement of nine hundred men, and had a displacement of 18,400 tons.

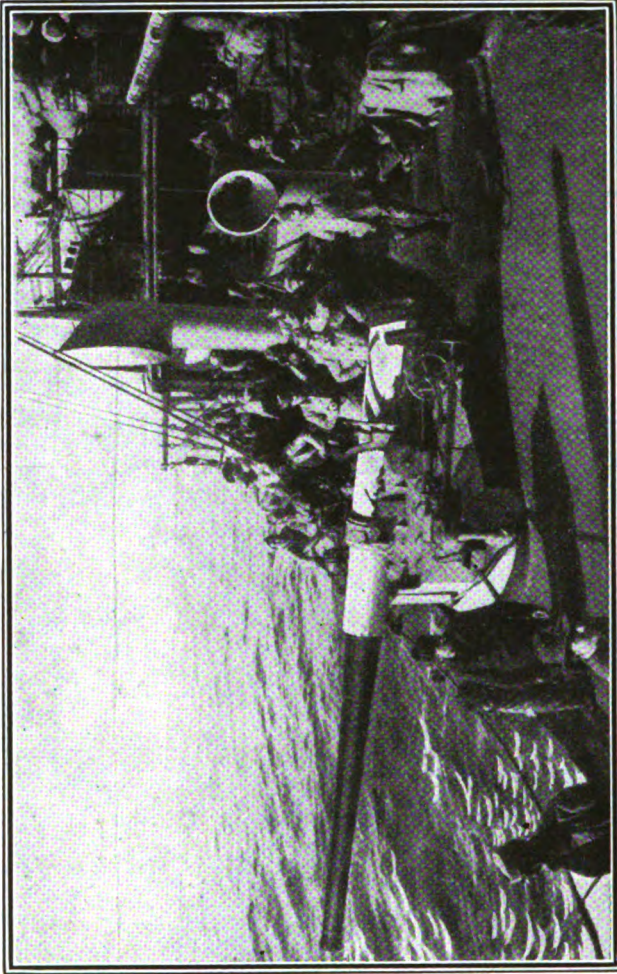


Battleships of the Italian Navy, Pisa class. The Pisa was laid down in February, 1905, and completed in January, 1909. Ships of this class were of little more than 10,000 tons, and carried a complement of five hundred and fifty men. Their armament was thirty guns, including four 10 in.



Anti-aircraft gun on board a French warship in the Mediterranean. These guns were kept ever ready against any appearance of enemy aircraft. The French Navy played an important part in policing the Mediterranean during the early part of the war, and in holding the seas against the Central Powers.

[French official photograph.]



On board a French transport bound for the East. The gun in the foreground was in readiness for submarines. Only underwater craft of the enemy dared appear in the open waters of the Mediterranean, the Austrian Navy, like that of its German ally, long keeping to the inglorious security of its harbours.

#### SHIPS OF THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN NAVIES THAT TOOK PART IN THE POLICING OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA.



withdraw once more? That was the question which men discussed as they watched the rapid development of the navies of the Triple Alliance.

The activity of the Germans in northern waters was reflected in the Adriatic, where Austria-Hungary was busy creating a considerable fleet. The Italian shipyards were also fully occupied in turning out new battleships, cruisers, and mosquito craft. It was common knowledge that no love was lost between the Italians and the Austrians; but, on the other hand, might not Germany by superior power compel Italy to join her unfriendly neighbour? The British naval authorities were not asleep during those years of preparation. An agreement was reached with the French, enabling ships to be withdrawn from the Mediterranean to strengthen the concentration in the North Sea.

In the early years of the century the British fleet in the Mediterranean had embraced twelve battleships, two coast defence ships, thirteen cruisers (large and small), three torpedo-gunboats, and twenty-one destroyers. It was the largest aggregation of naval power ever assembled. In August, 1914, when the war-cloud burst, the White Ensign was represented in the Midland Sea by three battle-cruisers—the Inflexible, Indefatigable, and Indomitable—four armoured cruisers, a similar number of light cruisers, and sixteen destroyers. Fortunately, in the meantime a great accession of French strength had occurred under the impulse of a growing popular movement in France in favour of naval expansion.

A Continental country under democratic rule and with a large Army, appealing to the eye, to support is always at a disadvantage in carrying out its preparations for naval war. On an average the Second Republic had had about one Minister of Marine every year during its existence. Each Minister had brought to his duties ideas of his own, the consequence being that French naval policy often swayed from one extreme to the other; occasionally attention was concentrated on battleships, and then, again,

the battle squadrons were neglected and the money spent upon cruisers and small craft.

During the early years of this century the pendulum swung in favour of battleships, with the result that when war broke out France was strong in ships of the line, but very weak in cruisers. She was able to mobilise four Jean Barts of 23,000 tons, six Dantons of 18,400 tons, and five Patries of 15,000 tons, besides six older battleships. These vessels constituted an imposing battle fleet, but, unfortunately, they were inadequately supported by cruisers. The defect, we may be sure, was not due to any failure on the part of the expert authorities of France, but was traceable to the effect of uninstructed dictation of naval policy by the politician. The main fleet had associated with it seven large armoured cruisers, but only three light cruisers, and these vessels were long past their highest efficiency.

Owing to this defect the French Fleet was "blind," and it was in consequence of that condition that the British naval authorities had assigned to the Mediterranean ships of the cruiser classes. In combination, the Franco-British force represented a well-balanced fleet, far superior in strength to that under the Austro-Hungarian flag.

Down to the day of his death the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Emperor Francis Joseph, had enthusiastically supported the naval movement in Austria-Hungary. It was known that the plans were prepared in consultation with the German naval authorities. The shipyards on the Adriatic had been developed on modern lines. Year by year additional battleships and cruisers had been sent to sea, as fine vessels as were to be found in any fleet in the world. In August, 1914, three Dreadnoughts of 20,000 tons displacement had been completed and another one was almost ready to be commissioned. In addition, the Navy included three powerful battleships of just over 14,000 tons, somewhat resembling the British Lord Nelson type, and mounting four 12 in. and eight 9·4 in. guns.

The Fleet also included three older battleships of 10,430



[Henri Manuel.]

VICE-ADMIRAL BOUE DE LAPEYRÈRE.

Vice-Admiral de Lapeyrère, of the French Navy, awarded the Hon. K.C.B. (Military Division) for distinguished services during the Dardanelles campaign.



[Russell.]

VICE-ADMIRAL E. C. T. TROUBRIDGE. Admiral Troubridge, who was leader of the Naval Mission to Serbia in 1915, received the Order of Kara George with Swords, 1915.



[Lafayette.]

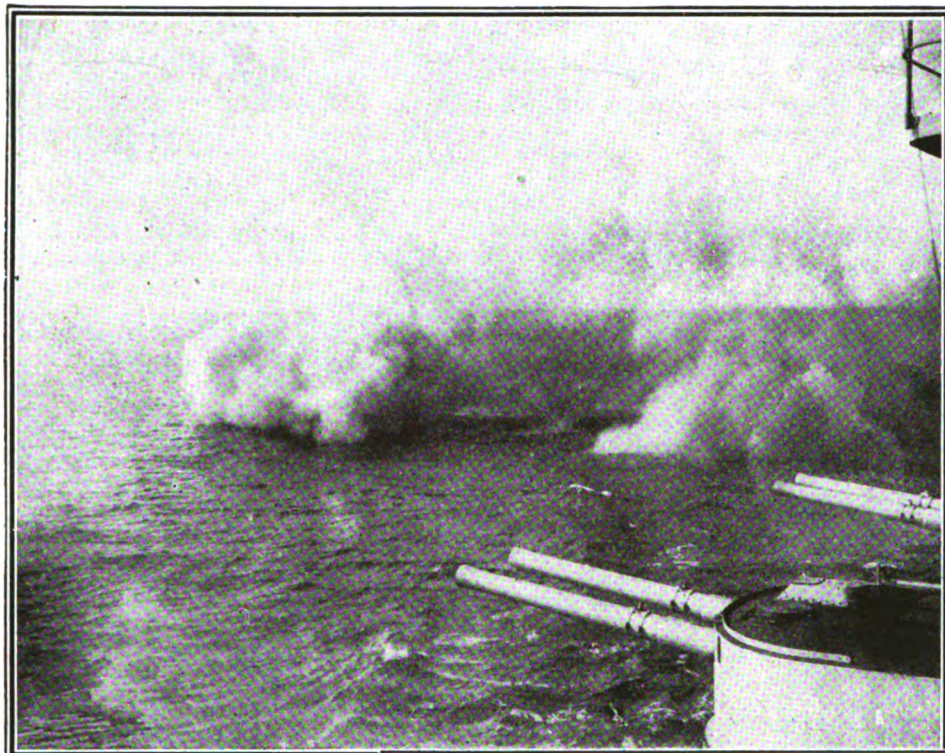
ADMIRAL SIR A. BERKELEY MILNE. Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean from June, 1912, to August, 1914, when he was nominated Commander-in-Chief at the Nore.



[Russell.]

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR G. WARRENDER. Sir George Warrender commanded the 2nd Battle Squadron, 1912-16. Appointed Commander-in-Chief at Plymouth, March, 1916.

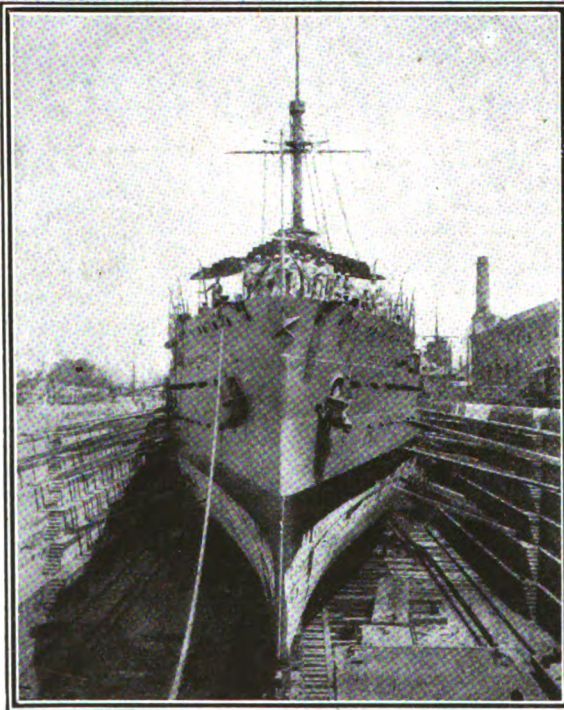




GUNS OF THE SAN MARCO.  
Firing the 7.5 in. guns on board the Italian battleship San Marco. This ship, of the San Giorgio class, was completed in 1910.

tons, carrying four 9.4 in. and twelve 7.6 in. guns each. Austria was thus able to concentrate nine battleships, three of them being Dreadnoughts, and, as a reserve, she possessed six obsolescent and small battleships, useful only for purposes of coast defence. It was a fortunate circumstance that the Austro-Hungarian Fleet was also in the position of a fighting man without the normal complement of eyes. Apart from two old ships of little value, Austria-Hungary possessed only one armoured cruiser, the *St. George*, and of efficient light cruisers for scouting purposes she owned only half a dozen. She was also weak in torpedo craft. In short, the Austro-Hungarian Navy was in no condition to try conclusions with the Franco-British forces.

There was, however, always the possibility that a surprise movement might be attempted in the knowledge that during the early period of the war the British and French admirals would be subject to demands of an embarrassing character. This possibility was accentuated by the presence in southern waters of the German battle-cruiser *Goeben*, accompanied by the light cruiser *Breslau*. These two ships had been moved by the Germans from northern waters to the Mediterranean during the Balkan trouble, which had occurred two years before the outbreak of war. It was at first thought that after the peace, which Sir Edward Grey, by conciliatory methods, managed to arrange, these vessels would be ordered back to the Baltic. On the contrary, they remained cruising in the Mediterranean, a source of suspicion and doubt to the Entente Powers.



ITALIAN DREADNOUGHT IN DRY-DOCK.  
Italian Dreadnought, Dante Alighieri, in dry-dock. This vessel was laid down in 1909, and completed three years later.

German admiral intending to convey the impression that he was about to steam for the Adriatic, whereas, in company with the storeship *General*, he purposed endeavouring to reach the Dardanelles and to bring Turkey into the war as an ally of the Central Powers. He first made for Messina to complete his preparations. The order which was issued by Admiral Souchon at mid-day on August 6th, on the eve of sailing from Messina, has since been published. It was in the following terms:

**The Goeben  
and Breslau**

News about the enemy is uncertain. I presume his strength lies in the Adriatic and that he is watching both exits of the Mediterranean.

Had the Germans committed an error, and been forced to leave these ships to their fate, or did they form the basis of some secret scheme which had been confided to Vice-Admiral Souchon, who flew his flag in the *Goeben*, with Captain von Müller, late naval attaché in London, as commanding officer? Of all attachés ever accredited to the Court of St. James's, this officer—who is not to be confused with the famous captain of the *Emden* of the same name—was probably the most polished in manner and possessed the most perfect command of English.

When war became inevitable, the British and French admirals had other things to think of besides the presence in the Mediterranean of these two ships. The French military authorities urged that convoy must be provided for the Nineteenth Army Corps, quartered in Algeria and Tunis, and urgently required for the defence of France; the British military authorities were not less insistent that the 7th Division of the British Army, distributed between Gibraltar, Malta, and Egypt, should also receive a safe conduct home. At the same time the two admirals were aware that the Mediterranean constituted the lifeline of the British Empire, and that in the course of a few weeks Indian troopships would be passing, taking home to England the 65,000 white troops whom Lord Kitchener had decided to replace with Territorials.

At the moment when the plans for using the Mediterranean for military purposes were being completed, the two German ships gave evidence of their presence. Admiral Souchon had in the meantime been in wireless communication with Berlin, and on August 3rd—that is, the day before the British declaration of war—and at the moment when the French and British troops in and about the Mediterranean were preparing to embark, they put to sea from Messina and proceeded to bombard the Algerian coast. It was only a demonstration, and the ships doubled back at once, the





ITALIAN MINE-LAYER SOWING A MINE-FIELD IN SOUTHERN EUROPEAN WATERS.

When Italy came into the war, on May 23rd, 1915, an arrangement was made whereby her Navy became responsible in the main for preventing the enemy from interfering with communications in the Mediterranean.

It was so successful in this work that it practically closed the Adriatic to enemy use and reduced the by no means inconsiderable Austrian naval forces to a condition of compulsory and inglorious inactivity.



Object: To break through to the east and reach the Dardanelles.  
Order of Going: Goeben leaves at five o'clock at seventeen miles an hour; Breslau follows at a distance of five miles and closes it up at darkness.

I want to create the impression that we are wanting to go to the Adriatic, and in case I so succeed in creating that impression that we are wanting to go to the Adriatic, we shall veer round in the night and make for Cape Matapan, if possible throwing off the enemy.

The steamer General to leave at seven o'clock in the evening, to keep along the Sicilian coast, and to try and reach Santorin. Should she be captured, to try and let me know by wireless. If she receives no further orders from me to ask for them at Loreley (Constantinople station ship).

The responsibility of dealing with these two ships and preventing the German admiral from carrying his plan into effect devolved upon the British Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Sir Archibald Berkeley Milne, with whom was associated Rear-Admiral Troubridge.

The British force, in overwhelming strength, tracked the Germans down to Messina, but failed to bring them to action, though the light cruiser Gloucester put up a plucky fight

Fleet to war pitch. The success of Admiral de Lapeyrère in the months which followed his assumption of responsibility for the defence of allied interests in southern waters is attested, not by a successful battle, but by the very fact that during that period the Austro-Hungarian Fleet lay concealed in its ports, strongly defended by shore guns and mine-fields.

The conditions closely resembled those existing in the North Sea, in that the enemy feared to put his hopes to the venture. Nothing is more irritating to active-minded seamen than a long period of anxious waiting, but the French Fleet supported the test with splendid spirit. The months passed in unbroken silence. When the Dardanelles operations were undertaken our ally was in a position to provide ships to co-operate with the British men-of-war, and paid the price uncompromisingly. That, however, is another story, details of which may be read elsewhere. Our purpose is to deal with the broad issues and to indicate the results which flowed from the success of the Franco-British forces in the Mediterranean in the early and anxious months of the war.

#### Success in the Mediterranean

During that period the Mediterranean was thronged with transports, some proceeding from the west to the east, and others from the east to the west. The loss of a single one of these ships at that stage in the war would not merely have represented a material disaster, but would have had unfortunate psychological results. Happily, no untoward event occurred to mar the success which attended the movement of troops by a long sea route on a scale never before contemplated by any Power during a general war in Europe.

At last, on May 23rd, 1915, Italy declared war upon Austria, and the balance of power against the enemy was further increased. Italy brought into action a Navy stronger than that of Austria-Hungary. It comprised four Dreadnoughts completed, and two more in an advanced stage of construction. She also possessed eight older battleships, nine armoured cruisers, ten light cruisers, over a score of destroyers and a large number of torpedo-boats and submarines. An agreement was reached under which the Italian Navy became responsible, in the main, for preventing the enemy interfering with communications in the Mediterranean, and thus the work which had hitherto devolved upon the French Navy was appreciably reduced.

Unfortunately the Italians suffered from two disadvantages. In the first place they were weak in scouting ships, in comparison with the area of operations; and in the second place they possessed no serviceable harbours in the Adriatic. On the other hand, the Austrians were soon to show that they were able to reap all the benefit flowing from the possession of such well-protected deep-water ports as Pola, Trieste, Cattaro, and Fiume. The Austrian shore is indented with other small ports of great utility as bases for torpedo operations, and is fringed with islands.

Immediately war was declared the Austrians showed that they realised that they possessed considerable geographical advantages, and undertook a raid on the Italian coast in which a number of battleships and other vessels took part. A large part of the enemy Fleet, in fact, put to sea, aeroplanes acting as scouts and also assisting in efforts to damage the Italian towns and villages. In order to appreciate subsequent events, it may be recalled that a statement was issued from Vienna in which the character of this operation was described and the points of attack indicated: (1) Venice, fourteen bombs dropped from aeroplanes; (2) Porto Corsini Canal raided by destroyer Scharfschütze, supported by cruiser Navara and a torpedo-boat; (3) Rimini bombarded by armoured cruiser St. George; (4) Sinigaglia bombarded by battleship Zrinyi; (5) Ancona bombarded by several ships; (6) Charavelle balloon shed attacked by aeroplanes; (7) Potenza River railway bridge bombarded by battleship

#### Austria's early naval activity



THE KAISER WILHELM (KIEL) CANAL.  
This waterway between Kiel on the Baltic and Brunsbüttel on the Elbe was opened in 1895. Widened and deepened to take ships of 18,000 tons (nominal), the reconstructed canal was opened in June, 1914.

against them as they proceeded at full speed towards the Dardanelles. An inquiry was subsequently held as to this unfortunate incident, and the Commander-in-Chief was exonerated. Admiral Troubridge then made a claim for a court-martial, and he also was held to be blameless; so apparently no one was in fault. But, at any rate, the German ships succeeded in getting through the Dardanelles unmolested, and their presence off Constantinople decided Turkey's course, that country declaring war on November 5th, 1914.

Thus hostilities in the Mediterranean opened unfavourably, but, at the same time, the escape of the Goeben and Breslau tended to free the situation from all complications. The British naval authorities felt themselves justified in withdrawing the battle-cruisers, and when Admiral Milne returned home, responsibility for naval affairs in the Mediterranean devolved upon Vice-Admiral Boué de Lapeyrère. That officer some years before had filled the position of Minister of Marine, and had been responsible in no small measure for the movement which was to re-establish France as one of the predominant sea Powers of the world. After a fruitful period of work ashore, he had hoisted his flag as Admiralissimo in the Mediterranean, and when war broke out had for forty months been actively engaged in tuning up the French



Radetsky ; (8) Sinarca River railway bridge shelled by cruiser Admiral Spaun ; (9) Vieste and Manfredonia, north of Barletta, bombarded by cruiser Helgoland and destroyers Csepel, Tatra, and Lilca.

The anticipation that the Austrians intended to make the fullest possible use of their geographical advantages was thus speedily supported by events. The Italians, with five hundred and fifty nautical miles of coast exposed to the enemy, had seriously to consider what means could be adopted to counter the Austrian attack. The Italian Navy was weak in cruisers, and to expose them on a coast-line devoid of harbours was to incur great risk of loss. It was useless to appeal to the civilised world to condemn these attacks on unfortified towns, involving damage to

**Coastal railways  
for mobile defence**

property and the murder of unprotected civilians. No moral influence, as the British residents on the East Coast of England had learnt, would deter such enemies as Germany and Austria-Hungary from a policy of outrage.

For some time the Italians suffered without being able to hit back, but at last a scheme was evolved which gave promise of success. The scheme consisted in the utilisation of the coastal railway as a means of mobile defence. Armoured trains were fitted out and distributed along the whole littoral. The trains were manned by expert naval gunners, subject to the same discipline and routine as when

serving on board ship. As soon as enemy forces at sea were signalled, guns swiftly concentrated on any threatened part of the coast, and thus the policy of outrage and murder was defeated. This simple and ingenious method of defence not only stopped raids by naval units, but also reduced to insignificant proportions the aerial incursions which the Austrians carried out in the early months of the war.

Austria, in entering upon this policy, confirmed the Italians in their belief in the inevitability of the struggle. The enemy had shown that it was indispensable, if Italy was to be defended against outrage, that that portion of the Eastern Adriatic which is Italian in population, language, sentiment, and tradition—namely, Trieste, Istria, and Dalmatia—should become part of the Kingdom of Italy. As the result of this successful adaptation of the coastal railway for purposes of defence, the Austrian naval forces were reduced to inactivity. On the other hand, the Italians continued to exhibit energy in developing the possibilities of the situation. At the opening of the war a blockade of the Adriatic was declared, and a few weeks later the sea was closed to all merchantmen, except such as secured a safe convoy to Italian territory. Moreover, the Italians captured the Austrian town and port of Monfalcone, thus securing an important arsenal and dockyard on the northernmost bay of the Gulf of Trieste, and only fifteen

**Italy closes  
the Adriatic**



[British official photograph.]

**ENTHUSIASTIC SCENE ON A FRENCH TROOPSHIP AT THE DARDANELLES.**

In the early months of the war the Mediterranean was thronged with transports, the loss of one of which would have represented a material disaster and would have had unfortunate psychological results. Owing

to the perfect co-operation of the allied naval forces no untoward event marred the success with which troops were moved by a long sea route on a scale never before contemplated by any Power.





**SISTER SERVICES.**  
British soldiers aboard a British battleship bound for another field of operations.

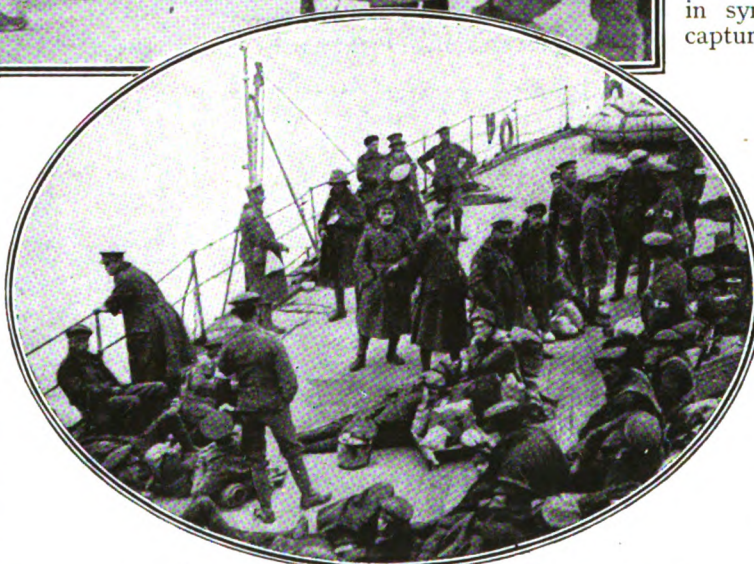
miles north-west of the city of that name. The Austrians also found that it was impossible to interfere with the transport of Italian troops, and in this way the Italian Navy was able to co-operate effectively with the Army ashore.

Before leaving this aspect of activity on the part of the allied fleets, it may be appropriate to relate a story which deserves to rank beside the narrative of Jack Cornwell, of the *Chester*, to whose heroism

Admiral Beatty referred in his despatch on the Battle of Jutland. An Italian destroyer, acting as scout to a transport, was suddenly attacked by an Austrian submarine. An engagement ensued between the destroyer and the submarine, in which both were sunk, the transport proceeding in the meanwhile to her destination.

Among the survivors of the Italian destroyer was a young midshipman called Castrogiovanni, who was several hours in the water, floating and swimming as best he could. During this period his cheeriness inspired courage and hope in several of his boat's crew who were gradually getting exhausted. The crew of the Austrian submarine had been able to procure a boat, and, coming upon the young midshipman's little party, offered to take them on board provided they surrendered. Castrogiovanni consulted his men; none would surrender. "Never!" he cried. "We prefer to drown rather than become prisoners of Austria."

Several hours later the midshipman and his men managed to land on the Albanian coast, and his first thought was to inform the Italian authorities that a boat containing the crew of the submarine had evidently landed on the same coast. The Austrians were eventually captured as a result of this plucky midshipman's efforts.



**A NIGHT ON DECK IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.**

The troops were billeted for the night on the battleship and camped out on the deck—by no means an unpleasant experience in the Mediterranean at most seasons, though not without a spice of danger when submarines were thought to be about.

If there is any impression that the Austrians exhibited less barbarity than the Germans, it must be dispelled by fuller knowledge, which the Italians possess, of their acts. Reference has been made already to the bombardment of open towns, resulting in damage to property and loss of innocent life. It may be suggested, however, that at any rate, the Austrians were guilty of no such murder as that of Captain Fryatt.

Let the story of an incident of the war in the Adriatic be given as an illustration of the methods adopted by the Austrians. At the outbreak of war, Captain Sauro, who was born at Trieste—three-quarters of the population of which are Italian—offered his services to the country with which, by family association and sentiment, he was in sympathy. Later on he was captured by the enemy, together with the crew of an Italian submarine which was trying to penetrate an enemy port. His mother and sister were at once summoned by the Austrians to greet him. His identity was thus established on the evidence of those nearest and dearest to him. He was forthwith tried and sentenced to be hanged, and in order that the last ceremony might not be wanting in moral atrocity, the woman who bore him and the sister whom he loved were forced to witness the execution.

In the light of this incident and of the bombardment of Italian open towns, the less said about Austrian humanity the better. Nor must it be forgotten that Germany's ally was quite as murderous in her submarine operations. When hostilities began the Austrians possessed less than a dozen submarines. German constructors and German engineers were, however, sent south in order to assist in the creation of new flotillas. Within a few months, supported by German technique, the Austrians were able to send to sea a considerable number of submarines, the commanders of which plumbed as great depths of inhumanity, in proportion to their opportunities, as their "opposite numbers" in the German Navy.

The navies which keep the sea must expect to suffer losses in these days of mines and submarines, and this was the experience of France and Italy. The latter country had to deplore the destruction of the Dreadnought battleship *Leonardo da Vinci*, of 22,340 tons displacement, which caught fire and blew up in Otranto Harbour in the autumn of 1916. The old battleship *Benedetto Brin* and the armoured cruisers *Amalfi* and *Garibaldi* also fell victims to Austrian submarines, besides a number of small craft.

The French Navy was robbed of the armoured cruiser *Léon Gambetta*, which was torpedoed by an Austrian submarine in the Strait of Otranto early in 1915, besides

#### Losses of the Allies





*[British official photograph.]*

Ships of the line steaming ahead. The most severe test was imposed on the allied fleets by the long periods of waiting for the enemy to put his hopes to the venture, but it was endured triumphantly. Months passed

in unbroken silence, during which the allied fleets kept the seas while the Germans and Austrians remained inactive in the Kiel Canal and in Adriatic ports, and the Turkish fleet was practically wiped out of existence.



Torpedo-boats in a choppy sea. The mosquito craft of all the Allies saw plenty of fighting during the war. This was especially true of the Russians in the Gulfs of Riga and Finland and off the Swedish coast, and of the

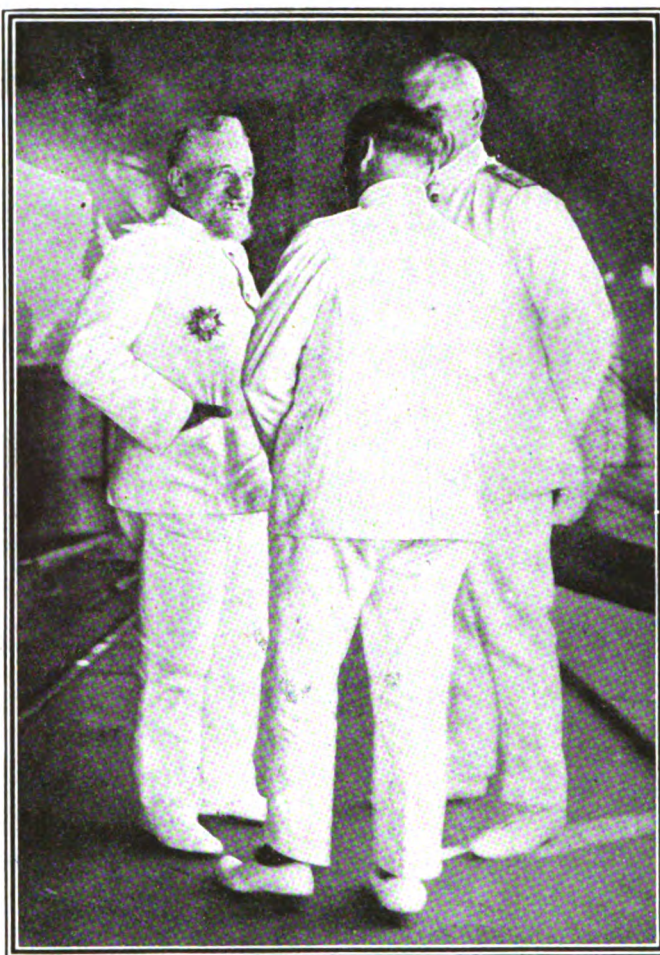
Italians in the Adriatic. In the North Sea and in the English Channel British torpedo-boats were unceasing in their work, and took part in many encounters besides that of the great Battle of Jutland.

**WARSHIPS OF THE ALLIED FLEETS KEEPING THE MASTERY OF THE SEAS.**



the cruiser *Amiral Charrier*. The old battleships *Bouvet* and *Suffren* were also lost, the former in the Dardanelles. But, in proportion to the relative strength of the opposing forces, the Austrian Navy suffered at least as seriously as those opposed to it. So far as is known, no Austrian battleship was sunk, but three cruisers were lost, together with a number of torpedo-boats and submarines.

The progress of hostilities in the Sea of Marmora and the Black Sea went on, as it were, behind a veil. From time to time Turkish ships exhibited some activity in the latter waters, but apart from incidental excursions, which cannot be prevented so long as an enemy possesses a single man-of-war, the Russian Fleet in the Black Sea maintained almost undisputed command of that inland waterway, with not unimportant results on operations on shore. The efforts of the *Göeben* and *Breslau* to influence the course of events were uniformly unsuccessful, and there is reason to believe that both ships, owing to their unfortunate experiences, were soon reduced



ADMIRALISSIMO, ADMIRAL, AND ATTACHÉ.  
Vice-Admiral Boué de Lapeyrère, Admiralissimo in the Mediterranean (left), enjoying a joke with a British admiral. In the foreground is Lieut. C. Millot, French Naval Attaché with the British Navy in the Dardanelles.

to a state of inefficiency and uselessness.

It was evident from the first that the Turks, even with the assistance of the two German ships, could make little impression upon the considerable force which the Russians possessed. They were further embarrassed, almost from the entrance of Turkey into the war, by the incursions of British submarines through the Dardanelles right up to Constantinople. By the beginning of 1916 practically the whole of the Turkish Fleet had been wiped out by the united efforts of the British and Russian naval forces.

Turkey, for the first time in her history of many centuries, was reduced to the position of a Power resting on the sea and yet unable to exercise any naval influence on the progress of events.

When, in January, 1917, in a communication to Washington, she announced her "independence of the European Powers," this step was regarded as having been made with a view to enabling her to participate in the peace negotiations apart from any Teutonic control.



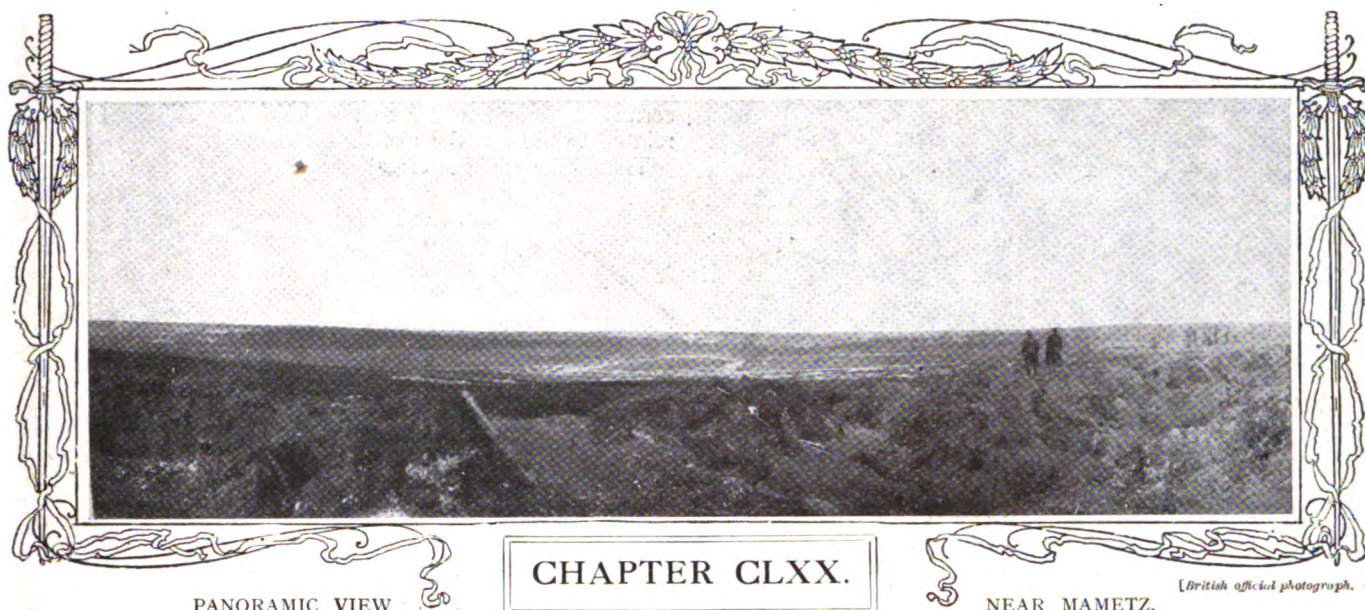
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#### GENERAL MAP OF THE SOUTHERN EUROPEAN FIELD OF NAVAL OPERATIONS.

Until May, 1915, the whole responsibility for the Mediterranean rested on the British and French Navies under the supreme control of Vice-Admiral Boué de Lapeyrère. Then Italy intervened, taking over

the police work and "bottling up" the Austrian Navy in its own Adriatic ports. An allied fleet controlled Greece from the Gulf of Salamis, and the Russian Black Sea Fleet held the complete mastery of the Black Sea.





PANORAMIC VIEW

## CHAPTER CLXX.

NEAR MAMETZ.

*[British official photograph.]*

# THE ROLL OF HONOUR, 1916.

**Aim of the Chapter—Two Changes in Procedure—Examples Thereof—Casualties in 1916—The Various Theatres of War—Monthly Totals—An Apparent Discrepancy—Grand Total—The Year's Fighting—Comparisons with the Past—A Crescendo of Slaughter—The Casualties Classified—Killed and Wounded—Percentage of Recoveries—Proportions between Officers and Men—A Heavy Casualty List Examined—Canadian and Australian Losses—Losses in Various Battalions—How the Infantry Suffered—Naval Casualties—Classification Thereof—The Jutland Battle—The Total of the Killed—Births versus Deaths—The German Casualties—Absurd Theories Dispelled—Experts again Wrong—The Somme Battles: A Comparison—British versus German Losses—Tests of Victory—Missing and Prisoners—Improvement in British Tactics—The Fine Quality of the Dead: Examples—A Typical Obituary List—Losses among the Aristocracy—Peers and Politicians—Baronets and their Sons—Generals and Colonels—Losses among Naval Men—The Bar and the Clergy—Oxford's Heavy Loss—Raymond Asquith—Other Scholars Killed—Cambridge Men Killed—The Public Schools—London University—Chaplains Killed—Losses to Literature and Art—F. S. Kelly and H. Webber—Sportsmen Killed—Conclusion.**



IN Chapter CXVI. (p. 387, Vol. VI.) of *THE GREAT WAR* an attempt was made to estimate in flesh and blood the price which the British Empire had paid for its temerity in taking up arms in defence of the rights of the smaller nations and the sanctity of the public law of Europe. The facts and figures given and discussed therein took the story down to the end of 1915, or a little later, and the present chapter is intended to continue it to the close of 1916. As before, it is mainly concerned with the "killed in action" and the "died of wounds."

Since the earlier record was completed two circumstances have intervened to make the task of the writer much more difficult. One is that, on March 2nd, 1916, Mr. Asquith, then Prime Minister, announced that henceforward no figures about the British casualties would be made public. They would be recorded and shown, if desired, to members of Parliament, but the people and—still more important—the enemy would be unaware of how the total was mounting up, and could only form estimates thereof.

The second change had the same end in view. Somewhat later, about the end of March, the authorities decided that in the published casualty lists no particulars should be given as to the

battalion to which the injured officer or man belonged, or the particular theatre of war in which he met his fate. A comparison of two typical casualty lists will show the nature of this alteration. On one day, March 3rd, 1916, before the new regulations came into force, the casualty

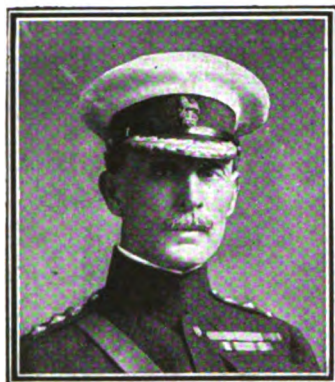
list of officers enumerated four theatres of war wherein fighting had taken place—France, Mesopotamia, the Balkans, and East Africa. It gave also the number of the battalion to which the killed or wounded officer belonged—6th Shropshire L.I., 9th Devons, 10th King's Royal Rifles, and so on. With the men there was a similar distinction; those killed or wounded in France were given distinct from those in Mesopotamia, and it was quite easy to learn that the 9th and 10th Manchesters, for instance, were then serving in the latter theatre of war, and the 11th and 17th Liverpools in France.

To turn now to the official list of casualties which appeared in the papers on December 20th, 1916. Therein the officers were simply classed as "killed," "died of wounds," "wounded," or "missing," and so, too—with additions for "accidentally killed," "died," and "wounded and missing"—were the men, but there was no other division, no indication whatever whether the man was serving in France or the Balkans or Mesopotamia. Similarly, nothing was said about the unit to which he



BRIGADIER-GENERAL FABIAN WARE, C.M.G.,  
Director of Graves' Registration and Inquiries. He was awarded the Companionship of the Order of St. Michael and St. George for the efficiency with which he discharged his pathetic duty to the heroic dead.





[Elliott &amp; Fry.]

MAJ.-GEN. INGUVILLE-  
WILLIAMS, C.B., D.S.O. Killed.



[Swaine.]

MAJ.-GEN. M. S. MERCER,  
Canadian Forces. Killed in action.

belonged except the bare "Worcester Regt.," "R. Berkshire Regt.," or "R. Flying Corps."

These difficulties, however, are not insuperable. To use a phrase made famous in another connection, "the resources of civilisation are not exhausted," and this chapter will give some idea of the extent and nature of the British casualties in 1916. The figures will not be official, but when the full tale is told, as one day it will be, they will be found to be not far from the truth. They have been obtained by a simple method which is open to all who possess the necessary patience, and which violates no official regulation, either in the letter or the spirit, for the writer is anxious to continue that scrupulous regard for the public interest which the Editors of THE GREAT WAR have consistently maintained from the first.

To January 9th, 1916, the last occasion during the war about which official figures were made

**First seventeen months' casualties** public, the total of the British military casualties was 549,467, and this may be taken as the figure for the first

seventeen months of the war. Four hundred thousand of these were incurred in France and Flanders, 117,500 in the costly Gallipoli enterprise, and 31,500 in Mesopotamia and the lesser theatres. In addition there were some 13,000 naval casualties.

The fighting of 1916, especially since July 1st, was, as one would expect, far more expensive than that of the previous year and a half. The opening of the year coincided almost to a day with the bloodless withdrawal from Gallipoli, but for nearly three months more, as their fate was ascertained, the papers contained the names of casualties under the heading of the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force, the official title for the heroic army of Gallipoli. But a great number of these were headed by the sad legend, "previously reported missing, now reported killed," and others also were in the nature of alterations from the original returns; so, bearing these facts in mind, we

shall be justified in ignoring Gallipoli as far as 1916 is concerned, although a few of the casualties reported therein related to the last days of that campaign.

This increase in casualties did not, it should be remembered, indicate defeat or any falling-off in the fighting qualities of the British troops; rather the reverse. In a moment or two we hope to show, not from mere rumour or hearsay, but from the cold evidence of the casualty lists, that 1916 was a much more successful year for the arms of Britain than was 1915. Here it may be remarked that in 1916 Great Britain had far more men in the field than previously, and that it is almost certain that *in proportion to the numbers employed* the losses showed a decrease, not an increase. It is quite certain that the losses were more fruitful; the British did advance, albeit not a great way, and there was nothing, in lives thrown away for no purpose whatever, to compare with the blunder in Gallipoli. The greatest disaster was Kut, comparatively speaking a minor one.

**Decreased proportion of casualties**

The mention of Gallipoli brings up another point. In one direction the casualty problem was simpler in 1916 than it was in 1915. A far greater proportion of the total casualties were incurred in one—the main—theatre of war. Mesopotamia yielded a good number during the earlier months of the year, but after the surrender at Kut in April its contribution was negligible. The



BRIG.-GEN. PHILIP HOWELL,  
C.M.G. Killed in action.



[Lafayette.]

BRIG.-GEN. F. J. HEYWORTH,  
C.B., D.S.O. Killed in action.

Expeditionary Force at Salonika did little but mark time during the year, and the operations in Egypt and East Africa were on the scale to which older wars had accustomed Britain, rather than on the newer one established by the Great War. Up to February 20th, 1916, it was stated that the total British casualties at Salonika were 57 officers and 1,439 men. That figure included the losses incurred during the retreat from Lake Doiran into Greece in the previous December, and the total casualties of the British contingent cannot have much exceeded 2,500 to the end of 1916.



[Bassano.]

BRIG.-GEN. W. J. ST. J. HARVEY,  
Died of wounds. Mesopotamia.



[Speaight.]

BRIG.-GEN. THE EARL OF  
LONGFORD. Gallipoli.



[Speaight.]

BRIG.-GEN. WALTER LONG,  
C.M.G., D.S.O. Killed in action.



[Vanlyde.]

BRIG.-GEN. C. B. PROWSE,  
D.S.O. Killed in action.



Mesopotamia was more costly. In January, and again in March, there was heavy fighting to relieve Kut, and then at the end of April came the surrender of over 2,000 British and 6,000 Indian troops. It will be sufficient, however, to put down the losses there, as far as 1916 is concerned, at 20,000 men, and 5,000 or 6,000 more will amply cover those incurred in Egypt, Greece, and East Africa, leaving the balance for the mighty movements on the western front.

The balance? Day by day the papers contained long lists of names, and to count up the number of these is a simple if tedious task. It has been done; and, thanks to the courtesy of the editor of the "Daily Telegraph," the figures for each of the twelve months are given below.

	OFFICERS	MEN	TOTAL
January .. .. .	1,011	17,675	18,686
February .. .. .	878	14,822	15,700
March .. .. .	993	16,908	17,901
April .. .. .	1,211	17,840	19,051
May .. .. .	1,623	27,403	29,026
June .. .. .	1,740	29,761	31,501
July .. .. .	7,071	52,001	59,072
August .. .. .	4,693	123,097	127,790
September .. .. .	5,403	113,780	119,183
October .. .. .	4,366	102,340	106,706
November .. .. .	2,312	72,479	74,791
December .. .. .	953	39,711	40,664
	<u>32,254</u>	<u>627,817</u>	<u>660,071</u>



COL. A. E. SHAW,  
Canadian Forces, Ypres.



COL. W. R. MARSHALL,  
Canadian Forces.

These monthly figures, it should also be said, represented not the casualties *incurred*, but those *reported* during the period in question. But this fact did not affect the total except to a very slight extent at the end of the year. In the case of officers a week or so usually elapsed between the occurrence of the casualty and the appearance of the name in the papers, and in the case of non-commissioned officers and men a longer period, the difference being due to the fact that casualties among officers, being fewer and more noticeable, were more easily collected and reported than were those among the men.

For instance, the casualties to officers which appeared in the papers on February 10th, 1916, were dated from the base February 3rd, and were probably incurred on the 1st or 2nd. Those of the men were dated from the base January 31st, and occurred doubtless about the 25th or 26th.

Thus the casualties reported during May, let us say, covered, as regards the officers, not the period between May 1st and 31st inclusive, but that between April 23rd and May 22nd, or thereabouts; while as regards the men they covered perhaps the month between April 15th and May 15th.

The same fact accounts for an apparent discrepancy which the sharp-eyed would doubtless detect in the monthly totals above. That was the serious variation in the proportion between officers and men which the various months showed. How else can one explain 7,071 officers injured compared with 52,000 men in July, and only 4,693 officers compared with 127,000 men in August? March and April, too, revealed a like anomaly. It should be remembered, also, that when heavy fighting was proceeding, there was greater delay than usual in recording the casualties, and a comparison between July and August illustrates both this point and the former one. Among the men, a large proportion—probably one-half—of the losses reported in



BRIG.-GEN. D. J. GLASFURD,  
Died of wounds.



LT.-COL. D. F. CAMPBELL,  
D.S.O., M.P. West Riding Regt.

In these monthly totals due account has been taken of alterations and mistakes in the casualty lists, and they are therefore as correct as care can make them, although they are not, and make no pretence to be, official. For instance, it often happened that a man was reported killed, and later was found to be alive, or that by some mischance, an unwounded man had been returned as wounded. More frequently, alas! the missing were afterwards reported killed. As soon as the alterations were notified to the Press the necessary corrections were made in the totals.



LT.-COL. H. H. HARRINGTON,  
Punjabis, Indian Army.



LT.-COL. A. R. NETHERSOLE,  
Indian Army.



LT.-COL. H. C. BULLER,  
D.S.O., Canadian Infantry.



LT.-COL. W. M. O'CONNOR,  
R.A.M.C., London Field Ambulance.





[French official photograph.]

## HOMAGE FROM FRANCE.

Wreaths to be placed in the name of France on the graves of the British victims of the railway accident.

August occurred in July; but among the officers the proportion was much smaller, probably only a quarter or less. This meant the addition of something like 60,000 to the men's figure of 52,000; and this being done, the discrepancy between the two classes of casualties disappears.

The total of British military casualties for 1916 may be put down at 660,000—although, as was explained in the previous chapter, this figure does not represent quite that number of individuals. Many men, as everyone who has read the obituary notices knows, were wounded, not once but three or four times, and a good number were first returned as wounded and then as died of wounds. It is impossible to say with any approach to certainty how many casualties were affected by this circumstance; the total must have been considerable; it may have been as high as 100,000, and so reduce our 660,000 casualties to 560,000 individuals or thereabouts.

In January, 1916, it was officially announced that the total casualties, excluding the naval ones, were, up to the 9th of that month, 549,467. For the succeeding year the figure was, as we have just seen, 660,071; so that the grand total for twenty-nine months of war was 1,209,538. In this computation the first nine days of January are included twice; but that cannot seriously affect the total, which we place with considerable confidence at 1,200,000, or something like 1,000,000 individuals killed, wounded, missing, or prisoners of war.

The monthly totals given above are a miniature history of the war. They show us January, when there was a good deal of activity in Mesopotamia, but little doing on the western front. In February the operations for the relief



[French official photograph.]

## PUBLIC FUNERAL FOR THE ACCIDENTALLY KILLED.

On January 17th, 1917, a special train full of British officers and men returning from leave was descending an incline when the couplings broke. The first section pulled up at Massy-Palaiseau station, near Paris, where the hind portion ran into it, causing ten deaths and many injuries.

probable that in the long centuries between Hastings and Waterloo, England did not lose 1,000,000 men on the battlefield altogether.

How different the figures now before us! In February, the quietest of the twelve months, the losses were over 500 men a day, and in January and February, two months of comparative inactivity on the part of her armies, Britain lost nearly as many as during the whole of the Boer War. In May she lost just under 1,000 men a day, and in June just over that number; each day, as it were, one of her small market-towns—say Calne or Keswick—which in peace time contained each somewhere about 1,000 men between 18 and 41, was losing the whole of its able-bodied men, carried either to the hospital or the graveyard.

But if the losses were serious in June they were far worse in July and August. Fortunately for chronology, the Somme battles began on July 1st, just half-way through the year, and during that month the losses were not 1,000, but 2,000 a day. In other words, each day was a Blenheim

of Kut were partially suspended, but in March they were taken in hand again, and in April came the British surrender. These facts almost account for the slight monthly fluctuations, the position in France being practically stationary.

With May came a distinct revival of activity, and henceforward nearly all the casualties reported were incurred on the western front. In June there was still more doing there, and then came July with its mighty battles. In August the rate of fighting was maintained, and September showed only a slight decline in its ferocity. October heralded the coming of winter, and also the exhaustion inevitable after so tremendous an effort; while November, and still more December, proved the truth of the forecast. A mathematician would represent the year's casualties by a graph. From January it would swell out steadily, until in August and September the summit of the curve would be reached. Then to the end of the year it would fall away somewhat, leaving off, however, before it got back to the level of June.

The year of Minden and Quebec, 1759, has been called an *annus mirabilis*, or wonderful year. What will historians call 1916? Will it be known as *annus cruentus*, the year of blood? To gain a sense of proportion some figures from the past may be again recalled: the Boer War, with its total casualty list of 38,156; Waterloo, a "decisive battle," with its 8,000 killed and wounded; Blenheim, "a glorious victory," with 670 killed and about 1,500 wounded; and Inkerman, with 648 and 1,729—less than 2,500 altogether. It is

A year of  
blood





LT.-COL. EARL OF FEVERSHAM,  
K.R.R.C. Fell leading his battalion.



LT.-COL. THROCK-  
MORTON, R. Welsh Fus.  
Killed in Mesopotamia.



LT.-COL. H. E. BRASSEY,  
D.S.O., R.H.G., att. S. Lanes  
Regt. Killed in action.



LT.-COL. R. L. ASPINALL,  
D.S.O. Yorks Regt., att. Cheshires.



LT.-COL. C. E. GOFF,  
M.C., Liverpool Regt. Killed in action.



MAJ. N. E. LECKIE,  
Canadian Infantry. Killed  
in action.



MAJ. H. E. R. BOXER,  
D.S.O., Lincolnshire Regt.  
Killed at Hooge.



MAJ. J. R. WARDLE,  
Lanarkshire Yeomanry. Dardanelles.



MAJ. G. E. VANSITTART,  
Canadian Field Artillery. Killed in action.



MAJ. VAUGHAN-HARRI-  
SON, R.F.A. Killed in action.



MAJ. C. C. DICKENS,  
London Regt. Leuze Wood.



MAJ. H. A. CARTER,  
V.C., Indian Army. Killed in action.



MAJ. R. J. MUTRIE,  
Canadian Mounted Rifles. Died of wounds.



MAJ. A. L. BICKFORD,  
C.I.E., 56th Rifles, I.A.  
Died of wounds.



MAJ. E. CAMPION,  
Seaforth Highlanders. Died  
of gas poisoning.

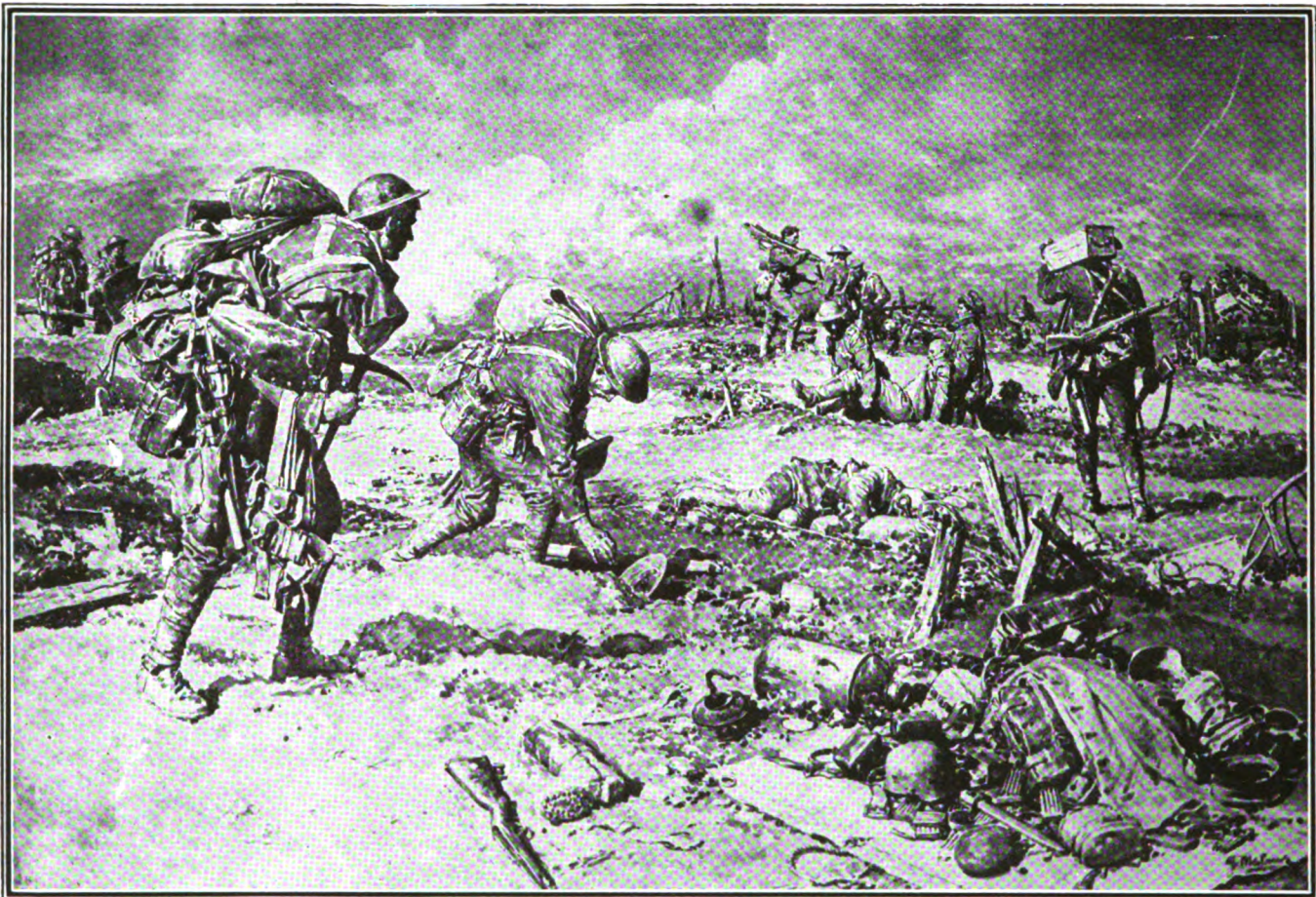


MAJ. A. A. C. NELSON,  
Royal Scots. Died of wounds.

# THE ROLL OF HONOUR, 1916.

Photos by H. Walter Barnett, Elliott & Fry, Lafayette, Lambert Weston, Swaine.





COLLECTING THE KITS OF FALLEN MEN WHERE THE ADVANCE HAD PASSED.

British soldiers "cleaning up" after an advance on the western front. Men were told off to collect the kits of the fallen and any impedimenta that the enemy had left behind. Such a party is here seen engaged in this task.

The enemy equipment was separated—as in the heap to the right of the picture—from that belonging to the British, such as was being carried by the laden man on the left, much of which could be utilised again.

or an Inkerman. In August the daily average rose to over 4,000, which we may describe as a Blenheim and an Inkerman for every one of the month's thirty-one days, and in September the rate of death and injury was only reduced a little. November had an average of nearly 2,500 casualties a day, and its total was more than that of the first four months of the year combined, while even in December losses were suffered at the rate of well over 1,000 a day. For the whole year the rate of loss worked out at almost exactly 1,800 a day. In other words, every three-

quarters of a minute throughout the year, day and night alike, a man, someone of British race and speech, was either killed or wounded. Mr. Churchill was therefore more than usually accurate when he spoke about a heap of bloody rags carried every minute to the rear.

The casualty list for 1916 is worth examination in some detail, for so far the figures have been totals only, and it will be interesting to see how they work out in killed, wounded, and missing. The official returns classified the casualties under quite a number of separate headings. For instance, in January there were fifteen. Killed, died of wounds, died, wounded, missing were, however, the only ones of any size; the others were, died of gas poisoning (2), drowned (5), accidentally killed (65), suffering from gas poisoning (1), suffering from shock or concussion (256), wounded and missing (137), wounded and prisoners of war (10), missing, believed drowned (1), missing, believed killed (39), prisoners of war (83).

For our purpose many of the headings were superfluous. The dead, in whatever way they met their fate, shall be put together, for all alike have won their place in the Roll of Honour. Those suffering from gas poisoning and shock may be fairly classed with the wounded, and those who were believed to be drowned or killed with the dead; for, unfortunately, this presumption was usually well-founded. Prisoners of war may be placed in a separate category, as

their return throws a good deal of light on the course of the war.

Classifying the casualties, therefore, under four headings, we have the following figures for the whole year:

	OFFICERS	MEN	TOTAL
Killed .. .. .	8,560	130,176	138,736
Wounded .. .. .	21,572	448,786	470,358
Missing .. .. .	2,040	48,818	50,858
Prisoners .. .. .	321	3,555	3,876
	<u>32,493</u>	<u>631,335</u>	<u>663,828</u>

The trivial discrepancy between this total of 663,828 and the previous one of 660,071 is accounted for by corrections and alterations from the original lists. For instance, in November 38 officers and 467 men, first returned as either killed, wounded, or missing, were afterwards reported as not killed, wounded, or missing, and there were corresponding figures for each of the twelve months.

Excluding the missing and prisoners, the proportion of killed to wounded, taking officers and men together, worked out at 1 to every  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , as near as may be. For the previous seventeen months the proportion was 1 to something less than 3—128,138 to 353,283—these being official figures. Whatever reason may be assigned for the improvement, the result was highly satisfactory. Perhaps the men had learned to avoid serious injury more easily; perhaps the arrangements for attending the wounded had improved; perhaps the withdrawal from Gallipoli affected the proportion; probably all three and other reasons contributed. It was the more satisfactory when it is remembered that during the second period the Germans exhausted all the devilish ingenuity of their chemists to wound less and kill more. Clearly they failed.

To what extent did this loss, 660,000 for 1916 or 1,200,000 for the whole period of the war to date, permanently weaken the fighting force? Some time in 1915 Mr.

Proportion of  
killed to wounded



Asquith said that 60 per cent. of the wounded recovered sufficiently to return to the front, and in August, 1916, it was stated that 75 per cent. of them returned to duty. The Germans claimed that 70 per cent. of their wounded men returned to the front. There was often a germ of truth in these German statements, and the probable explanation was that the percentage was correct, but referred only to certain classes of the wounded—those slightly injured. It was too much to believe that even German medical science could fit 70 per cent. of *all* the wounded for the hardships of the front.

As regards the British we shall probably be on the safe side if we assume that 50 per cent. of the wounded were able to return to active service, which is a very different thing from being merely fit again for duty. Our calculation is then a very simple one. For 1916, 235,000 of the wounded must be regarded as permanently out of action, and for 1914-15 a further 175,000, making a gross total of 410,000. Add this number to the total of killed, missing, and prisoners, and we obtain 800,000. This was the deduction which must be made from the available manpower, if one wishes to obtain a true estimate of the British resources in this vital direction in 1917.

In Chapter CXVI. something was said about the proportion of casualties as between officers and men, the assumption being made that the Army contained them in the ratio of 1 officer to every 29½ men. It was there stated, in dealing with the returns to the end of 1915, that the killed were 1 officer to every 15½ men; the wounded, 1 officer to every 24 men; and the missing, 1 officer to every 30½. How did the figures for 1916 bear out these proportions? In 1916, according to our figures, 1 officer was killed for every 15 men, and 1 wounded for every 21. Taking the missing and the prisoners together, there was 1 officer to every 22 men.

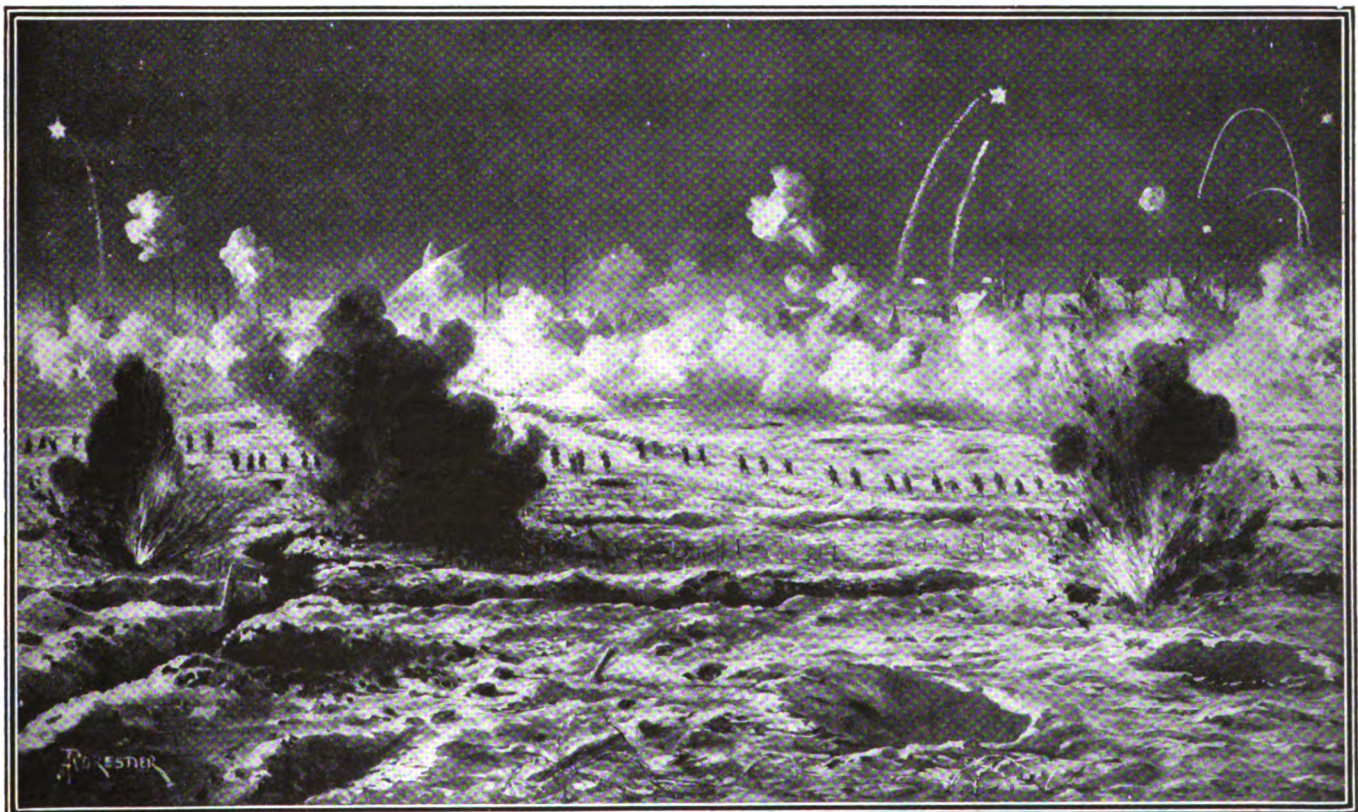
The differences between the two sets of figures are slight. The chances that an officer would be killed were still about

double those of a private, for if the right proportion were maintained it should be 1 officer to every 29½ men, whereas it was 1 to every 15. Proportionately more officers than men were wounded, but here the ratio was only about 3 to 2, and the same may be said of the missing. Comparing the two periods, 1914-15 and 1916, it may be said that the proportion of officers killed remained stationary, but that the proportion of wounded and missing rose, the wounded a little, the missing considerably—from 3½ per cent. to nearly 5. The reasons for this were probably found in the conditions necessary in an offensive movement, such as the British push on the Somme. The officers must lead off, and the juniors, the leaders of platoons of infantry, suffered more heavily than any other class in the Army. These it was who swelled the total of the missing.

#### Heavy mortality among subalterns

This point does not need labouring, but an illustration or two may not be out of place. On Monday, July 31st, 1916, the papers contained, as they generally did on a Monday, a very heavy casualty list. This one was heavier than usual, and in officers alone it contained 580 names—that is, more than Kitchener had with him at Omdurman. Of these, 449 were subalterns—lieutenants and second-lieutenants—leaving 131 for captains, majors, colonels, and generals, of whom two appeared in the list. Of 21 officers reported killed on July 7th no fewer than 17 were second-lieutenants, but this proportion was certainly exceptional. Subalterns, therefore, who formed something more than half the officers, suffered more than three-quarters of the total casualties, for the big list of July 31st may be regarded as tolerably representative, and its figures agreed with the conclusions we reached when examining similar returns for 1915.

Another question, which was dealt with in the previous chapter, cannot here be discussed in any detail. This is the nature and extent of the casualties in the different branches of the Imperial forces and in the units composing



BRITISH TROOPS ADVANCING TO THE ATTACK BEHIND BARRAGE FIRE ON THE ANCRE.

Winter morning attack by the British on German trenches in the west. A line of the troops who had just gone "over the top" may be seen advancing in front of the bursting German shells in the foreground. The enemy

trenches are dimly visible behind the long cloud of barrage smoke. The steady pressure of the Allies necessitated the enemy making their considerable retreat along the Arras-Soissons line in March, 1917.



those forces. Among the Canadians the casualties officially reported to August 31st, 1916, amounted to 37,861, of whom 8,644 were killed, 27,212 wounded, and 2,005 missing. The autumn fighting added considerably to this, and in December a total of 65,660 was announced. Of these, 10,333 were killed, 5,400 had died of wounds or illness, and 47,187 had been wounded. Probably for the whole year a total of 70,000 would not be far from the mark. Among the Australians the losses were almost as great. Down to the end of 1915, or a little later, they were 24,500, to which a further 6,000 should be added for New Zealand. Their exploits around Pozieres during the Somme fighting were marked by conspicuous gallantry, which meant also heavy loss, and so probably 60,000 was not an excessive estimate for the total casualties among the men from the Antipodes. The South Africans, too, did their share. The Indian losses must not be forgotten, so it was not a random guess to assume that of the Empire's 1,200,000 casualties for the whole war to date, 1,000,000 were suffered by the men of the Motherland and the remainder by her children overseas.

As regards the different units the War Office had no desire that their casualties should be known. It would be possible to add together the number returned day by day for each regiment, but such a return would show little

during 1915, and there were a few, mainly from Mesopotamia, reported during the first three months of 1916.

On March 23rd, for instance, 89 of the 2nd Suffolks were returned as killed, and four days later a further 83, with 200 wounded. The 1st Connaught Rangers, then in Mesopotamia, had 100 wounded returned on March 8th, and 80 killed and 108 wounded on the following day. On March 27th, 122 of the 10th Sherwood Foresters were returned as missing, and this battalion lost very heavily indeed in officers and men about that time. Another battalion—Regulars again this time—to suffer heavily was the 2nd Leicesters, in Mesopotamia. On February 15th, 53 of them were returned as killed, **Heaviest casualties among infantry** and a week later a further 86; the wounded, in three days, numbered 238. In

January there were big lists of wounded from the 5th West Yorkshires, the 5th York and Lancaster, the 4th Yorkshire Light Infantry, and the 9th Royal Lancasters. Two fine battalions, both in Mesopotamia, which suffered very heavily were the 1st Seaforths and the 2nd Black Watch; day after day they had casualty lists, some of them quite lengthy ones.

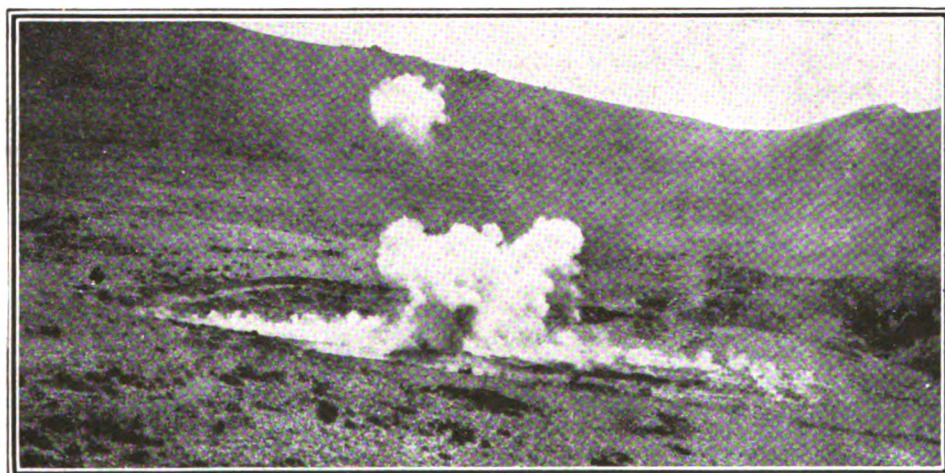
As regards the losses in the different arms of the Service, it was still true that the vast majority of these fell upon the infantry. Let us test this assertion by a glance at the casualty list of July 31st, 1916, the one already mentioned. Among the 580 officers, just over 500 were infantry leaders. Of the remainder, 37 were artillery officers, 20 were Engineers, seven were medical officers, six belonged to the Flying Corps, and one was a chaplain. A fair number were described as Machine Gun Corps, but these were infantry rather than artillery proper, and as such we have included them.

The list of casualties among the men, which appeared on the same day, contained 5,770 names. Among the first list of killed—for there were two, one issued on the Saturday and the other on the Sunday—all save five were infantrymen. At the top there were the names of two gunners and two sappers, and at the end that of a man in the R.A.M.C.

Between were scores of infantrymen's names; the chief sufferers being the Hampshire, Wiltshire, and two Staffordshire regiments. The "died of wounds" did not contain a single name outside the ranks of the infantry, but the "died" contained those of 3 Hussars, 10 Artillery, 12 Engineers, 4 belonging to the A.S.C., and 6 to the R.A.M.C.

The first of the two lists of wounded pointed still more decisively in the same direction. After 22 names of men in the Flying, Artillery, and Engineer services, nearly two columns were devoted to the names of infantrymen before reaching those of a driver in the A.S.C. and of four men in the R.A.M.C. A column in the "Times" will contain nearly 1,000 of these names, so in this list of wounded we had something like 1,600 infantrymen to just 27 in other arms of the Service.

The second (Sunday's) list was in very much the same proportion. Among the killed there were 16 Artillery and 13 Engineers, all the others, except one of the R.A.M.C., belonging to the infantry. In the "died of wounds," all save nine belonged to the predominant class. The list of wounded, which contained between 2,000 and 3,000 names, had in it 94 Artillery and about the same number of Engineers. This process of examination could be continued indefinitely, but it would only show, broadly speaking,



[British official photograph.]

#### MENACE OF DEATH UPON THE BALKAN FRONT.

High-explosive shells bursting close to a position held by the British upon the Balkan front. Up to the end of 1916, the casualties of the British with the Balkan Expeditionary Force did not by much exceed 2,500.

unless we knew also how many battalions of that regiment were at the front. Some regiments, those which draw their recruits from populous areas—the Royal Fusiliers, the Manchesters, and the Northumberland Fusiliers, for instance—had twenty or more battalions, while others had only perhaps five or six, and the regiments of Guards not more than four.

In an early despatch of 1916, Sir Douglas Haig mentioned the 20th and 21st Manchesters, and we knew of the 19th Middlesex, the 17th Durham Light Infantry, and many more, but we did not know the number each had at the front, and without this knowledge it is useless to pursue the inquiry. A loss of a hundred men among the Dorsets or the Cameronians might be equal to one of five hundred among the Liverpools or the Royal Warwicks.

Before the regulations already referred to were introduced in March, 1916, it was possible to discuss this question. We knew then something about the losses of the various battalions, and as each battalion was approximately the same strength, one could say something about its losses. It could be safely assumed that a battalion which lost in a single engagement a hundred or more men killed had suffered severely, for that figure represented an eighth or more of its fighting strength. Such cases were not infrequent

**Battalions which suffered heavily**





MAJ. EDWARD COLSON,  
Dogras. Indian Army.



MAJ. P. P. BALLACHEY,  
Canadian Infantry.



CAPT. GUY DICKINS,  
K.R.R.C. Died of wounds.



MAJ. LORD GEO. MURRAY,  
Royal Highlanders.



CAPT. A. L. CAY, R.N.,  
H.M.S. Invincible.



CAPT. E. P. C. BACK, R.N.,  
H.M.S. Natal.



CAPT. C. J. WINTOUR, R.N.,  
H.M.S. Tipperary.



CAPT. HON. J. B. CAMP-  
BELL, D.S.O., Coldstreamers.



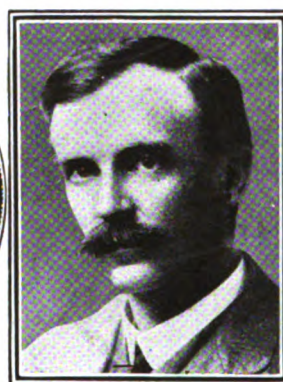
CAPT. J. A. RITSON,  
South Lancs Regt.



CAPT. LORD GORELL, D.S.O.,  
Royal Field Artillery.



CAPT. H. B. MUDIE,  
Remount Service. Accidentally killed.



CAPT. KEITH LUCAS,  
R.F.C. Killed in collision.



CAPT. F. S. KELLY,  
R.N.V.R.



CAPT. A. G. COWIE,  
Seaforth Highrs. Died of wounds.



CAPT. SIR R. FILMER, BART.,  
Grenadiers. Died of wounds.



CAPT. J. W. JACKSON,  
South African Infantry.

# THE ROLL OF HONOUR, 1916.

Photos by Heath, Elliott & Fry, Lafayette, Russell, Swaine, and Lambert Weston.





CAPT. A. F. HENTY,  
Middlesex Regt. Killed in France.

The events of the early days of 1917, the German declaration of war on neutral shipping, hospital ships, and all—men, women, and children alike—who go down to the sea in ships, revealed to many, as by a flash of lightning, the debt which not only this country, but the whole civilised world owed to the British Navy, for it alone stood between these bloodthirsty barbarians and their intended victims; it alone was "a security for such as pass on the seas upon their lawful occasions." In performing this work certain losses in men and material were inevitable, and to the former of these we will now turn.

#### The price of Admiralty

The above figures are exclusive, as we have said, of the naval casualties. It is common knowledge that there was heavy loss of life in the fight off Jutland Bank in May, but it is not so well realised that from the Navy, about which we heard so little, there came a steady tale of death and injury; two one day and three the next, sometimes rising to fifty or sixty, and altogether making a formidable total, the price of one year of that silent watch and ward which enabled the millions in the British Isles to be fed.

Following the former plan, we will put down the naval casualties in tabular form, month by month, the courtesy of the "Daily Telegraph" being again drawn upon.

	OFFICERS	MEN	TOTAL
January .. .. .	65	1,006	1,071
February .. .. .	35	176	211
March .. .. .	50	208	258
April .. .. .	31	176	207
May .. .. .	63	425	488
June .. .. .	440	7,376	7,816
July .. .. .	35	338	373
August .. .. .	48	321	369
September .. .. .	58	329	387
October .. .. .	60	355	415
November .. .. .	214	398	612
December .. .. .	69	2,577	2,646
	<u>1,168</u>	<u>13,685</u>	<u>14,853</u>

the same results. We may conclude the matter by asserting that in 1916 something like 90 per cent. of the casualties fell to the lot of the infantry. At that time no one, outside the War Office, knew much of the proportions of the different arms in the armies, but it is quite certain that in proportion to their numbers the infantry suffered more heavily than any other class.

These totals need little comment. For eight of the months—January, June, November, and December being excepted—they just recorded the losses in the ordinary work of patrolling the seas, rather more than one officer and about eight men per day. June was the month in which was announced the losses from the great fight of May 31st, and from the disaster in which the crew of the Hampshire perished. December's total told of the price paid by the Royal Naval Division when they took Beaumont-Hamel in November. The same engagement was responsible for November's big total of officers, for many of these, being reported earlier than the men, found their way into the casualty lists some days previously. January's list included the 300 men who went down when the armoured cruiser Natal was sunk in harbour on December 30th.

Taking August as a fairly typical month, one in which no special call was made upon the Navy, it may be interesting to inquire in detail what the casualties were. The official returns classified them thus:

	OFFICERS	MEN
Killed .. .. .	8	128
Died of Wounds .. .. .	2	12
Died of Injuries .. .. .	4	6
Drowned .. .. .	—	18
Dangerously Wounded .. .. .	—	12
Severely Wounded .. .. .	1	4
Wounded .. .. .	9	82
Slightly Wounded .. .. .	4	6
Injured .. .. .	11	—
Missing, believed Dead .. .. .	—	8
Missing .. .. .	9	44
Prisoners of War .. .. .	—	1
	<u>48</u>	<u>321</u>

Excepting the four specially noted already, the classification and also the proportions in the rest of the twelve monthly lists were not unlike the one above. In June, of course, the figures were very different. The bulk of the month's losses were incurred in the Battle of Jutland Bank, which, if we deduct the losses in the Hampshire and an average for the everyday work of the Fleet, we may put down at 7,000 officers and men. Adopting the Admiralty classification, we find that 43 officers and 6,024 men were drowned, while 343 officers and 497 men were killed, a further 3 and 57 respectively dying of their



CAPT. A. F. WHITESIDE,  
Canadian Infantry. Killed in action.



CAPT. C. T. D. BERRINGTON,  
Lancers (I.A.), att. R.F.A. Killed in action.



CAPT. DAVID HENDERSON,  
Middlesex Regt.



CAPT. HON. R. E.  
PHILIPPS, Royal Fusiliers.



CAPT. WILLIAMS-FREEMAN,  
Lincolnshire Regt., att. R. Welsh Fusiliers.



wounds. In a big and costly action it must be extraordinarily difficult to get the details correctly, but if these figures were accurate they revealed rather a curious position—almost as many officers as men were killed. It seems as if in the doomed ships the officers were nearly all killed by gun fire or explosion, while the greater part of the men were hurled into the water and drowned. One hundred and sixty-nine men were returned as prisoners of war, and 4 officers and 60 men as missing—or missing, believed dead.

Attention has frequently been drawn to a vital difference as regards casualties on land and fighting on sea. In the former the wounded far outnumber the dead; in the latter the reverse is usually, almost invariably, the case. A comparison between the naval casualties reported in June and those reported in November and December, when the naval men were fighting on land, gives a further proof of this fact. In June, which for our purpose may be regarded as identical with the Battle of Jutland Bank,



CAPT. M. S. RICHARDSON,  
Royal Welsh Fusiliers. Died of wounds.

the dead, officers and men together, numbered 7,038, and the wounded 778, or 9 killed to every 1 wounded.

Compare with this the figures for November and December. Therein the killed numbered 975 and the wounded 2,283, or 1 killed to every 2½ wounded, a very different result and one quite inexplicable unless one recolects that in the later period the men of the Royal

	OFFICERS	MEN	TOTAL
Killed .. ..	803	9,140	9,943
Wounded .. ..	284	3,248	3,532
Missing .. ..	63	1,038	1,101
Prisoners of War	19	267	286
	<u>1,169</u>	<u>13,693</u>	<u>14,862</u>

Naval Division were showing their prowess on the Ancre.

Dividing the casualties among the sailors in the same way as we have done those among the soldiers, the following is the result :



CAPT. F. C. SELOUS, D.S.O.,  
Frontiersmen Battalion. Killed in action in East Africa.



CAPT. H. D. BROUGHTON,  
Cheshire Regiment. Killed in action.

certain that the vast majority were dead. In the early stages of the war a good many of the British soldiers were taken prisoners by the Germans, but there was no evidence that they took any great number during 1916. They made no claim of extensive captures of men from the British as they did on the eastern front at times, and to a lesser extent at Verdun, and it is quite certain that they would have done so if they could. Regretfully we say that all the evidence pointed to the majority of the missing as dead and not prisoners of war, and we are justified in adding quite 40,000 to our previous total of 148,669. Better, perhaps, to make it the round figure of 190,000.

Those actually returned as prisoners numbered 3,876 soldiers and 286 sailors. June was the only month in which this item was large, 211 officers and 2,251 men being listed as prisoners of war from the Army alone. Most of these, however, referred clearly to the surrender at Kut, for it took several weeks to get the names of the captives into the papers.

In 1916, then, 190,000 men were killed in battle. In 1914, according to the Registrar-General's returns, the excess of births over deaths in England and Wales was 362,354, but in 1915 it fell to 252,201. In 1916 it advanced to 277,277, or not enough to make good the losses in the field, for it must not be forgotten that of the babies born only about one-half are boys, while the 190,000 were all males. On the other hand, the loss of 190,000 lives fell upon the white population of the whole Empire, not upon England and Wales alone. Taking the British figures as a basis, the excess of births over deaths among the white population of the whole Empire in 1916 would be about 400,000. This provided an excess of males, after meeting the ordinary toll of death, of 200,000, which just about provided for the war loss of 190,000.

This was an important aspect of the world-war in which the Empire was engaged, and the Registrar-General's plain language: "There were 64,569 fewer births and 45,584 more deaths in 1915 (England and Wales only) than in 1914," perhaps helped many to realise something of the far-reaching effects of the struggle on national life.

Here, perhaps, it will not be inopportune to say something about the German casualties, for, after all, the crux of this question is comparison. If the Allies killed off Germans and Turks more rapidly than Germans and



CAPT. J. D. WADDELL,  
Royal Fusiliers. Killed in action.



CAPT. HON. R. P. STANHOPE,  
Grenadier Guards. Heir-pres. to Earl Stanhope.



CAPT. R. A. SAUNDERS,  
R.F.A. and Royal Flying Corps. Killed in action.





GATHERING EQUIPMENT FROM THE BATTLEFIELD.

(Canadian official photograph.)

\* Salvaging something of the material wastage of war. Haversacks and belts, bandoliers, and water-bottles, and other of the personal equipment of the men who had fallen or been wounded, was gathered together and sorted out on the field over which the tide of battle had rolled.

Turks killed off Allies, then the Allies were in a fair way to win the war. If, however, the reverse was the case, then a big change in strategy or tactics was highly desirable.

In this matter let us face the facts without flinching, even if they are not as we anticipated and had been led to believe. In the earlier stages of the struggle people read greedily about the great slaughter inflicted upon the enemy by the British and their Allies, and imaginative soldiers told of the heaps of corpses they had seen in Flanders, or, with still more eagerness, of those they had heard of in Poland. Small wonder that nearly everyone looked for a speedy end to the war, for no nation, however well drilled and organised, could stand such a drain on its man-power. Unhappily, many of these Germans had been, in Kipling's phrase, killed only "with the mouth"; and, after a time, as fresh hordes of them advanced into Poland, Russia, and Rumania, while others kept the British and the French fully occupied in France, it was necessary to abandon the silly theory that they had some secret and inexhaustible store of men for the saner if less pleasant one that their casualties had been much fewer than Britain had been led to believe. At last she looked the facts in the face, a process which those journals—called with rough justice the "hide-the-truth" Press—had done their best to prevent.

This evil, for it was nothing else, was aggravated by the writings and lectures of certain "experts." Drawing large fees for their services, they proved, absolutely and without a shadow of doubt, that by the middle of 1915, or some such date, Germany's last reserves would be exhausted, and her speedy collapse would follow. Unfortunately, in 1917, the dates, whatever they were, had come and gone, and Germany's armies were still unbroken. Gone, too, we hope and believe, had the faith of the people in the "experts."

The German Government, like the British, issued no totals of the casualties in the Kaiser's armies. The names of those killed and injured, however, were published day by day in the Press, and each month the British War

Office, having counted and classified these, issued a statement giving the totals. The figures, the authorities said: "do not constitute an estimate by the British authorities, but merely represent the casualties announced in German official lists." It should also be noted that the casualties were those reported during the month in question—not those incurred therein.

In January, 1917, the authorities gave the total of German casualties reported to the end of the previous December as 4,010,160, which should be compared with our figure of 1,200,000, as both were for the whole period of the war down to that date, and both excluded naval losses. The Germans' total was made up thus:

Killed and Died of Wounds	909,665
Died of Sickness	57,459
Prisoners	229,741
Missing	284,115
Severely Wounded	530,991
Wounded	290,564
Slightly Wounded	1,486,020
Wounded Remaining with Units	215,605
	4,010,160

The figures may be accepted as approximately correct, and certainly there was no useful purpose served by exaggerating them, and so deluding the public with the belief that the Germans had lost far more than 4,000,000 men. One remark may be permitted, however. The period to which the figures related is somewhat uncertain. Like the British lists, the German lists were in arrears. For instance, the December returns referred not to the losses of the month of December but to those of some earlier period. There is reason to believe that in the case of Germany the interval between the occurrence and the recording of a casualty was somewhat longer than it was in Britain; some think a great deal longer. However, if we allow it to be two months, thus making the figures under consideration those actually incurred to the end of October, 1916, it would only add something like 200,000, a rough estimate for November and December, to the existing 4,000,000.

On the whole, it will be best to take the figures as they are, and for reasons which were expressed on February 9th, 1916, by the able military correspondent of the "Times," who wrote:

"Can we trust these (i.e., the German) casualty lists? Up to a point we probably can. They are often belated, but so are ours. They contain many errors which are subsequently rectified, but so do ours. They only contain the names of some men who have died of sickness, probably in the Army zone, and omit altogether, as do ours, the names of men invalided, and the floating population of hospitals and sanatoria."

It will doubtless interest some if we bring together the British and the German figures for the three months—July, August, and September—during which the Battle of the Somme was raging. Here they are:

	BRITISH	GERMAN
July	59,072	122,540
August	127,790	240,957
September	119,983	179,884
	306,845	543,381





*Storming a trench on the Ancre: Germans surrender before the menace of bomb and bayonet.*



*Feeding the guns: Rushing up shells for the heavy howitzers during a hot engagement.*

RRB 545





*During a fight on the Ancre: British wounded bound for dressing station and hospital base.*



*Passing down prisoners: Officer examining a German before sending him on to internment.*





*Carrying a position : One of the many successful assaults made in the advance to Bapaume.*



*Searching the depths : What the British found in one of the German dug-outs.*





*Vision of the Cross: A strange midnight phenomenon seen in France between the opposing lines of combatants.*



Altogether the Germans lost nearly double the number that the British did, and that, for two reasons, is about the proportion we should expect. In the first place, as far as we can tell, the Germans had in the field about twice as many men as the British had, and, roughly speaking, we may expect the two armies to suffer about the same proportion of loss. The second point may be illustrated by anticipating a probable criticism. But, say some, the Germans fighting against a ring of foes must obviously have suffered far more heavily than the British operating only on one section of one frontier. To this the reply is that the main burden of the eastern campaigns of 1916 fell upon Austrians, Turks, and Bulgarians, whose losses were not included in the 4,000,000, and that during the period in question the Germans themselves were not heavily engaged except by the British and the French. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the latter were on the offensive. It is contrary to all experience to suppose that their losses were seriously less than those of the defending armies; it is far more likely, in spite of the great improvements made in methods of attack, that they were greater. Weighing, therefore, these considerations one with another, everything points to the fact that during those three months Germany lost about 2 men to Britain's 1.

Taking the whole war to the end of 1916 the evidence seems to show that Germany lost  $3\frac{1}{2}$  men to Britain's 1. This proportion was both absolutely and relatively in the latter's favour. The population of the German Empire may be put down at 70,000,000, and that of the British at 60,000,000—46,000,000 for the United Kingdom, 8,000,000 for Canada, 4,000,000 for Australia, and the remaining 2,000,000 for New Zealand and South Africa, it being best to omit for this purpose the millions of coloured folk under the British flag. The British were therefore, as regards Germany, in the proportion of 6 to 7, but the losses were only in that of 2 to 7.

A comparison of the two casualty lists went far to prove the superiority of the British fighting man. In this war, at least as far as the end of the period under review, there were no victories as complete as those of Ulm and Sedan, victories which, ending in the surrender of a whole army, left no doubt which was the defeated party. In the absence of such final tests it is somewhat difficult to say what is victory and what is defeat, and each belligerent usually claimed it, adducing the points in his favour and ignoring those against him.

A test which is frequently applied to more or less doubtful battles by military historians is which side remained at the close of the day in possession of the field. Far be it from us to undervalue this consideration. Experience has taught us that it is not to be ignored. Early in the Great War it was loudly proclaimed by anonymous but persistent writers that it was immaterial how far the Germans advanced into Russia or into France. In fact, the correspondent of one prominent London daily went so far as to tell us, not once but several times, that the Russians were retreating through Poland not because they must, but because they wished to lure the foe on to destruction.



AMERICAN AMBULANCE AT WORK NEAR THE FRENCH FRONT.

Removing wounded in an American motor-ambulance. Much valuable work was done by voluntary American organisations, not only in maintaining hospitals for the wounded in France, but also in the active employment of fleets of motor-ambulances for carrying the wounded from the front to the hospitals.

Afterwards, when the Germans had to be driven inch by inch from this occupied territory, we began to see the stupendous folly of this line of argument. How many British lives did it take to regain, in the autumn of 1916, a few square miles on the Somme? How long, it was asked in 1917, was the enemy's presence in Poland and Courland going to add to the length of the war and to the difficulties of the peace?

No; if the field of battle be the test of victory we must regretfully admit that the Germans had the better of the Allies in 1915 and 1916. But it is legitimate to apply another. Which side took the most prisoners? To do this is clear evidence of superiority, and it was overwhelmingly on the British side. Taking this as a standard, the British beat the Germans in 1916, and the figures prove it completely.

The outstanding feature of the German casualty lists was the number of men returned as missing. Month by month this was considerable, and sometimes, as in December, 1916, it exceeded the number returned as dead. Many of these missing men were doubtless dead, but there was a strong presumption that, alive or dead, the great majority of them fell into the hands of the enemy.

Taking the missing and prisoners together the Germans admitted a loss of 514,000, or just about one-eighth of their total military casualties. In 1916 Britain admitted 54,734 in these two classes, and in 1914-15 a further 68,046, making altogether 122,780, or just about one-tenth, a very much better result. But the German figure was for fighting on all fronts, and the British ones included the losses, especially heavy in missing, in Gallipoli, so it is desirable to make a closer and more exact comparison. Happily this is possible.

Let us take the figures, placing them side by side, of the prisoners and missing during the second six months of 1916, when for the first time the two nations were at grips on fairly equal terms. Previously, from the battle of Mons onwards, no such comparison was possible, the British being so completely outnumbered.

Missing and  
prisoners



PRISONERS AND MISSING	BRITISH	GERMAN
July .. .. .	2,974	16,050
August .. .. .	13,901	44,674
September .. .. .	10,125	32,259
October .. .. .	6,885	44,574
November .. .. .	6,760	32,150
December .. .. .	3,404	16,414
	<hr/> 44,049	<hr/> 186,121

Whatever interpretation is put upon these figures they tell in Britain's favour. They may merely mean that Germany's organisation for collecting and burying the dead was less efficient than her rival's. Be it so. More likely it is, however, that they meant the superior efficiency of the British soldier. If it be assumed that half the German forces were engaged against the British on the Somme, and half their losses incurred there, their casualties in prisoners and missing were more than double Britain's. If we give them a point and admit that only one-third of the Kaiser's armies were so employed, and that two-thirds of the above losses were incurred against the Russians and the French, we have still a substantial balance in Britain's favour—44,049 British against 62,040 Germans. The figures only bear one conclusion. They bear out the opinion, so often expressed by the soldiers themselves, that in 1916 the Briton proved himself a better fighting man than the German. By nature a man of peace, and with little or no previous training in arts of war, he took some time to get into his stride; but when he did so there was no holding him. Viewing the results of 1915 we might say that there was not much to choose between the two belligerents. But as regards 1916 we can only form one conclusion—the British had improved and the Germans had deteriorated.

This is one of the two proofs of the improvement of the British Army which we undertook to produce from an examination of the casualty lists. Now for the other. The losses among senior officers, generals, and colonels were much lighter, in spite of the heavier fighting in 1916, than they had been in 1914 and 1915. When all goes well, when the Staff plans are carried out with clockwork precision, these officers are, comparatively speaking, out of danger. But when things do not go well it is far otherwise. Colonels hurry up to rally hesitating battalions, or expose themselves to give hasty orders, while generals pay little heed to safety as they make new arrangements for dealing with dangerous and unexpected situations.

The two Battles of Ypres, and still more Loos, afford excellent commentaries on these remarks. Everyone remembers how Hubert Hamilton, leading the 3rd Division, was killed in the first of these engagements, how Generals Munro and Lomax were hit, and how numberless colonels were killed and

wounded. In the Second Battle of Ypres it was nearly as bad, the leaders of the Canadians being particularly unfortunate.

In the Battle of Loos, the most pertinent example, no fewer than three divisions lost their generals—Wing, Capper, and Thesiger—and in the first week of the fighting twenty-eight battalions had their colonels killed, many more were wounded, and the total was considerably increased by losses reported later. These facts told plainly that all had not gone well with the attack, the loss of the three major-generals being especially significant. The unsuccessful attempt to relieve Kut in January, 1916, was another instance of this. Had we known nothing else but the fact that one fairly short casualty list of officers, that of January 27th, contained the names of one general and six colonels, we should have surmised that something had gone wrong.

A study of the casualties in the Somme battles showed a very different result. Therein the total losses were almost equal to those suffered throughout the whole of 1915, and yet only one divisional leader, E. C. Ingouville-Williams, D.S.O., was killed. Neither brigadier-generals nor colonels figured unduly in those long and terrible lists, and we take it that this proved that Sir Douglas Haig's plans

worked out far better than had previously been the case, that there were fewer checks and misunderstandings, and that consequently the senior officers had less need to expose themselves.

One hundred and ninety thousand brave men dead; this is the cardinal fact of our chapter. It would be sad enough if they were the weak and aged, those who, in a few years at most, would pay Nature's debt. It

would be still more bearable if they were the thousands who crowd our lunatic asylums and fill our prisons. It is because they were all that these are not—young, healthy, sane, and intelligent—that their loss was so terrible to contemplate. They were in every sense the flower of the race. Take two cases which, although somewhat exceptional, served to bring home the type of man we sacrificed. In January in Mesopotamia there fell Lieutenant C. J. Cockburn, of the 6th Yats. His ancestors had been in the Army for the past one hundred and fifty years; his grandfather was the first British officer killed during the Indian Mutiny, and his father served under Kitchener in the Sudan. On June 1st Captain Leslie Woodroffe, of the Rifle

Brigade, died from wounds received in France. He had been the head of Marlborough and an Oxford scholar before taking up work as a schoolmaster at Shrewsbury. Two of his brothers had fallen before him in the war. One, Kenneth, a cricket Blue at Cambridge, was killed at Neuve Chapelle; another, Sydney, was awarded the Victoria Cross for gallantry at Hooze, where he was killed; while Leslie himself had been previously wounded and



[Elliott & Fry.]  
CAPT. BASIL HALLAM RADFORD,  
Royal Flying Corps. Popular revue actor.



[Swaine.]  
LIEUT. E. L. ERSKINE LINDOP,  
Dogras, Indian Army. Died of wounds.



[Swaine.]  
CAPT. JOHN LAUDER,  
Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.



[Lafayette.]  
LIEUT. R. J. E. TIDDY,  
Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry.





LIEUT. DONALD CAMPBELL,  
Coldstream Guards. His father, Capt.  
the Hon. J. B. Campbell, fell later.



LT. C. H. ABERCROMBIE,  
H.M.S. Defence. Well-known  
Scottish International footballer.



VISCOUNT QUENINGTON,  
Lieut. in the Royal Gloucester-  
shire Hussars (Yeomanry).



CAPT. LORD ELCHO,  
Gloucestershire Yeomanry. Eldest son of  
the Earl of Wemyss.



LIEUT. HON. V. S. T. HARMSWORTH,  
Royal-Naval Division. Killed in the  
Battle of the Ancre.



SEC.-LT. G. A. ARBUTHNOT,  
Grenadier Guards. First served  
in a mine-sweeper.



LIEUT. K. L. HUTCHINGS,  
Liverpool Regt., att. Welsh  
Regt. Famous cricketer.



LIEUT. RAYMOND ASQUITH,  
Grenadier Guards. Eldest son of Mr.  
Asquith, ex-Prime Minister.



LIEUT. E. H. LINTOTT,  
West Yorks Regt. Well-known Inter-  
national football player.



LIEUT. T. M. KETTLE,  
Dublin Fusiliers. Professor Kettle  
was a well-known writer.



SEC.-LT. E. E. EARLY,  
Lincolnshire Regt. Killed at  
Hohenzollern Redoubt



LIEUT. J. R. DENNISTOUN,  
Irish Horse, att. R.F.C. Member of  
Scott's Antarctic Expedition, 1910-11.



LIEUT. VISCOUNT CLIVE,  
Welsh Guards. Had served earlier in the  
Scots Guards.



LIEUT. A. W. LANE-JOYNT,  
Motor Machine-Gun Service.  
Killed in France.



LT. M. J. VINCENT-JACKSON,  
Notts and Derby Regt. (Sher-  
wood Foresters).



CAPT. ARTHUR H. HALES, M.C.,  
Wiltshire Regt. Received M.C. for leading  
his men though twice wounded.

## THE ROLL OF HONOUR, 1916.

Photos by Arbuthnot, Bassano, Elliott & Fry, Haskins, Lafayette, Swaine.





[British official photograph.]

#### BRITISH TRENCH NEAR FRICOURT WHEN THE TIDE OF WAR HAD PASSED EASTWARD.

Trenches that were established by the British on the western front, near Fricourt, and left deserted when the "big push" had carried the fighting-line farther to the east. Beyond these trenches lay the Mametz Wood,

the scene of considerable fighting before it was finally captured. The photograph indicates the vast extent to which sand-bags were employed in the strengthening of trenches and the forming of defensive breastworks.

given the Military Cross. On such men, rather than on the drunkard, the anæmic, or the feckless, did the losses fall.

For the main part those 190,000 were educated men, and so laid mental as well as physical gifts upon the altar. Many of them came from the universities and public schools, and

**A loss none  
can assess**

many had been trained for professional life as lawyers, teachers, accountants, and the like. But we do not refer only to these. The rank and file of the fallen

included a high proportion of skilled artisans, men who had been accustomed to mix their work with brains, and these also should be included in our category. To put it simply, money had been invested in the education and training of every one of these, and in ordinary circumstances this would have brought a rich return in future years. Now both capital and interest are gone. Keen brains and clever hands, with their most fruitful years before them, have passed for ever from the nation's industrial life; fresh and virile intellects, strengthened by years of training, will add nothing more to its store of scientific discovery; nor cultured and generous minds to the richness of its intellectual and artistic life. Who can assess this loss?

This loss was national. But there was a personal and domestic side to it. From each one of the dead some years of life had been taken, years which should be the most precious and potent of all. But each also, whether as husband, father, son, or brother, left a vacant space in some circle; and it is here, rather than upon the battlefield or even in the hospital, that one realised the incalculable amount of misery which the war caused. Any

computation thereof is beyond us. We stand outside the bereaved home and its inmates. There the heart knoweth its own bitterness, and a stranger intermeddleth not with its joy.

To bring home to our minds the immensity of this loss, 190,000 men, is not easy. It is so simple to put down the figure, so difficult to visualise the immense array it represents. In 1911 there were in Liverpool, the second largest city in England, 133,551 males between twenty and forty-five years of age, and in Newcastle there were 50,233, so the national loss may be put as equal to all the men of military age in those two cities combined.

It was not only in numbers that the army of killed resembled the men of Liverpool and Newcastle. Like them they were men of diverse and peaceful occupations. Of those killed in 1916 very few indeed were Regular soldiers; over 90 per cent. were by training and inclination civilians. In the first few months of the war the Regulars, officers and men who had adopted the profession of arms from choice, bore the burden of the fighting, but in six months or so there were very few of them left.

As regards the officers this point can be illustrated with comparative ease, but as regards the men it must be taken for granted, although no one will question it, for it can be proved by figures. To the end of 1916 the number of casualties suffered by the British was six times the number of Regular soldiers the country had before the Great War. Even if every one of these Regulars appeared in the casualty lists it would leave something like 1,000,000 names for men who were until the war civilians.

**Composition of  
the new armies**



Those who care to turn to the "Times," with its obituary notices of deceased officers, will find ample proof of the diverse callings of the dead. On Monday, October 2nd, there were twenty-four fairly full obituaries. With regard to several there was no indication of what the men did before entering the Army. Of the others, one was a fairly prominent politician and had been a member of Parliament, and another was a professional entertainer. There were two barristers and two bank clerks in the list; another was in the Ceylon Civil Service, and another had devoted himself to architecture and literature. Four only were soldiers before the outbreak of the Great War. Two came from Canada and one from the East to enlist, and two or three others were in business in England. One went straight from school into the Army, and others were at the university in 1914. It was noteworthy that nine of the twenty-four had served in the ranks before obtaining commissions, and that three of them had lost brothers during the war. Taking a number of these notices, say a period of a month, there is hardly a profession or business that is unrepresented; and this, be it remembered, was before the conscripts had entered the field.

In his "Comments of Bagshot," Mr. J. A. Spender remarks that "it is probably a dim instinct of what is for its own good that makes an aristocracy warlike, even in modern times." Be this as it may, there is no doubt whatever that the British aristocracy is warlike, and a glance at the Roll of Honour proves it.

In the 1917 issue of the work, which appeared towards the end of 1916, Debrett gave some interesting particulars about the losses of titled families in the Great War. Up to date, 118 peers and baronets had lost their heirs, and in 151 cases the succession to titles had been affected by these and other deaths. Altogether this small class lost 1,450 sons and near relatives; 114 were the sons of peers, 110 the sons of baronets, and 150 the sons of knights, the rest being nephews and other kinsmen. Fourteen peers, 21 baronets, 9 knights, and 9 members of Parliament were among the number.

Speaking in the House of Lords on February 7th, 1917, Earl Curzon carried the story a little further. He said

that the death-roll included 6 members of that House, and over 120 of their sons; 62 of the latter were heirs to peerages, and consequently eight peerages were then in danger of extinction.

In our previous chapter we mentioned the names of such peers as were killed in 1914 and 1915, and the narrative may be continued here. The Earl of Longford lost his life while leading the Yeomanry in Gallipoli, in 1915, but his fate was only made certain during 1916, and the same remark applies to Viscount Crichton, of the Royal Horse Guards, son and heir of the Earl of Erne, and to Lord George Murray, a son of the late Duke of Atholl. Lord Lucas, the "Bron" Herbert of former days, was a real hero. During the Boer War he lost a leg, but he qualified as a flying man, and it was while flying that he was killed. To his memory Sir J. M. Barrie paid a noble tribute in the columns of the "Times." Another peer killed was one who, like Lucas, had won his spurs as a politician; the Earl of Feversham, formerly Viscount Helmsley, M.P., was shot in September while leading his battalion, one of the King's Royal Rifles. Later fell Lord Llangattock, one bearing the familiar name of Rolls, and with his death that title became extinct. These three, like a number of others, were men whom great possessions did not deter from service in the field.

Lord Newborough, of the Welsh Guards, died in July from illness contracted when on active service, and after the close of the year Lord Gorell, of the Artillery, was killed. Passing to the heirs to peerages, the Duke of Leinster lost his brother and heir, Lord Desmond Fitzgerald, of the Irish Guards, in March. The Marquess of Bath lost Viscount Weymouth, and the Earls of Powis and Wemyss lost Viscount Clive, of the Welsh Guards, and Lord Elcho, of the Yeomanry, respectively. The death of the Hon. P. R. Stanhope, Grenadier Guards, in September, deprived the earldom of that name of its heir, and another Grenadier to fall was the Hon. E. W. Tennant, Lord Glenconner's eldest son. Viscount Goschen lost his heir, Hon. G. J. Goschen, of the Buffs, in Mesopotamia in January. In July, Lord St. Davids lost his second son, Hon. R. E. Philipps; by the death of the Hon. W. A. Parnell, Lord Congleton lost his heir; by that of Hon. L. E. Johnstone,

Losses in the peerage



OUTLOOK OVER THE TRENCH-SCARRED BATTLEFIELD OF THE ANCRE.

[Canadian official photograph.]

Looking towards Contalmaison from the lines which were occupied by the British at the beginning of the forward movement in July, 1916. The Prussian Guard was sent to bar progress near this village; but, despite

that fact, Contalmaison was one of the places captured during the series of successes which crowned the "great push." The white lines in the distance indicate the way in which the countryside was scarred with trenches.

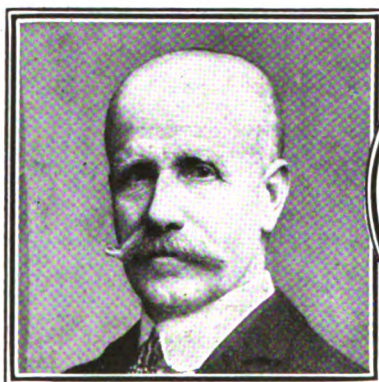


in the Jutland battle, Lord Derwent did the same. Later the Hon. F. S. Trench, Lord Ashtown's eldest son, was killed. Lord Stratheden and Campbell, a venerable peer of nearly ninety, had a double loss. On July 19th his grandson and second heir, Donald Campbell, of the Coldstreams, was killed, and a few days later it was known for certain that the peer's eldest son, Hon. J. B. Campbell, also of the Coldstreams, who had been missing since January, 1915, was also dead.

As regards other members of the peerage it would probably be easier to name those families which had not lost a member or members during the war than those which had. The Earls of Sefton and Denbigh each lost a son in

#### Cadets of noble houses

the great naval fight of May 31st, as also did Lord Glanusk, who had previously been bereaved, and Lord Algernon Percy. The Earl of Selborne and the late Lord George Campbell lost sons, in both cases men of exceptional brilliance, in Mesopotamia, and Lords Auckland and Tennyson suffered in similar fashion. Lord Dewar lost Captain Dewar, of the Camerons, a noted boxer when at Oxford, and Lord Rothermere lost his second son, Hon. V. S. T. Harmsworth, killed while leading the men of the Royal Naval Division on the Ancre. Other losses included grandsons of Earl Brassey and Lords Polwarth and Ashcombe; nephews of Lords Middleton and Teignmouth,



LIEUT. HENRY WEBBER,  
South Lancashire Regt.



LIEUT. G. E. L. BOWLBY,  
Lincolnshire Regiment.

and brothers of Lord Haldon and the Earl of Lanesborough.

The House of Commons had three of its members killed during the year. Viscount Quenington, son of Earl St. Aldwyn, who only survived his loss by a few days, was killed in Egypt; Captain Hon. Guy Baring, M.P. for Winchester, was killed when with the Coldstreams on the Somme; and Lieut.-Colonel D. F. Campbell, D.S.O., M.P. for North Ayrshire, died in September while commanding a battalion of the West Ridings. The list of members of the House of Commons who lost sons in the war was headed by Mr. Asquith, whose eldest son Raymond, a lieutenant of the Grenadiers, fell during the heavy fighting of September. The Labour leader, Mr. Arthur Henderson, lost a son, Captain David Henderson, of the Middlesex, and the Unionist leader, Mr. Walter Long, his heir, Brigadier-General Walter Long, D.S.O., in Greece. Sir Gordon Hewart, the Solicitor-General, and Mr. Pike Pease were junior members of the Ministry to suffer a like bereavement.

Private members who experienced this loss in their homes

included Sir Thomas Esmonde, Bart., Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Herbert Nield, Mr. A. Strauss, Mr. A. W. Samuels, Mr. John Hinds, Mr. E. R. Turton, Mr. A. W. Soames, Mr. James Boyton, and Sir Robert Williams, Bart. Sir Robert's son was serving as a private in the ranks. Sir Charles Henry and Sir Charles Nicholson, baronets as well as politicians, each lost an only son, and the venerable Mr. Jesse Collings a grandson.

The war left its mark, too, upon politicians who had



LIEUT. J. A. MOORE,  
South Staffordshire Regiment.

not succeeded in entering the House, or those who had formerly sat there. In the latter category were Mr. G. A. Arbuthnot, formerly M.P. for Burnley, and the brilliant Irishman, Professor T. M. Kettle, of the Dublin Fusiliers, both killed during the fighting on the Somme. Mr. J. Windsor Lewis and Captain Helenus Robertson were two young Unionists who had attacked strong Liberal seats, and Mr. Hugh Montgomery, killed in September, had been

Unionist candidate for Southampton. Lieut.-Colonel F. H. Gaskell, of the Welsh Regiment, had been adopted to fight a seat in Glamorganshire, Mr. C. W. Winterbotham, of the Gloucesters, proposed to attack, in the Liberal interest, Cirencester, and Captain E. L. Boase, of the Black Watch, was Unionist candidate for Dundee. Across the seas, Hon. J. D. Hazen, a prominent Canadian Minister, and Sir J. Allen, a New Zealand politician, each lost a son.

Many of the baronets killed were mentioned in the former narrative, but there are several names to add. Sir R. K. Arbuthnot, commanding the 1st Cruiser Squadron, was killed in the big naval battle of May 31st, and so was Sir C. R. Blane, of the Queen Mary. Blane's two younger brothers had fallen previously, and with his death this title became extinct. Sir Foster H. E. Cunliffe, of the Rifle Brigade, killed in July, was much more than a soldier; he had been captain of the Oxford cricket team, was Fellow of All Souls College, and owing to his knowledge of military affairs was made the first lecturer on Military History at Oxford. Sir Robert Filmer, of the Grenadiers, was a Kentish baronet whose title dated back to 1674; he left no heir. Two others killed were Sir J. H. Jaffray, of the Yeomanry, and Sir E. H. Macnaughten, of the Black Watch. Sir A. A. A. Campbell, killed in May, came over from Nova Scotia and served in the ranks before obtaining a commission in the Cameron Highlanders. Other losses during the year were sons of Sir George Dashwood, an Oxfordshire baronet of ancient lineage, and Sir J. Lulham Pound, making two lost by each of these baronets, while Sir Vere Isham, Sir J. C. Horsfall, Sir Timothy O'Brien, Sir Archibald Edmondstone, Sir William Clarke, and Sir Henry Ewart were among the many who lost their heirs.

#### Losses in the Baronetage

As previously explained, the death-roll among the generals was not high during 1916, but neither was it negligible. Among leaders of divisions, the only two to fall were E. C. Ingouville-Williams, D.S.O., and the Canadian major-general, M. S. Mercer, slain during a sudden German attack in May. Those commanding brigades suffered more heavily. Early in the year W. J. St. J. Harvey died of wounds received in Mesopotamia, while in the west the British lost H. G. Fitton, C.B., G. B. Hodson, F. J. Heyworth, of the Guards, Philip Howell, C.M.G., C. B. Prowse, D.S.O., George Bull, D.S.O., L. M.



LIEUT. W. A. CLIFF-McCULLOCH,  
Irish Rifles.





LIEUT. H. R. ANDREWS,  
West Yorks Regt., att. Lancs Fusiliers.



LIEUT. N. A. MORICE,  
East Yorks Regt. Died of  
wounds.



LIEUT. F. CRATHORNE,  
Gen. List, att. R.E. Killed  
in action.



LIEUT. J. W. DAVIES,  
Royal Welsh Fusiliers. Killed in action.



SEC.-LIEUT. L. J. MOON,  
Devon Regt. Died of wounds.



LIEUT. W. DUFF,  
Cameronians. Killed in  
action.



LIEUT. B. E. HICKS,  
Royal Berks Regt. Killed in  
action.



LIEUT. E. G. WILLIAMS,  
Grenadier Guards. Accidentally killed.



LIEUT. F. L. PUSCH,  
D.S.O., Irish Guards. Killed while tending  
wounded man.



LIEUT. J. C. MORROW,  
Canadian Engineers. Killed  
in action.



LT.-SURG. P. J. WALSH,  
R.A.M.C. Served with Indian  
troops.



LIEUT. C. H. NEWTON,  
K.R.R.C. Killed leading his platoon  
in Flanders.



LIEUT. A. H. BELL,  
Canadian M.R., att. 5th Infantry  
Brigade Headquarters.



LIEUT. C. L. MERE,  
Royal Lancaster Regt.  
Killed in action.



LT. S. R. V. TRAVERS,  
Munster Fusiliers. Killed at  
Dardanelles.



LIEUT. J. P. PHILLIMORE,  
B.Sc., East Kent Regt. (The Buffs).  
Killed in action.

## THE ROLL OF HONOUR, 1916.

Photos by Bassano, Elliott & Fry, Brooke Hughes, Lafayette, Swaine, Lambert Weston.



Phillpotts, C.M.G., H. F. H. Clifford, D.S.O., C. E. Stewart, C.M.G., D. J. Glasfurd, and one or two others.

The list of colonels killed in action is too long for complete enumeration, but a few outstanding names may be given. Lieut.-Colonel Stewart Macdougall, of the Gordons, had been in the household of Queen Victoria; P. W. Machell,

#### Mortality among colonels

D.S.O., of the Border Regiment, was a soldier of distinction; E. W. Benson was the only son of Sir Frank Benson, the actor. Those killed in the early part of the year included F. J. Bowker, of the Hampshires, R. W. Fox, of the Devons, H. Maclear, D.S.O., of the Scots Fusiliers, A. B. A. Stewart, D.S.O., of the Seaforths, and R. C. B. Throckmorton, of the Wiltshires.

In the second half of the year the toll taken was heavier. Among many names, the price of the early stages of the "great push," all alike worthy of commemoration, there may be mentioned R. L. Aspinall, D.S.O., of the Cheshires, a famous horseman; Ronald Wood, of the Rifle Brigade, H. Lewis, of the Manchesters, J. A. Thicknesse, of the Somerset Light Infantry, E. A. Innes, of the Warwicks, G. C. Roberts, a Halifax manufacturer, of the Gloucesters; W. Burnett, D.S.O., of the North Staffordshires, C. C. Macnamara, of the Irish Rifles, E. H. Tritton, D.S.O., and W. E. M. Tyndall, D.S.O., of the West Ridings.

The many Canadian colonels killed included H. C. Buller, D.S.O., of Princess Patricia's Own, W. R. Marshall, W. D. Allan, D.S.O., and A. E. Shaw. During July the battalions of one famous regiment, the Northumberland Fusiliers, the "Fighting Fifth," had no fewer than four commanding officers killed—C. C. A. Sillery, one of three brothers to fall, A. P. A. Elphinstone, L. M. Howard,

and W. Lyle. In A. St. H. Gibbons, the Liverpools lost a leader and the world an explorer and a writer, and in A. P. Mack, of the Suffolks, one who had explored the Egyptian Desert. The fighting in the concluding months of the year deprived the Army of such leaders as Lieut.-Colonel J. C. Stormonth-Darling, D.S.O., of the Cameronians, C. E. Goff, of the Liverpools, C. J. W. Hobbs, D.S.O., of the Sherwood Foresters, W. B. Gibbs, of the Worcesters, C. G. Forsyth, of the Yorkshires, W. B. Lyons, of the Munster Fusiliers, and E. T. F. Sandys, D.S.O., of the Middlesex. A few others may be mentioned: F. E. Penn Curzon, of the Royal Irish, J. L. Swainson, D.S.O., of the Royal Lancasters, and C. E. Radclyffe, D.S.O., of the Essex. Of the Royal Naval Division there fell in November—Lieut.-Cols. A. S. Tetley, F. J. Saunders, and W. O. Burge, of the R.M.L.I.

As regards leaders in the Navy, the Battle of Jutland cost the lives of two admirals, Sir R. K. Arbuthnot, already mentioned, whose flag was in the Defence, and the Hon. Horace L. Hood, leading the 3rd Squadron of Battle Cruisers, a sailor bearing one of the great names in our naval history. Five captains of battleships went down with their vessels on that occasion—Cecil I. Prowse, of the Queen Mary, Charles F. Sowerby, of the Indefatigable,

#### Loss of great seamen

Arthur L. Cay, of the Invincible, T. P. Bonham, of the Black Prince, and Stanley V. Ellis, of the Defence. Another captain to lose his life then was C. J. Wintour, the capable leader of the 4th Flotilla of Destroyers, who was in the Tipperary. Captain E. P. C. Back, with twenty-four of his officers, went down with the Natal in the previous December.

In addition to those already mentioned, the war brought during 1916 sorrow to the homes of many distinguished men. One of the ablest of British seamen, Admiral Sir Percy Scott, lost a son in the Battle of Jutland, and two other admirals, Sir Mostyn Field and Sir Day Bosanquet, suffered a similar bereavement. Particularly sad was the death of Lieut.-General Sir W. N. Congreve's son, Major W. La T. Congreve, of the Rifle Brigade, just after his marriage to the daughter of Mr. Cyril Maude; the Victoria Cross, which his father, too, had won in South Africa, was awarded to the dead officer. Brigadier-General Sir Owen Thomas lost a son, and so did Sir Hallelwell Rogers, of Birmingham, Sir J. H. A. Macdonald, Sir A. Scott-Gatty, Mrs. Alec Tweedie, Sir Hugh Clifford, Mr. Stanhope Forbes, R.A., Mr. B. W. Leader, R.A., Sir John Willison, of Toronto, Sir Aston Webb, and Mr. Cecil Aldin, the artist. Sir Edwin Egerton, at one time Ambassador in Rome, did not long survive the fall of his only son.

The death in battle of Mr. J. L. Garvin's only son,



HAVOC CAUSED BY SHELL FIRE IN THE "BIG PUSH" OF JULY, 1916.

German trench which had been demolished by shell fire during the advance on the western front. The foreground dug-out, beneath a formidable barbed-wire entanglement, had suffered from a direct hit. Above: A ruined village near Mametz.



Lieutenant R. G. Garvin, of the South Lancashires, aroused much sorrow and sympathy, as also did that of Mr. Cutcliffe Hyne's son, a subaltern in the Irish Guards. A death in the Battle of Jutland brought the number of sons lost by Mr. J. C. Snead-Cox, of the "Tablet," up to three, and Sir Duncan Baillie, K.C.I.E., also lost three sons. Sir William Vaudrey, of Manchester, and Mr. Lawrence Kellie, the composer, were among the hundreds of fathers who mourned the loss of two. Among the many lawyers to suffer the loss of one were the Hon. J. D. Fitzgerald, K.C., Mr. H. Courthope-Monroe, K.C., Mr. Mark L. Romer, K.C., and Mr. A. R. Ingpen, K.C. The death of Sir Oliver Lodge's son Raymond should not be forgotten, nor should that of Mr. Harry Lauder's only son, a captain in the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, because for very different reasons both aroused a good deal of interest. Major C. C. Dickens, of the London Regiment, was a son of Mr. H. F. Dickens, K.C., and a grandson of the great novelist.

The number of sons sent by the clergy into the Army and Navy has often been commented upon, and so it was not surprising to find a large number of them among the fallen. Indeed, it was unusual to see even a small number of obituary notices of soldiers without at least one clergyman's

these so often, both in playing-field and class-room, the leaders of their fellows.

To the end of 1915 Oxford knew that 861 of her sons had been killed in battle, and a year later the total was certainly double that figure, probably more. Those who, like the present writer, were contemporary at Oxford with Raymond Asquith, remembering stories of his almost uncanny brilliance, will not be surprised to see his name mentioned first among those Oxonians who gave their lives for Britain in 1916. As a classical scholar he was in the front rank, and neither Winchester nor Balliol can have trained many who possessed rarer intellectual gifts. Another Fellow of All Souls to fall, Sir Foster Cunliffe, Bart., has already been mentioned.

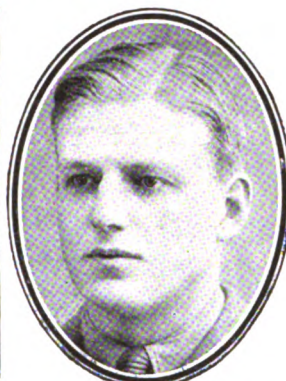
Leslie W. Hunter, of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry, killed in August, was, like Raymond Asquith, one of Winchester's finest products. When at New College he won practically all the University's classical prizes, and afterwards was made Fellow and Tutor. Another Fellow of New to fall about the same time was Geoffrey W. Smith, a scientist of distinction, who was University Lecturer in Zoology. R. J. E. Tiddy, of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry, was University lecturer in English and a Fellow of Trinity. Captain Guy



LIEUT. H. WYNDHAM THOMAS,  
Rifle Brigade.



LIEUT. H. C. T. NEALE,  
Northamptonshire Regiment.



LIEUT. R. L. KNOTT,  
Northumberland Fusiliers.



LIEUT. C. C. HENRY,  
Hussars, att. Worcs. Regt.



LIEUT. A. A. WARREN,  
Border Regiment.

son in it, and not a rare thing to see quite a number of them in the front page of the "Times" or the "Morning Post." Prominent dignitaries of the Church who in 1916 had sons on the Roll of Honour included Bishop Boyd-Carpenter, the Dean of Ripon; Dr. James Gow, the Headmaster of Westminster School; Dr. Bernard, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin; the Bishop of Crediton, and many others. Dr. Shaw, Bishop of Buckingham, lost his third son. Three prominent Nonconformist ministers—Revs. W. B. Selbie, of Oxford, Bernard J. Snell, of Brixton, and John Hunter—lost sons, and to these a large number of others could be added, men drawn from a class that does not usually enter the Army, but that did so nobly in the hour of peril.

In the houses of the land it was the intensity rather than the extent of the loss which struck the observer. The dead were counted there by ones and twos, occasionally by threes and fours. To obtain some idea of its extent—of the ravages of war among the youth of the land as a whole—one should turn to the universities and public schools, each with its Roll of Honour, not ones and twos, but hundreds, mounting up to thousands, and

Dickins, of the K.R.R.C., was Fellow of St. John's, and so was Leonard G. Butler, whose speciality was history. Another loss to St. John's was John Handyside, of the Liverpools, who was made a Fellow of the College in 1908 and was at the time of his death in battle Lecturer in Philosophy at Liverpool University.

In Charles D. Fisher, a brother of the Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, Christ Church lost a Tutor, a victim of Jutland, whose influence was remarkable. R. P. Dunn-Pattison, of the Devons, was at one time Lecturer in History at Magdalen; P. Newbold, of the Royal West Kents, went from Oriel to become lecturer at Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne; and R. M. Heath, also of Oriel, won the Newdigate Prize and a Craven Fellowship before entering the Somerset Light Infantry.

Late in 1916 the "Cambridge Review" stated that the losses in killed of the University to date—sometime in the autumn of 1916—were 1,438. Among these men were three who had been Presidents of the Union—G. K. M. Butler, of the Yeomanry, a brilliant scholar, as a son of the venerable Master of Trinity should be, Christopher Bethell, and A. D. Barnard,



SEC.-LIEUT. R. D. TIBBS,  
Indian Army Reserve of Officers.



of the Rifle Brigade. Captain H. F. Russell-Smith, also of the Rifle Brigade, was a Fellow of St. John's and Lecturer in Political Science; he had been a University prizeman and had taken a double first; Kenneth R. Lewin, of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, was a scientist of distinction, who had studied at Naples, assisted the Professor of Biology, and worked at Rothamsted; S. B. McLaren was a Second Wrangler, appointed Professor of Mathematics at Reading; G. R. Ray, of the Bedfords, was Fellow and Lecturer in History at Emmanuel College; Captain A. S. Marsh, Somerset Light Infantry, was University Lecturer in Botany. But perhaps

**Brilliant  
University men**

the most brilliant of all was Keith Lucas, Fellow of Trinity, and also of the Royal Society. He was a physiologist doing research work at Cambridge when war broke out. He then entered the Flying Corps, and had greatly improved the aeroplane compass before he met his death while flying on October 5th. In mental gifts these men were superior to most of their fellows, but, they would be the first to admit, in nothing else. The mass of the fallen from our universities and public schools must here remain unnamed; they gave all they had, powers of mind and body, to the common cause, and are worthy of equal honour with the named.

As regards the other educational centres, a few figures must suffice. In July Sir Henry Miers said that his University of Manchester had lost 90 students and 5 teachers in the war, and Mr. H. A. L. Fisher gave 24 and 2 as the corresponding figures for the smaller University of Sheffield. For Leeds 55 was the total to date. The part played by the Scottish Universities may be seen from the statement, made in 1916, that over 250 students of Edinburgh had fallen.

Of the great schools reports gave 713 as the number of Etonians killed in battle, and over 400 from Harrow. Rugby's total was 364, Marlborough's was 407, Clifton's over 300, St. Paul's 242, Tonbridge's 168, and Rossall's 126. Stonyhurst had 80 names on the Roll of Honour. These figures are merely samples of all, no better and no worse than scores of other schools, and, it should be added, than hundreds of elementary and secondary schools all over the land. These, it is to be hoped, will each have its Roll of Honour drawn up and exhibited, and from it will spring traditions of high courage and fearless endeavour, like to those which are the glory of Eton and Winchester, for such are not of a class but of the race. This may well be one of the great issues of the war, one of its abiding benefits, and, if so, few things will make more for the future greatness of Britain.

Two classes of professional men are not usually found in the ranks of the combatants in war—the doctor and the clergyman. The vacant condition of our medical schools and theological colleges in 1915 and 1916 was, however, proof enough that the spirit of patriotism was as strong in those training for these two callings as it was in those outside, and we cannot say it was less vigorous in those who had entered them.

On November 2nd, 1916, there was a solemn celebration of the Holy Eucharist in the Chapel of King's College, London. It was in memory of those members of the University of London who had fallen in the war, and the list of names as printed is a long one, for it included men from all the colleges which are affiliated to the University,

such as the London School of Economics, the Royal College of Science, and the East London College, as well as King's and University Colleges.

This fact, perhaps, may not strike the casual observer, but he cannot fail to notice the large number of medical men whose names appeared thereon, and London, being the largest medical university, may be taken as a sample of all. Turn over the pages. The different hospitals appear, each heading a roll of names, first for 1914-15 and then for 1916. Some clearly had forsaken, temporarily at least, the art of healing, and had entered other branches of the Service, but the majority had not.

Among the 1914-15 names there were a good number of qualified medical men, but for the full extent of this loss one should turn rather to the names for 1916. St. Bartholomew's Hospital, for instance, had 25; St. Thomas's had 27; Guy's 28, and the London 20, a total of just 100 for these four. Of these, 17 from St. Bartholomew's and 20 from St. Thomas's were qualified men, and the nature of their degrees was given. As regards Guy's and the London the number was less obvious, but it appeared to be 14 from the former and 11 from the latter, making a total of 62 doctors killed. The other hospitals contributed a few, and with the medical schools in other parts of the country, not forgetting Scotland, and the numbers for 1914-15, the medical profession must have many names on its Roll

of Honour. One of the most distinguished of these London names was that of Colonel A. E. J. Barker, Professor of Surgery at University College.

Deaths among chaplains are not unknown on the field of battle, and there were a number of such in 1916. At least three clergymen, Captain W. M. Benton, of the Manchesters, R. F. Callaway, of the Sherwood Foresters, and S. F. Hulton, a private, died while fighting as comba-

tants, while among those clergymen killed, when engaged in duties of a more peaceful kind, were the Revs. E. W. Trevor, H. O. Spink, D. M. Guthrie, and F. H. Tuke. The Rev. R. M. Kirwan, at one time the only chaplain with the forces in Mesopotamia, died from hardships incurred there, and a Wesleyan chaplain, Rev. G. T. Cook, was killed in France. It was worthy of note that eight chaplains were among those who went down in the naval fight of May 31st.

Literature and art, which already counted Rupert Brooke and Dixon Scott upon the roll, added thereto during 1916. A. V. Ratcliffe, of the West Yorkshires, was a poet of promise, and so was H. R. Freston, of the Berkshires. Captain Theodore Flatau, an Australian, had written three novels, and edited the "World." The Authors' Club reported sixteen of its members killed.

H. N. Dickinson, of the West Kents, was the author of "Keddy" and wrote other stories, and Donald Hankey, of the Warwicks, won a reputation just before his death, on October 12th, by "A Student in Arms." G. S. K. Butterworth, a son of Sir A. K. Butterworth, was a musical composer, and was greatly interested in collecting folk-songs and folk-dances; and H. St. P. Bunbury, of the Artillery, was a painter, one of whose works was hung in the Invalides at Paris. The stage lost Basil H. Radford—better known as Basil Hallam, the creator of Gilbert the Filbert—and Shiel Barry who had played with Sir George Alexander and Lewis Waller. Here may be mentioned the death of a "Punch" artist, Captain Neville Smith,



LIEUT. HON. G. J. GOSCHEN,  
The Buffs (East Kent Regt.).



SEC.-LIEUT. W. L. ORR,  
Royal Irish Rifles.

**Losses to  
Literature and Art**





SEC.-LIEUT. R. W. PHILLIPPS,  
Grenadier Guards. Killed in action in  
Flanders.



SEC.-LT. H. ARMSTRONG,  
East Surrey Regt. Died of  
wounds.



SEC.-LT. R. G. PECK,  
Cameronians (Scottish R.)  
Att. Highland L. I.



SEC.-LIEUT. A. V. RATCLIFFE,  
West Yorks Regiment. Killed in action  
near Fricourt.



SEC.-LIEUT. J. F. EGERTON,  
K.R.R.C. He was killed in  
action.



SEC.-LIEUT. E. A.  
STURRIDGE,  
Yorks Light Infantry. Died.



SEC.-LIEUT. W. J.  
McCONNOCHIE,  
R.F.C. Killed in action.



SEC.-LIEUT. J. G. GREGORY,  
London Regiment. He died of  
wounds.



SEC.-LIEUT. M. L. PRICE,  
Middlesex Regt. Killed in action.



SEC.-LT. A. F. BENTLEY,  
Sherwood Foresters. Died  
of wounds.



SEC.-LT. D. M. H. JEWELL,  
Royal Fusiliers, att. R.E.  
Killed in action.



SEC.-LIEUT. C. P. A. HERSEE,  
Royal Fusiliers. Killed in action.



SEC.-LIEUT. H. DURANT,  
Lancers. Killed in action.



SEC.-LT. G. R. A. CASE,  
Lancs Regt. Killed in action.



SEC.-LT. G. R. JEFFERY,  
Hussars. Killed in action.



SEC.-LIEUT. H. H. L. RICHARDS,  
Connaught Rangers. Killed in action.

## THE ROLL OF HONOUR, 1916.

Photos by Speaight, Elliott & Fry, Lafayette, Swaine, and Chancellor.



of the Durham Light Infantry, and of one of its literary contributors, Alec L. Johnston, of the Shropshires. Among the journalists to fall was Lieut. I. O. Hutchison, of the "Evening News."

The Civil Service had earned an unenviable notoriety for its reluctance to release suitable men for the Army, but against those who went no charge whatever could be made. Captain R. C. Woodhead, of the Durham Light Infantry, killed in July, was a brilliant Oxford scholar, who had been appointed assistant secretary of the Development Commission. Sir Courtenay Ilbert wrote that three of his clerks in the House of Commons had fallen, and among probationers for the Indian Civil Service the number was four.

With F. S. Kelly, one of the most remarkable men killed during the Great War, we can pass from art to sport. Kelly, who was killed on November 13th, while serving with the R.N.V.R., and had previously been wounded in Gallipoli, was outstanding in both. As an oarsman he had done nearly everything—stroked the Eton Eight,

**Sportsmen  
who fell**



MILITARY FUNERAL FOR A BRAVE ENGLISHWOMAN.

Mrs. Harley, sister of Field-Marshal Viscount French, killed by a shell at Monastir, March 7th, 1917, while organising relief for the Serbians, was buried with full military honours. General Milne and Prince George of Serbia accompanied the cortège.

rowed in the Oxford boat, and won the Wingfield Sculls, the Diamond Sculls, and the Amateur Championship of the Thames; he was also a distinguished pianist and composer, one whose talents in that direction had given delight to thousands of music lovers.

Worthy to be named with Kelly, "a goodlie paire of brethren," although as different in externals as two brave men can be, was Lieut. H. Webber, of the South Lancashires. Although sixty-eight years of age, this splendid sportsman, by profession a stockbroker, obtained a commission and went cheerily through the hardships of the campaign until killed at the head of his men on July 21st. Two sportsmen known throughout Britain were killed during the year—F. C. Selous, the hunter, in East Africa, and Kenneth Hutchings, the "hitter," in France.

To mention all the sportsmen killed during the year would be to write down the names of nearly all the 190,000. Among the officers, and to some extent among the men, so many had been in the school eleven or fifteen, had boxed or fenced at Aldershot, or shot at Bisley, or had excelled at running, jumping, rowing, or some other form of sport.

Rugby football, which suffered very heavy losses indeed in 1914-15, had fresh names upon its roll. These included D. D. Howie and Cecil H. Abercrombie, R.N., the Scottish Internationals; C. M. Pritchard, H. W. Thomas, and J. L. Williams, who had played for Wales, and the Rev. R. E. Inglis, a chaplain, Captain R. L. Pillman, of the West Kents, L. A. N. Slocock, and A. F. Maynard, who had played for England. R. O. Lagden, a master at Harrow, was a double blue at Oxford, and so was L. J. Moon, of the Devons; G. Howard Smith won the same distinction at Cambridge. Lieut.-Colonel R. J. W. Carter, Lieut.-Colonel H. E. Brassey, and Major Leslie Cheape were famous polo players. H. G. Bache, a Corinthian, was an English International at the Association game, and E. H. Lintott had also played for England.

University blues of other kinds figured often in the casualty lists. Captain J. A. Ritson rowed in the Cambridge boat, and E. A. L. Southwell and A. H. Hales in the Oxford one. Captain A. G. Cowie played cricket for Cambridge; A. R. Welsh and J. V. Byrne-Johnson were running blues at Cambridge; D. N. Gaussen was President of the University Athletic Club at Oxford. Captain H. B. B. Hammond-Chambers was the Oxford captain at golf. And so the story could be continued almost indefinitely.

Outside the universities the country lost some notable sportsmen. Captain P. G. Graham was a champion swimmer in the North of England; Captain J. G. Davies was one of the best heavy-weight boxers in the Army; Captain R. F. Davies, of the London Regiment, won the King's Prize at Bisley in 1906, and F. Godfrey, of the Royal Fusiliers, held the Army records for the long jump and the hundred yards. G. C. Macleay, of the Camerons, who came from New Orleans to fight, was in 1911 the running champion of the Southern States. Captain W. Booth was the well-known Yorkshire cricketer, and Percy Jeeves the Warwickshire one.

**The saving  
of civilisation**

One or two names, which do not fall under any of the above headings, may be mentioned. Commander H. L. L. Pennell was a member of one of Captain Scott's Antarctic Expeditions, and so was J. R. Dennistoun, of the Flying Corps. Captain Douglas Brodie was secretary of the Chartered Company, and Captain H. B. Mudie was a very prominent Esperantist. Major Douglas Reynolds was one of the first to win the V.C. during the war, and in 1916 there fell also Major H. A. Carter, who won it in 1904, and Lieuts. H. R. Martineau and Alexander Young, who won it in South Africa. Captain S. E. Cowan (by an inadvertence described in Chapter CLX. as a second-lieutenant), a son of the chief engineering inspector to the Irish Local Government Board, was presumably killed while flying.

In one of Poe's most powerful stories the narrator tells how he was fleeing in horror from a doomed house. Arrested by a flash of lightning, he turned, and before his startled eyes the vast fabric of the House of Usher crumbled into fragments and disappeared. Had the Germans won the Great War such would have been the fate of our civilisation, built up through long centuries by the toil and pain of millions. That it did not thus crumble to atoms in our sight was due to those who risked death in its defence, and, above all, to those who fell in that holy cause. These we may best leave with those words which, taken from the Apocalypse, have been for nearly four hundred years part of the Office for the Burial of the Dead—"They rest from their labours."











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